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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VVARRES
Of the Emperour
JUSTINIAN
IN EIGHT BOOKS.

Of the { Persian, II. }
{ Van tall, II. }
{ Gothicke, IV. }

Written in Greek by
PROCOPIUS OF CÆSAREA.
AND

Englified by Henry Holcroft, Knight.

LONDON,
Printed for Humphrey Mofley, and are to be sold at
his shop at the Prince's Armes in St Pauls
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The Preface.

AMidst the throng of Historians, we have very few who were personally concerned in the actions they write of : few having, like *Cæsar*, wrote their own Commentaries: Nay, the greatest part were not then in being ; and so their Reports are but Conjectures, and their Books, transmitted to Posterity, are their Divination rather than their History. And, alas, those few who were Contemporary to their own story, how biased are their Traditions ! how are they commonly so faction'd and sided, that their Relations are but their Interests ; delivering downwards not what they knew ; but what they inclined to. And if any one amongst them be so unbiased, that he have no partial bent of his own, yet the awe which Princes or Generals have upon him, makes him many times fear, that his Truth shall be his Gaol, or Exile ; all which considering, the wary Author writes not a History, but his own Safety. But *Procopius* (as every one knows) was not onely alive in the times which he wrote of, but did for many yeares survive not onely the finishing of his History, but the publication also ; and was a very material concerned Agent in all these Wars. And for his Impartial writing, take first his own word for it, where he saies about the beginning of all, *where is it, &c.* He conceived indeed that Eloquence was decent in an Oratour, and that Poets might be excused for their Fables, but an Historian must want nothing but Truth : And then he goes on ; *Wherefore he hath not spared his dearest friends, and be their faults committed upon what terms they will, he fails not to charge them home with them.* But if his own assertion will not serve the turn, goe but along with

The Preface.

with him in his History, and thou shalt see, that (while *Agathias* and *Epiphanensis*, two learned Writers, about the same time with *Procopius*, who if they chance to let any thing fall to the discredit of *Justinian*, or the Senators, they do it with exceeding great temper and caution) were yet fain to conceal their Commentaries with *Mauritius* the Emperour) *Procopius* freely lays about him, sweetens no mans vices, cloaks no mans miscarriage, but impartially discourses of *Justinian*, and the great ones, doth as much arraign, as relate them to posterity. He severely indites *John* the Pretorian Prefect of flat impiety, *Tribonianus* the *Questor* of grating avarice, *Arctas* the General for his deceitfull and faithless wit ; and then he recounts the particular Bands of Souldiers, the several Garrisons and Cities, which became either a prey to the enemy, or were utterly destroyed by the base and unworthy demeanour of *Bessas*, *Acacius*, and the other *Questor*. He solemnly rebukes *Vernus* for his intemperance, *Sergius* for his haughty disdain and effeminacy, *Maximianus* for his sloth, and his general ignorance in Martial affairs. And which is yet much more than all the rest, the gallant *Belisarius*, whose wife and valiant conduct (to omit his many other glorious atchievements) did reduce two Kings, and brought them captives to Constantinople, and to whole fame and renown the whole History seems to be one entire Sacrifice, did but once manage his affairs amiss, and he hears sharply of it from *Procopius*; *Βελισάριος μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ Βυζαντίῳ πολέμῳ ἀπέτυχε, &c.* *Belisarius then returned to Constantinople with disrepute; for during five whole years together, he could gain no footing in Italy, but in all that time was forced to waite himself by stealth from one Port-town to another; whereupon the enemy did subdue both Rome her self, & all other places with greater security. And as for Perugia, a chief City in Tuscany, he left it straitly besieged, and it was afterwards taken by the enemy, whilst he marcht for Constantinople. Nor doth Justinian himself escape his chastisement; for he often inculcates his unworthy detaining the Souldiers pay, his sleepy neglect of Military preparations, and his profuse reception of the vilest Barbarian, Isidignus the Persian Ambassadour. How he handles his vices elsewhere, concerns not our present purpose; but evident it is,*

The Preface.

that all the countenance and indulgence, all the promotions and advancements (hereafter mentioned) bestowed upon him by the Emperour , were looked upon by *Procopius*, as encouragements to serve, not flatter his Prince; and as the rewards of his Loyalty, not the bribes of his Secrecie. And all this did *Procopius* publish, the parties themselves being then alive. Which severity of his, as it cannot chuse but reconcile a great opinion and commendation of his veracity, so is it no emergency of hatred or calumny, but of clear dealing and integrity; not his Satyr against the Persons, but his just remorse for the Vices,

But though *Procopius* did publish this History in his own life time, yet it hath since been the fate of this (as *Nicolaus Alemannus* observes, not of this onely, but of all the other writings of this worthy Author) to be expos'd maine, and mangled to the world. For though it was at first presented to *Justinian* the Roman Emperour by *Procopius* himself, and by him also dispersed in its native integrity, whereby it became the delight and darling of the whole Empire; Yet this happiness befell it for many hundred years before Printing was known. For the first man that committed it to the Press, was *Leonardus Arætinus*, who published that part of it which doth relate to the *Gothick Wars*; and in that also he put a trick upon the World, much misbecoming so learned a man; for he quite suppress'd the Greek copy, and concealing the right Authors name, set forth a Latine Translation of his own, pretending it to be a Collection compiled by himself out of several Writers, and stiling it *De Bello Italico*, A Tract concerning the Wars of *Italy*. Now the Greek Copy of this Translation of *Arætinus* doth *Blondus Flavius* recount to have been by his industry first brought into *Italy*. But he for his part, since his copy wants some passages, of which we are now provided, and seeing he inveighs against some things which we find to be currant and justifiable, in those Editions which are abroad; was either deluded by the old Manuscript which he had by him, or else by the person who translated it for him. For he might very well have forborn his censure, seeing he confesses himself to be altogether ignorant in the Greek Tongue. *Christophorus Persona* resenting the injury

The Preface.

done to *Procopius* by that Addition of *Leonardus*, did indeed restore him to his right again, calling the Book by his name, and translating it out of the Original Greek, And yet his Edition also is lame and infirm, being deprived of many parts. After all these, *Raphael Volateranus* did publish in Latine the remaining Books, namely of the *Vandal* and *Persian Wars*; but he also made use of as imperfect a Copy as *Persona* did. So that neither of them, though they were both Library-keepers of the *Vatican* in *Rome*, did translate out of the *Vatican* Copy.

And now, Reader, since the imposture of some, and the ignorance or misfortune of others, hath till of late delivered this Author to posterity either as a spurious issue, or at best a cripple; Consider how much thou art indebted to the memory of the deceased Knight, the learned Translator; who hath been so carefull to hand it over to thee, not onely rendred in thy own language, that so thou mayest the better understand it; but also conferred and examined by the most Authentick Copies, that so thou mayst the safer credit it. The Greek Edition which he hath translated for thee, is that of *David Hoeschelius*, who being about to set forth this History, did first furnish himself with three several Manuscripts of the same Book; one out of the Duke of *Bavaria's* Librarie, the other two sent him by *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Isaac Casaubon*, both which had undergone their judicious Masters Castigations before. *Hoeschelius* made choice of the *Bavarian* Copy, finding it the most perfect and entire of the three. But so, as where ever he met with any various Readings in the other two, he hath placed them in the Margin.

In the Translation of these Books of *Procopius* into English, Sir *Henry Holcroft* doth exercise the same judicious liberty which *Alemannus* takes to himself, in rendring the *Arcana Historia*, written by the same Author, into Latine; not confining himself to the strict words of the Author (a course taken even by *St. Jerom* himself) but giving faithfully his sense and meaning: Well knowing, that all Languages have their peculiar Idioms, which being rendred word by word, would make a strange confusion, and impropriety in that Language into which they are cast. And

though

The Preface.

though the Learned Knight be not (as I have sayd) so impertinently punctual to match the Author word by word, yet the Reader may be assured, that he hath most severely pursued his intentions; so that if *Procopius* were now alive, and skilled in our Language, it would never repent him, that his Book speaks English. And though I shall not (with *Alemannus*) charge *Procopius* himself with the imputation of Tautologies, and too prodigal Periphrases (allowing much to the luxuriance of the Greek tongue) yet I can safely ascertain the Reader, he shall find this discourse far more contract and close, than in the Author himself; and so his expectation shall not linger so long, e'r it be satisfied with the Events: And that nevertheless, he shall perceive no Material, nor Circumstance omitted: As the Logicians confined Fift doth strike as smart, and as thorough a blow, as the diffused Orators expanded Palm.

Where the injury of Time, or neglect of Transcribers hath left any breach, or Chasm in the Greek Copy (which in several places of this History doth unhappily befall) the knowing Translator hath supplied the defect out of the Latine copies. And where the Translator himself hath suffered any impair, or casually committed some mistakes, they are both relieved by the able pen of Mr. *Edmund Chilmead*, by his exact comparing of the English with the Greek.

I shall now proceed to acquaint the Reader with some farther account of the Author, and this History. *Procopius* was born in *Cæsarea*, a City of *Palestine*, and in the reign of *Anastasius* the Emperour came to *Constantinople*; where approving himself a person of excellent parts, general Learning, and exceeding great Prudence, he soon turned the eyes of the chiefeſt *Romans* upon him. Inſomuch that *Juſtine* the elder, when his Empire was in very great ſtreights (the *Persians* being then Victors over the *Romans* in War) did prefer *Procopius* to *Belisarius* the General, to be of his Counſel. *Snidas* ſtiles him Secretary to *Belisarius*; but He himſelf, who beſt knew his own employment, tels us about the beginning of the *Persian* Hiſtory; that he was *nepheſ*, *Belisarius* his Aſſeſſor. What profeſſion he was of before he arrived at this, and other places of truſt and honour, is variously delivered by ſeveral Authors.

The Preface.

thors. *Evagrius*, and *Agathias* call him *ῥήτορ*, *Oratorem*; *Suidas*, *ῥήτορ καὶ νομικὸς*. To explain which words, saith *Hoeschelius*, *Ille est Orator, qui causas in concione, in foro, in senatu agit; hic Latinis Rhetor, qui in scholis docet artem Oratoriam*. Hence the Latines call an Orator, who pleads at the Barre; and him a Rhetorician, who teaches the art of Rhetorick in the Schooles. *Blondus*, and *Sabellicus* conceit he was a Physician: But the three former are doubtless so far in the right, as they all agree that he was *ῥήτορ*, an Orator, or Lawyer, and that by reason of his employment under *Belisarius*. For, as *Alemannus* judiciously observes, *Ex eo ordine ὑψηλοῦς Consiliarii, καὶ πρῶτον Ἀσσορρες, exercitus ducibus summisque Magistratibus dabantur*: Counsellors and Assessors were preferred to the Generals of Armies, and chief Magistrates, out of that Profession. The reason why some Authors are of so different judgment in their opinions concerning the Profession of *Procopius*, may possibly be, because there were three of that name, *Procopius Gazæus*, *Procopius Sophista*, and our *Procopius Cæsariensis*: Now the truth is, the two former are both called *Sophista*, Rhetoricians, and *Gazæi* too, being both of *Gazæa*; and all three were likewise Countrymen; both *Gazæa*, and *Cæsarea* being in *Palestine*. The first of these, and ours, lived both in *Justinian's* time; by whom *Procopius*, our Author, was not only continued in his employment under *Belisarius*, being never permitted upon any terms, either in the expeditions into *Italy* or *Africa*, to be removed from the General, but was prized at so high a rate, that *Justinian* did conceive the *Roman Territories* were as much established, and propagated by the integrity and advice of *Procopius*, as by the valour and prowess of *Belisarius*. And no sooner was *Belisarius* called out of *Africa*, upon his late Victories compleated there, but *Procopius* was sent to *Carthage* to *Solomon*, the then General, to secure those parts; which being but newly subdued, were therefore capable of Revolt and Rebellion against the *Roman* subjection. What employments he had in *Persia*, *Italy*, *Rome*, *Naples*, and *Syracuse*, himself discovers in this History; which several actions of his, though he mentions very modestly, and by the by onely, as if he reputed them scarce worthy the relation; yet sure we are, they purchased for

The Preface.

for him so great renown in the Common-weal th, that *Justinian* did thereupon advance him to the dignity of those persons who the *Romans* did call *Illustres*; & hence it is that *Suidas* begins his account of *Procopius*, *ἱστορὸς καὶ ἰλλυστρὸς ἐν Τηλασίμῳ, &c.* *Procopius Illustis of Cæsarea in Palestine*. After this he was preferred to be a Senator also, & at last having put forth all this History, he arrived at the highest dignity that can befall any Senator, namely *ad Urbanam Præfecturam*, to be Prefect of the City; and this was about the 25. of *Justinian's* Reign. About which time he finished that Book, which he durst not then publish, and therefore calls it, *Ἀνέκδοτον*, his Secret History. And now *Justinian*, having for (near upon) seventeen years together delighted himself in having this History of his Wars divulged, and read by all the Nations subject to the *Roman* Scepter, enjoyned our Author to write that Book which he calls *πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον*, Of the Buildings erected by the Emperour *Justinian*.

These are the known Books of *Procopius*, two whereof being not to our present purpose (though Sir Henry hath (as I am informed by those that should know) translated the *Ἀνέκδοτον*, or Secret History (a book which none of the Ancients met with, but *Suidas* only, as appears by *Evagrius*, *Agathias*, *Epiphanensis*, *Simeon Metaphrastes* in vita *S. Sabæ*, *Porphyrius*, and *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*; as neither many other Learned men who wrote since *Suidas*, as *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Anonymus* in his *Chronicon Vatican.* & others, amongst whom was Cardinal *Baronius*, who could never attain the sight of it, though he much desired it, & to my own knowledge, *Agathias* his History, who takes up the story, where *Procopius* leaves off: All which may see the light, kind Reader, if thy acceptance of this encourage their Impression) that is, the *Ἀνέκδοτον*, and that *πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον*, we shall not here render an account of. This History was by the Author divided into 8 books; 7 of them, namely those two concerning the *Persian*, those other two of the *Vandal*, & the three first of the *Gothick* War, as himself affirms in the fourth book, *ἡ δὲ ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τὸν Βανδάλον καὶ τὸν Γότθον ἤδη δημοσίᾳ ἀπερρίχθη*, were already divulged and known throughout all the *Roman* Dominions. But as to the certain time wherein they were severally published, Writers afford us no certainty. Yet this is most certain, that

The Preface.

that the books of the *Persian* and *Vandal Wars*, and a great part of the books of the *Gothick*, were finished before the death of *Theodora* the Empress, that is, before the 22 year of *Justinians* reign: for in his *Antiquities*, he writes, that he was enforced in this History to conceal the trains which *Theodora* laid to destroy *Amalasuntha*, Queen of the *Goths*, for fear of *Theodora*. And likewise our Author makes mention of the publication of all the first seven books, before the 26 of *Justinians* Reign, in his eighth book of these Wars; which book was written in the 27 of *Justinians* Reign.

But this eighth book is not so properly called the fourth of the *Gothick Wars*, because it is indeed *Historia quedam Copulata*, *Miscella*, as *Alemannus* styles it; or as the Author himself, *Thodas*, *Varia*, a Miscellanee, or History containing the Wars of *Justinian* with divers Nations. And this eighth book was published about the very time wherein it was written, viz. in the 27 of *Justinians* Reign.

To conclude, what great profit and delight is like to arise to the Reader in perusing this History, let himself imagine, when he shall meet here with Prudent Letters & Dispatches from Princes and Generals; Wise Laws and Provisions for the publique Safety; Politick Leagues and Confederacies to secure Interests; Elegant Speeches and Exhortations to animate the Souldier; Notable Examples of Vices and Virtues; Inevitable Stratagems to circumvent Adversaries: Lively Descriptions of the Situations of Countries, Cities, Buildings, Hills, Seas, Rivers, and Fountains; Various and Interchangeable Turns and Inconstancies of Wars and Fortunes; in a word, all the Treasury and Wardrobe that can enrich and beautifie a History. Take one only remarkable passage concerning the last, in that City, which had been long the aim and envy of the world, Rome her self. *Alaricus* the *Goth* gains her from the *Romans*; *Genferick* the *Vandal* doth force her from the *Goths*; *Theodorick* the *Goth* regains her to the *Goths*; *Belisarius* the Roman General from the *Goths*: *Totilas* the *Goth* from the *Romans* again: *Belisarius* receives her sackt and forsaken by the *Goths*: *Totilas* triumphs in her second Conquest: *Narjes* the Eunuch subdues both *Totilas* and her. So that in this very History, she is eight severall times lost, and recovered.

THE

The Contents of the Chapters of the first Book of the PERSIAN Warre.

CHAP. I.

The preamble of the Author, and of the Roman Archery then.

CHAP. II.

Theodosius the second left to the protection of *Isdegerdes*, King of Persia. The warre of *Vararanes*, King of Persia, accorded by *Anatolius*; That neither build fortifications upon the others frontier. *Perozes*, King of Persia, makes warre upon the *Ephthalite Hunnes*, and is beaten.

CHAP. III.

Perozes breaking his oath, is destroyed in a pit with his 29. Sons by the *Ephthalites*. Of a strange pearl. His Son *Cabades* succeeds; is deposed for making women common by a Law; and imprisoned in the tower of Oblivion.

CHAP. IV.

A digression of the breach of the law of the tower of Oblivion once, and the tragical death of *Artaces* King of Armenia, in the reign of *Pacurius*. *Cabades* escapes by the meanes of his wife and Scotes; Recovers the Kingdom by the aid of the *Ephthalites*.

CHAP. V.

The warre of *Cabades* with the Emperour *Anastatius*, for not lending him money. He besieges *Amida*, and takes it. The miracle upon his Souldiers by James the Hermit.

CHAP. VI.

Captaines sent by *Anastatius*. By their negligence and disunion, the Romans are overthrown. The plot upon *Glonas*, Governour of *Amida*, and his killing. The recovery of *Amida* for money.

CHAP. VII.

Anastatius refuses the *Caspian* gates for the charge. The Persians take them, and maintain the Garrison against the Hunnes. *Anastatius* builds *Datas*, and fortifies *Theodosiopolis*, contrary to the accord with *Anatolius*. *Justine* is Emperour, whom *Cabades* would have to adopt *Chosroes*. *Photius* the Quæstor opposes it. A treatie of peace without effect. Scotes ungratefully ruined.

CHAP. VIII.

Cabades warring against the Iberians, Christians; Their King flies into *Lazica*; And some Iberians to Constantinople. *Belisarius* and *Sittas* invade *Perfarmenia*. *Justinian* is Emperour alone.

CHAP. IX.

Belisarius, Generall of the East, is Commander of the Army, with *Hermogenes*. The dwells of *Andrew*, master of a Wrestling Schoole in Constantinople, and his victories; Letters between *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes*, and *Mirranes* the Persian Generall.

CHAP. X.

The battell of *Daras*, and the overthrow of the Persians, by *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes*.

CHAP. XI.

A Persian army under *Mermeroes* invades Armenia. The victory of *Sittas* against 30000. Persians, *Pharangium* delivered to the Romans by *Simeones*, to get the Persians gold mine there; And *Bolus* by *Isaac* a *Perfarmenian*, brother to *Narjes* and *Aratius*, lately revolted to the Romans. *Sittas* subdues the *Tzanians*, a Nation by Mount *Taurus* and Armenia.

CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. XII.

Expostulation of Cabades with Rufinus the Roman Ambassador. The Persians invade the Romans by Comagena, called Euphratelia; ever formerly having invaded by Mesopotamia. The heads and courtes of the Euphrates and Tigris. The golden Comana in Cappadocia built by Orestes, and the Temple of Diana in Tauri.

CHAP. XIII.

This invasion by Comagena, is by the counsell of Alamundarus, a Saracen King, who persuades to set upon Syria and Antioch: The description of Alamundarus.

CHAP. XIV.

Belisarius in Comagena is overthrown by Azarethes, the Persian Generall. Cabades reviles Azarethes, for his victory. The Persian custom to know their lost men by arrows in baskets.

CHAP. XV.

Justinian would associate the Homerites, and Ethiopians against the Persians. Of the red Sea; Country of Palme-trees. The Auxomites, Blenmyes, Nobates, Ethiopian Nations.

CHAP. XVI.

A digression of some wars between the Ethiopians, Christians, and the Homerites. Aipevedes, and Mermerocs invade the Romans. Sittas defends. They besiege Martyropolis.

CHAP. XVI.

Cabades dyes, Chofroes his youngest Son succeeds by the help of Mebodes. The siege of Martyropolis is raised. The perpetual peace is made Anno 6. Justiniani; for which Justinian gives 110. Centenaries of gold.

CHAP. XVII.

A conspiracy against Chofroes by his brother Zames with one eye, who perishes in the plot. The saving of young Cabades by Adergudunbades, is the cause of his ruine. Mebodes, by Chofroes sent to the Tripes, and after slain.

CHAP. XIX.

The Mutiny in Constantinople of the Veneti, and Prasini, called Nica, suppressed by Belisarius. The character of John the Cappadocian, Prefect of the Palace, and Tribonianus, the Quæstor.

CHAP. XX.

John the Cappadocian is ruined by the plot of Antonina in the tenth yeare of his office. Is banisht to Cyzicum, made Priest; then absolutely undone, and sent to Antinoë in Egypt. And about this time another John, usurping as Datas, is slain by the Soldiers.

THE



THE HISTORY

Of the Wars of the
EMPEROUR

JUSTINIAN,

Written by Procopius of
CÆSAREÆ.

Of the Persian Wars.

The First Book.

CHAP. I.



PROCOPIUS of CÆSAREÆ wrote the History of the wars that the Emperour Justinian had with the Barbarians, both Easterne and Westerne, and what the issue of them was; that the memory of so great Actions might not, through Tract of Time, be buried in Oblivion, and lost to the World; The preservation whereof he conceived might be of very great use, both to those that are now living, and to those that shall come after; in case that time should againe bring about the necessity of the like actions in any part of the World. For, the knowledge of a like History, suiting with that of any other Age, is of great advantage to those that shall have to doe with any Wars; in that it informes, what the success in the like former Actions hath been, and intimates withall what issue the present, (supposing the best Counsell being taken) in all probability shall have. He was conscious also to himselfe, that He was the best able to write this History; though for no other reason, yet because He was chosen to be *Assessor* to Belisarius, the Emperours Generall, and to was present, in a manner, at all that was done in these Wars.

He conceived further, that as Eloquence became an Oratour, & Fables were proper for Poets, so Truth was that an Historiographer ought chiefly to look at. Therefore he spared not to note the Failings even of his nearest Friends, but gave an exact Account of all their Actions, whether they were well, or ill done. Neither will the Actions of any other Age appeare either of more use, or more Gallant, (to him that shall but duly consider them) then those that have passed in these Wars; for in most of them, as wee have been informed, almost Miracles have been done. Unless a man will needs give the preeminence to former Ages, and will not vouchsafe to allow his owne to be able to doe any thing.

And therefore as in our Armies now we have some *Archers*, others *Sword* and *Buckler-men*, and the like names of Souldiers that the Ancients had; yet will not some allow any of the Ancient Prowess and Valour to have descended down to our Age; shewing herein how pitifully ignorant they are of the *Praetise* of those times. For they do not at all consider, that the *Archers* in *Homer's* time (whose Profession grew to be a term of reproach) had neither Horse, nor Javelin, nor Buckler, nor any thing else to defend themselves, but went on foot into the field, and were forced to find shelter for themselves some other way, sheltering themselves (instead of a Buckler) either behind some Tomb-stone, or Pillar, where neither if they were put to flight, they could be safe; nor, if their Enemies fled, could they do them any harm: Neither did they ever fight in open field, but always, as it were, by stealth did, what ever they did. Besides, the way of their Archery was so lamentable, as that drawing their Bow-string to their breast, they so let their Arrow fly, which, in all probability, could not doe any execution at all, wherefore it fell. And this was the manner of the ancient Archery. But our *Archers* now adays go into the field, armed with Habergeons, and Greaves that come up as high as their knees. They have besides their Quiver of Arrows on their right side, and a Sword on their left; and some of them have a Javelin also fastened about them, and a kind of short Buckler, as it were, but without any handle, made fast to their shoulders, which serves to defend their head and neck. They are also excellently well horsed; and though their horses run never so fast, they can with ease shoot either way, and annoy their Enemies, either pursuing them, or flying. Besides, they draw their Bow-string toward their Forehead, up to the right Ear, which gives such force to the Arrow, that where it lights it kills, no Shield nor Corset being able to resist the violence. Some, considering none of these things, onely reverence and admire the old times, not allowing any advantage to succeeding inventions. But all can be no impediment, but that in these Wars great exploits, and most famous have been done. First therefore, beginning a little higher, shall be declared, what happened between the *Romans* and *Persians*, in reference both to their Victories and Losses in these Wars.

CHAP. II.

When the Roman Emperour *Arcadius* drew near his decease in *Constantinople*, having a Son, *Theodosius*, not yet weaned from the breast: He was troubled both for him, and his Empire, how to provide for both. If he should give *Theodosius* a companion in the Empire, he feared in effect he might prove his Sons Murthrer; setting an Enemy upon him armed with sovereign power; and if he should leave him alone in it, it was likely some taking advantage of his desolate condition might usurp the Empire, and destroy him. In *Constantinople* he had none of his blood to be his Protector; and in *Honori* the Uncle, he had no hope he could suffice for it; the Affairs of *Italy* being in so ill terms. The *Persians* no less troubled him, lest despising the Emperors childhood, they should ruin the *Roman* Provinces. *Arcadius* in this perplexity, though none of the quickest Wits, yet lighted upon a Counsell which preserved him and his State, whether it were by communication with Wiscmen, which an Emperour cannot want, or by divine Inspiration. For by his Testament he declared his Son his Successor, and *Isdegerdes*, K. of *Persia*, his Protector; whom he besought with his whole power and providence, to preserve both his Empire and Son. And thus *Arcadius* having disposed of the Empire, and his private Affairs, * died.

Isdegerdes, before renowned for Nobleness, now shewed it more than ever, to deserve wonder and praise: For not neglecting the Injunctions of *Arcadius*, he kept perfect peace with the *Romans*, and preserved the Empire to *Theodosius*: By his Letters to the *Roman* Senate accepting the Protectorship, and threatening War against any that should rise against *Theodosius*: Who

grew

grown a man, and *Isdegerdes* dead, * *Varanes* King of *Persia* invaded the *Roman* Territories with a great Army; but did no hurt, returning in this manner. *Anatolius* was sent the Emperours Ambassador to the *Persian*, who being come near the Army, leaped from his Horse, and alone, and afoot, went towards *Varanes*, who demanded of the company, who this was; they said, it was the *Roman* General. The King amazed at the excessive honour, turned his horse, and rode away, and after him his Army. Being in his Country, he entertained the Ambassador with much curtesie, and yielded to the terms of peace he desired, That neither should erect any new Fortification near the others borders; which if it were done, gave either side opportunity of doing what they pleased.

Afterwards *Perozes*, King of *Persia*, with a great Army warred against the *Ephthalites* (a Nation of *Hunnes*, called white *Hunnes*) about their Boundaries. These *Ephthalites* are a *Hunnish* Nation, but not mingled with other *Hunnes*, having no part of their Country bordering upon them; their dwelling being to the North of *Persia*, where is a City called *Gorge*; and some skirmishing about bounds they have, being no * *Creaghters*, as other *Hunnes*; but are seated in a good Land; Neither make they any Inroads into the *Roman* Territories, but onely with the *Persian* Armies. These onely *Hunnes* have white bodies, and visages not uncomely; and their course of life is not as of the rest, brutish; being under one King in a lawfull government, and dealing justly with themselves and neighbours, no less than the *Romans*, or any other people. Their Rich men have each twenty or more companions, to be their perpetual Camerades, and to partake in a community of their goods. When any Principals die, the Retainers use to be put into the same grave with them. *Perozes* invading these *Ephthalites*, *Eusebins* then Ambassador from the Emperour *Zeno* was with him. The *Ephthalites* made flesh to be much afraid, and betook themselves to flight, and with much haste ran into a place compassed with steep mountains, and covered with thickets; between the mountains is a broad way, reaching far, with no way out, but still continuing in the same circle. *Perozes* suspecting no fraud, nor considering he went in a strange Country, pursued without looking afore him; some few of them flying before him, but the most hiding themselves in the Fastnesses, who now had the back of the Enemy; and would not yet appear, that the *Persians* might be so far engaged within their Ambushes, and the Mountains, that they should not be able to retreat. Which the *Persians* apprehending (the danger now beginning to appear) were silent for fear of *Perozes*, but they desired *Eusebins* to admonish the King (who saw not the ill terms he was come to) rather to advise upon some way to escape, than to hazard thus impertinently. *Eusebins* told not *Perozes* the danger, but this tale; That a Lion once spied a Goat bleating, and tyed upon a bank, and ran to make his dinner of him, but fell into a deep hole, which had in it a round narrow path without any way out, framed purposely by the owners of the Goat, which they set over it, to bait the Lion into a snare. *Perozes* at this tale grew afraid, lest the *Persians* pursued their own mischief, and so went no further, but called a Council what to doe. The *Hunnes* now in fight, had guarded the entrances, that none might goe out. The *Persians* then clearly seeing the disaster, lamented; no hope appearing to avoid the danger. The King of the *Ephthalites* sent to reproach *Perozes* for his senseless rashness, in thus foolishly ruining himself and his people; but promised the *Hunnes* should grant them their lives, if *Perozes* would adore him (being now his Lord) and swear his Country oath, that the *Persians* should no more invade the *Ephthalites*. *Perozes* consulted with the *Magi*, whether these conditions were to be yielded to; Who answered, that for the Oath he might doe what he pleased, but in the other he should delude the Enemy by a trick: They had a custom each morning to adore the rising Sun; that he observing duly the hour, should meet the King of the *Ephthalites*, with his face to the rising Sun, and so adore, avoyding by this the disgrace. *Perozes* accordingly swore the peace, and adored his Enemy, and then went home with his Army.

* *Varanes* began to rege in Anno Dom. 423.

* *Perozes* began in Anno 457.

* *Nomad's*, so called so say they have no fixt habitation, but move from place to place, carrying their families in waggon, and driving their flocks by heads before them, so the need of fresh pasture requires.

* Anno Domini 398.

CHAP. III.

BUT not long after *Perozes*, neglecting his Oath, resolved to revenge this scorn; and assembling from all his Dominions both *Persians* and Confederates, he went against these *Hunnes*; of his thirty Sons leaving onely *Cabades* behind him, then grown a man. The *Ephthalites* hearing of it, and grieving to be so deceived, reviled their King, for betraying their Affairs to the *Persians*. He smiling, demanded, what Affairs he had betrayed? whether their Country, or Arms, or Goods? They replied, Nothing, but our opportunity, upon which all other things depend; urging him presently to goe meet the Enemy. But he refused, the Invasion being yet not certain, and the *Persians* still in their own Country; and staying where he was, he did this, Upon a Plain, through which the *Persians* were to enter his Country, he digg'd in a great space of ground a deep pit, extreme broad, leaving in the middle a narrow passage, for ten Horse a breast; over the pit he laid Reeds, and upon the Reeds Turfs, which concealed the superficies: And he directed his people, running from the Enemy, to keep close, and few in rank upon the firm ground, and to beware of the pit. On his Royal Palace also he hung out his *Halas*, or Gods, by whom *Perozes* swore, and breaking his Oath, invaded now the *Hunnes*. While the Enemy were in their own Country, he stirred not, but hearing by his Scouts, they were come to *Gorge* (being in the utmost border of *Persia*) and marching toward him; himself with most of his Army stayd short of the pit, sending out some to shew themselves upon the Plain at a good distance, and no sooner seen by the Enemy, but to retreat again, remembring the pit. They did so, and (at the pit going few in rank) came clear to the Army. The *Persians* not imagining the plot, pursued furiously upon full speed, it being in an open Plain, and so fell into the pit, not onely the foremost of them, but the rear also; for pursuing furiously, they perceived not the mischief of those in the front, but falling on them with Horses and Lances, killed them, and were destroyed for company. Among whom was *Perozes*, and all his Sons. They say, being ready to fall into this pit, he took a Pearl hanging at his ear, a most fair one, and of infinite value, and cast it away, that none might hereafter wear so beautifull a Piece, as no King was ever master of the like; but to me the report seems not probable, for one in such a suddain distress to have his mind upon ought else. I rather think his ear was cut off, and the Pearl conveyed away. The *Roman Emperor* endeavoured to buy it of the *Ephthalites*, but they could not find it, though they took much pains in the search. Some say, they found it, and sold another to *Cabades* for it. The *Persians* story of this Pearl is remarkable, and not altogether incredible. They report, that this Pearl lying in a Scallop-shell, not far from the Sea-shore in *Persia*, both the shells opened, and in the midst lay the Pearl, a most goodly spectacle: No where was found any thing to resemble it in bigness, or beauty, since the world was. Upon this beauty doted a huge fierce Dog-fish, following without quitting it day or night: Being to seek his food he would hunt for it, and having found it, snatch it up, and hastily devour it; then to his Scallop-shell again, to fill himself with that beloved sight. Which a Fisherman once observing, but fearing the Fish, he durst not venture on it, but made the relation to King *Perozes*, who thereupon long'd to have the Pearl, importuning the Fisherman with fair words, and great hopes; and he yielding to the requests of his Lord, is reported to have sayd to him; 'O my Liege, 'tis true, Wealth is desirable, and life more; but above all a mans children are precious; for whose sake nature forces a man to do any thing. I will venture upon this fish, and hope to make you master of this Pearl. If I come off victorious, 'tis likely I shall be ranked among the happy men of the time. Doubtless you, being a King of Kings, will bestow great wealth on me. And should I get no reward, it is enough I have been my Prince's benefactor. If I be devoured, be it your part, Sir, to recommend my children for their fathers death: So shall I have my reward' in

in those nearest to me; and your glory will be greater, doing good to me in my children; for which I cannot give you thanks. That onely is pure gratitude, which is shewen to the dead. Having thus said, he departed. Being at the place where the Scallop used to swim, and the Dog-fish to follow, he sat upon a Rock, watching to get the Pearl alone from her Lover. At last the Dog-fish finding a fish for his repast, fell aboard. The Fisherman left those who attended him, and making after the Scallop, caught it, and hasted to shore; which the Dog-fish perceiving, came to the rescue: The Fisherman, though not far from shore, finding he should be surpris'd, threw the Scallop on land, and prettily was caught and devoured. His attendants ashore took the Pearl, and brought it to the King, relating what happened. Thus the *Persians* report of this Pearl. But to return to my former discourse.

Perozes and his Army thus overthrown (for who escaped the pit, fell into the enemies hand) the *Persians* made a Law; Not to follow the chase upon the full speed, though the enemy run away in that kind. As for the rest, that went not in this expedition, they chose for their King, **Cabades*, the youngest Son of *Perozes*, onely surviving. And they were under the *Ephthalites* two yeares, and paid them tribute; untill *Cabades*, more confirmed in his kingdom, refused it: who afterwards governed Tyrannically, and made many Alterations, and a Law; That the *Persians* should have their women in common: which the Commons disliked, and taking arms depoted him, and kept him in prison, and chose *Blasjes* King, the brother of *Perozes*, all his other Sons being dead: For of a private race the *Persians* might not chuse a King, if the blood Royal were not quite extinct. *Blasjes* succeeding, assembled the chief men of *Persia*, and propounded in counsell touching *Cabades*, whom the multitude would not endure to be put to death. Many severall opinions being spoken, *Gusnasades*, a principall man, and by Office a *Chamaranges* (which with them is a General) who had his government bordering upon the *Ephthalites*, shewing his knife, such as the *Persians* use to pare their nails with, as long as a mans finger, and the third part of an inch thick; 'See this knife, said he, a very short one; yet can it doe that now, which within a while twenty thousand armed men will not be able: Intimating, that if they did not kill *Cabades* now, he would get abroad, and trouble them again. But they thought it not fit to kill one of the blood Royall, but rather to keep him in the Tower of Oblivion; where if a man be imprisoned, it is not lawfull to mention him; once to name him, is death; from whence the *Persians* gave it that name.

* *Cabades* began in Anno Domini 486.

CHAP. IV.

THE *Armenian* Histories report, that once this Law of the Tower of Oblivion was broken, thus. There was a cruel War between the *Persians* and *Armenians*, for thirty two yeares, in the Reigns of *Pacurins* King of *Persia*, and *Arfaces* King of *Armenia*, of the race of the *Arscides*. This war continuing, both were brought low, especially the *Armenians*. But being both distrustfull, neither sent Heralds to his adversary. In the mean time the *Persians* fell into a war with other *Barbarians*, inhabiting near the *Armenians*; who to make demonstration of their affections to a peace, invaded those people, acquainting the *Persians* therewith; and coming unexpected, slew most of their men. *Pacurins* pleased with the proceeding, sent to invite *Arfaces*, giving him his faith. And being come, he entertained him with much curtesie, and as a brother, used him with all terms of equality: and having mutually sworn amity and confederacy between the *Persians* and *Armenians*, he dismiss'd him. A while after, *Arfaces* was accented to attempt innovations, and *Pacurins* believing it, again sent for him, to communicate of their common affairs. He without delay went, and with him the gallantest *Armenians*, and *Basceins* his chief Captain and Counsellor, eminent

nent for valour and wisdom. *Pacurins* reproached them both, for forgetting their Oath, and plotting a revolt. They denied constantly with oaths, never to have any such thought. At first *Pacurins* put them in hold with disgrace; but after demanded of the *Magi* what was to be done. They thought it not fit to condemn men denying, and not evidently convinced; but advised him a way, to bring *Arfaces* openly to accuse himself. They directed the Kings Pavillion to be floored with earth, half of *Persia*, and the other half of *Armenia*; and having used some spells upon the Pavillion, they prayed the King to walk some turns with *Arfaces* in their presence, to be witnesses of what passed, and to charge *Arfaces* with violation of the league and his oath. Accordingly *Pacurins* lent for *Arfaces*, and walkt his turns with him in the pavillion, demanding, why neglecting his oath, he fought again to ruin the *Persians* and *Armenians* with a war. *Arfaces* (the conference being upon *Persian* earth) denied, and protected himself his faithfull servant: But when he came upon the *Armenian* ground, suddenly, I know not upon what compulsion, he changes into a bolder stile, menacing *Pacurins* to punish this base usage. With these high terms he went, till he turned again upon the *Persian* ground; where recanting, he became an humble suppliant to *Pacurins*. But no sooner again upon *Armenian* ground, but he returned to his threats; and by turning thus oft both waies, he concealed not his secretest counsels. Upon this the *Magi* condemned him to have violated the truce, and his oath. *Pacurins* caused *Basins* to be stript of his skin, and the same filled with chaf to be hanged on a high tree. *Arfaces* he would not kill, being of Royall blood, but imprisoned him in the Tower of *Oblivion*. Not long after an *Armenian*, a favourite of *Arfaces* (who followed him this last journey into *Persia*) accompanied the *Persians* in a war against some *Barbarians*, wherein he demeaned himself valiantly, and was a great means of the victory. Whom *Pacurins* bade demand what he pleased, and he should not fail of it. He demanded onely to doe service to *Arfaces* one day he would make choice of. The King was troubled to break a Law so ancient, but to keep his word, granted his request, who by the Kings permission being in the Tower, adored *Arfaces*; and both embracing each other, made a kind of sweet lamentation of their fortunes, with much adoe untwining themselves. Having had their fill of mourning, the *Armenian* bathed *Arfaces*, dressed him, and put on him the Royall habit, and placed him upon a couch; where *Arfaces* feasted the company Princely, as he used before. Many discourses past in their cups, and things happened delighting *Arfaces*; and the drinking lasting till night, and much joying in each others company, they parted overwhelmed with contentment. Then they report that *Arfaces* said; That having spent this the merriest day he ever had, with him he loved most, he would no more return to the miseries of life, and then he stabbed himself with a knife purposely taken up at the Feast. Thus the *Armenian* Histories relate of *Arfaces*, and that Law of the Tower of *Oblivion* so broken. But to return to my matter.

While *Cabades* was in prison, his Wife attended on him, bringing him necessities, whom the Captain of the Tower tempted, being exceeding beautiful. Which *Cabades* understanding from her, bade her yeeld to him. And the Captain getting her to his bed, became doting in love with her; giving her free access to her Husband, and to retire without impediment. There was also a Nobleman named *Seofes*, a great friend of *Cabades*, who watcht near the Tower for an opportunity to get *Cabades* out; who by his Wife advertised him of horses and men ready for him not far from the prison, and in what place. *Cabades* perswaded his Wife to let him have her garments, and to put on his, and stay in his lodging. So *Cabades* got clear of the prison, the Keepers seeing him, but taking him for his Wife, and so they neither stayd, nor troubled him. In the morning finding the Wife in the Husbands chamber and apparel, they took her for him; and the mistaking prevailed some dayes, till *Cabades* was got far away. What became of the Lady, (the plot being discovered) and how they punisht her, I have no certainty, the

the *Persians* therein not agreeing. But *Cabades* secretly with *Seofes* went to the *Ephthalite Hunnes*, and marrying their Kings daughter, brought an Army against the *Persians*; who finding themselves too weak, fled from the *Hunnes*. *Cabades* coming where *Gusnasfades* was Governour, said to some, that that *Persian*, which that day first came to offer his service, he would make *Chanaranges*. But he repented him of his words, remembering the *Persian* Law, for no Government to be conferr'd upon strangers in blood; but such onely to have the place, to whose race it did belong; and he feared, if any presented himself not of the kindred of the *Chanaranges*, that to keep his word he might violate the Law. But by chance his word was kept without injury to the Law; *Adergudimbades* appearing first, a young man, cosen to *Gusnasfades*, and very expert in Martiall affairs; who first saluted *Cabades* his Lord, adored him as King, and besought him to command him as his slave. * So *Cabades* entering the Palace, and finding *Blases* unguarded, put out his eyes, as the *Persians* use to malefactors (pouring into them, being kept wide open, boyling oyle; or with a bodkin red hot melting an ointment into the inside of the eye) and ever after kept him in prison, after two years reigning, *Gusnasfades* he put to death, and made *Adergudimbades* General. *Seofes* he made the *Adrasta-darus Salanes*; that is, Superintendant over all Offices and Armies; an office first held by *Seofes* in *Persia*, None before nor after ever had it. *Cabades* also established and secured his Empire, being witty and valiant, no man more.

CHAP. V.

Afterward *Cabades* became in debt to the King of the *Ephthalites*, which not being able to pay, he prayed the Emperour *Anastasi* to lend him the money. The Emperour consulting with some about him, they dissuaded him from it; shewing what the inconvenience would be, if he should confirm with his money the *Barbarians* friendship among themselves; telling him withall, It were better for him they should ever clash with one another.

* Upon this pretence onely, *Cabades* resolved to invade the *Romans*; and into *Armenia* he brought the first news himself with an Army, foraging the Country. Then, though in the Winter, he sat down before *Amida*, a City of *Mesopotamia*. The *Amidenes*, though having no Garrison (as having lived before peaceably and quietly) and wanting all manner of provision, yet stood out against the dangers and inconveniencies of the Siege. At that time one *James*, a Syrian, a just, and a very religious man, had for many years been a Recluse at *Endiclon*, a Town distant from *Amida* a dayes journey, that so he might not be interrupted in his godly contemplations: And the neighbours, to help his good intent, had pitched a pale about him, with spaces wide enough onely to see, and conferre with such as came to him; and a roof over him to keep off rain and snow. And there he had long continued, not yeelding to heats nor colds, and feeding on roots, and on them not every day, but fasting sometimes a good while together. Some *Ephthalites* scouring the Country, espied this *James*, offered to shoot at him; but their hands suddenly benumbed, could not draw their bows. *Cabades*, hearing the report of it in the Camp, would be an eye-witness of the miracle; and seeing it was astonish, and all the *Persians* with him: he humbly therefore besought *James* to remit his mens offence; which he doing at the first word, they were instantly freed of their fears. *Cabades* then bade him demand something, thinking he would have askt some great sum. But he prayed him onely to bestow on him such men, as in this war should come to him for protection: Which *Cabades* granted, and left him Letters for their assurance. And it being divulged, many from all parts came, and were preserved.

But *Cabades* with his Rams battered *Amida* on every side, the defendants avoyding the stroak of the Engine with cross beams: And he gave not over, till he found the wall that way impregnable; as not falling, nor so much as shaking

Cabades restored began
in Anno Domini
501.

This War began
in Anno Domini
503.

shaking at so many strokes : So strong their buildings were in ancient times. Failing therefore this way, he raised a Mount, so high that it commanded the wall. To which the defendants drew a Mine from the Town, and by carrying out the earth from within the Mount, made it hollow, the outside keeping the form it had, giving no suspicion of any thing to the Enemy. The *Persians* mounted it, thinking as upon firm ground to shoot into the Town; But company pressing in, the Mount sunk, and almost all perisht. *Cabades*, at this despairing, resolved to raise the siege, commanding the Army the next day to retire. But the Townsmen now secure, flouted the *Barbarians* from their walls; and some common women drew up their clothes, shewing *Cabades* the parts which should not be seen by men. Upon this the *Magi* forbade his retreat, assuring the King that ere long the *Amidenes* would shew him all their secret and hidden things: So the Camp lay still. Some dayes after, a *Persian* found near one of the Turrets the mouth of an old Vault, onely with a few small stones covering it. He entered it alone in the night, and got within the wall, and when 'twas day, came and told it *Cabades*; who the next night went with some of his Army, and scaling ladders to the place: where he had a favourable chance. The said Turret was guarded by Monks (the strictest kind of Christians) who that day observed an Annual Feast, and at night wearied in their solemn assembly, having taken a greater proportion of meat and drink than usually, they perceived not the Enemy; who entering the Town by few at a time, ascended the Turret, and killed the Monks being fast asleep. Then *Cabades* set scaling ladders to the wall next the Turret; and day appearing, the *Amidenes*, who guarded the next Turret, perceiving their danger, came hastily to the rescue. Where after a hot conflict on both sides, at last they got the better, killed many of the men already come up, kept off those upon the ladders, and were very near quit of the danger. But *Cabades* drawing his Cimexer, forced his men up the ladders, threatening death to the comers down: And so having much the advantage in numbers, they got the better, and took the Town after eighty dayes siege. Much slaughter was done, till *Cabades* riding into the Town, an old Priest of *Amida* came to him, and told him; That it was not Kingly to kill men that were at his mercy. *Cabades* yet angry, answered, Why then would they stand out against me? Because, Sir (replied the Priest) God would give you *Amida*, not by our wills, but by your own valour. *Cabades* pleased with this reply, suffered no more execution to be done, but bad the *Persians* sack the City, and take prisoners, selecting the principall for himself. Then leaving a thousand *Persians* in garrison, under one *Glonas*, and some few wretched Citizens to serve them in their necessities, with the rest of his army and prisoners he went home. To these prisoners *Cabades* used a princely courtlee; he let them all goe home free, and gave out they ran away. The Emperour *Anastasius* also dealt liberally with them, remitting the Cities tribute for seven years, and bestowing many benefits upon their City in publique. and on particular men; so that they soon forgot their miseries. But this was afterwards.

CHAP. VI.

BUT *Anastasius* hearing of the siege of *Amida*, immediately sent forth an Army against the Enemy: In which, besides the Commanders of companies, were Generals, *Areobindus* (who married the daughter of *Olybrius*, late Emperour of the West) Generall of the East; and *Celer*, Commander of the *Palatine* Cohorts, called by the Romans *Magister*; and the two Generals of the Legions in *Constantinople*, *Patricius* the Phrygian, and *Hypatius* the Emperours Sisters Son. These were the four Generals; and with them went also *Justine*, who was Emperour after *Anastasius*, and *Patricolus*, with *Vitalianus* his son, who afterward rebelled against *Anastasius*; & *Pharcesmanes* of *Colchis*, an excellent good fouldier, with *Godidasclus* and *Sbesus*, Goths, who followed

followed not *Theodoric* into *Italy* out of *Thrace*, both gallant men, and expert Souldiers: others followed of the best. So brave an Army went not against the *Persians* before it, nor since. They marche not together: Every General led his own forces. The *Præfect*, or *Commiffary* of Provision for the Army, was *Appian* an Egyptian, a principal Patrician, and valiant, whom the Emperour declared his partner in the Empire by a Patent, that he might have absolute authority in the expence of the army; which being long in levying, & marching but slowly, found the *Persians*, after this cursory invasion, gone home with their spoils. The Generals would not besiege *Amida*, hearing it to be abundantly provided with all necessities; but were earnest to make an impression into the Enemies Country. And they marcht not in one body, but encamped severally. *Cabades* being near, and knowing this, entred the Roman borders. They, not informed of his being there with his whole army, supposed it to be some small party. *Areobindus* encamped in a town called *Arzaniene*, being distant two dayes journey from the City of *Constantina*. And *Patricius* and *Hypatius* in a town called *Siphis*, about 44 miles distant from *Amida*. *Celer* was not yet come up to them. But *Areobindus* hearing *Cabades* came with his whole army, quitted his camp, and ran to *Constantina*. The Enemy took the camp and baggage, but no men in it; and from thence with speed marcht to the other. But *Patricius* and *Hypatius*, having met eight hundred *Ephthalites* marching before the *Persian* army, had killed them all; and not dreaming of the army with *Cabades*, were passing their time merrily like Conquerors, laying down their arms and preparing for dinner. And they were washing their meat in the brook there, and some troubling with heat were bathing, which made the water run foul. *Cabades* having heard the fortune of his *Ephthalites*, marcht apace toward the Enemy, and by the thickening of the brook guest at the matter, and that the enemy was unprepared. So commanding to drive on with full speed, suddenly he surpris'd them at dinner, and unarmed. The Romans not able to abide their charge, ran away without striking stroke. Some were overtaken and slain, others fled to the Mountain there, and for fear leapt down the rocks, not one of them escaping. But *Cabades* fearing his enemies, the *Hunnes*, who now invaded his country, went home with his whole Army, and had a long war with them on the Northern borders thereof. In the mean time the other Roman army came, but did nothing, having no Commander in chief, and the Generals with their equality of power ever crossing one anothers opinions. *Celer* past the river *Nymphis*, and invaded *Arzaniene*, (This river runs by *Martyropolis*, and is distant from *Amida* thirty five miles) and having foraged the country, soon went home. *Areobindus*, the Emperour sent for to *Constantinople*, and the others fate down before *Amida* in the winter. Who failing in their endeavours to force the place, resolved to take it by famine: And the besieged then wanted provisions; but the Generals not knowing it, and seeing the fouldier weary of a winter siege; imagining also, the *Persian* army would ere long come against them, they made halt in some way to rise from thence. And the *Persians* also doubtful in these difficulties, though they concealed their wants, and made shew of plenty, yet gladly they would make a handsome retreat. In the end a capitulation was made, for the *Persians* to have a thousand pound weight of Gold, and so to render the City. The articles were performed, and the Son of *Glonas* receiving the money, gave up *Amida*. For *Glonas* himself was slain in this manner. The Romans being not yet set down before *Amida*, but not far from it, a peasant who frequented the City, and used secretly to sell to *Glonas* at great rates, poultry, bread, and ripe fruits, promised the Generall *Patricius* for reward to put *Glonas* and two hundred *Persians* into his hands. He promised him his demand, and sent him away. The man rent his garments, and came weeping into the town; went to *Glonas*; and tearing his hair, 'My Lord, quoth he, I was bringing you of my best provisions; but I was met, beaten, and had all taken from me, by these rogues whose custome it is to rob the poor peasants (being old Roman fouldiers) rambling in small parties; and who fly before

The Author reckons by furlongs; and says here 350 furlongs. An Italian mile contains 8 furlongs.

* Are ten Centenaries of gold. If there be but ten ounces and a half to the Roman pound; then is a Centenary 3150. l. sterling. And 10 Centenaries here 31500. l. sterling.

'the *Persians*, and robb the poore Countryman. Thinck Sir! how you may 'avenge us and the *Persians*. It is but hunting without the fuburges, and you 'will find good game: For they go prolling about not above foure or five in a 'company. *Glonas* askt, how many would suffice for the businets; He said fifty was enough, being to meet not above five together; but whatsoever should happen, it would be good to have 100. and if it were 200. 'twere the better; Store hurts no man. *Glonas* chose 200. horse, and bad the man guide them. But he said, 'twas better, to send him before to discover these *Roman* freebooters, and to bring the *Persians* word, who then might take their best opportunity. *Glonas* approved of his counsell; and then he went to the Generall *Patricius*, and acquainted him with all the proceedings, who sent 1000. Souldiers, and two of his own Life-guard with him. These he laid in ambush, neer a village called *Thialafanum*, five miles from *Amida*, within a vally of coppices and bushes. Then he ran, and told *Glonas*, his game was ready, and guided him and his 200. men into the enemies ambush. Being past a good space within it, unseen by *Glonas* or his Company, he ran and called up the *Romans* ambush, and shewed them the enemy. The *Persians* seeing them, were amazed at the suddain accident; Retire they could not (the enemy having their backs) nor being in an enemies Country knew any other way to runne. As they could therefore, they put in order to receive the assailants, but over-matched in numbers were broken, and all killed with *Glonas*, which vexed his Son, that he could not stay to revenge his Fathers death, so that he burnt the Church of St. *Simcon*, where he lodged. Other buildings neither *Glonas*, nor *Cabades*, nor any *Persian*, destroyed nor defaced in *Amida*, nor without it.

But to returne to my former discourse. Thus the *Romans* recovered *Amida* for money, two yeares after the taking. Being within it, their own negligence appeared, and the *Persians* abstemioulnesse, finding, by comparing the quantity of the victuall left, and the *Barbarians* that went out, not above seven dayes provision remaining, though *Glonas* & his son had long issued it out to the *Persians* more scarcely, then need could well endure; and to the *Romans* in the Town nothing, from the beginning of the siege; So that they were forced to eat unusuall food, and abominable, and at last one another. The Generalls, finding themselves thus deceived by the *Barbarians*, reproached the Souldiers intemperance, and disobedience, who having it in their power to take the Town with all the *Persians* in it at mercy, had dishonorably transported the *Roman* treasure to *Barbarians*, and gotten *Amida*, as a merchandize for money. Afterward the *Persians* (their warre with the *Hunnes* growing long) made a Truce with the *Romans* for seven yeares, concluded by *Celer* the *Roman* Generall, and *Aspevedes* for the *Persian*. Thus I have told the beginning and conclusion of these wars with the *Persians*.

CHAP. VII.

But what happened concerning the *Caspian* Gates I will now relate. Mount *Taurus* of *Cilicia* passes first by *Cappadocia*; then *Armenia*, and *Perfarmenia*, and then *Albania* and *Iberia*, and the other nations that way, free, or subject to the *Persians*, extending thus through many Countreyes, and the further it goes, growing to a greater breadth and height. Beyond *Iberia*, you come to a narrow way, reaching some six miles, and ending at a steep place unpassable; where for the way out nature hath built a kind of Gate, anciently called the *Caspian* gates, or freights. Beyond which are faire champions well watered, and large plaines for horse pastures; where are seated the nations of the *Hunnes*, and extend to the Lake of *Meotus*, who passing by the freights in their inroads into *Roman* or *Persian* provinces, come with their hordes luttie, going not about, nor nor being engaged in ragged Countreies, have onely these six miles into *Iberia*; whereas by other passages they arrive with much toyle, and cannot make use of the faire choyces, having been forced to many circuitous and craggie wayes: which *Alcander* the great considering, built Gates indeed there

there, and by them a Fort; which through many owners, at last came to *Ambazuces* a *Hunne*, a friend of the Emperour *Anastafius*. This man growne old, and neer his end, offered *Anastafius* for money to put the *Romans* in possession of the *Caspian* Gates, and the Fort. But the Emperour (who used not to doe things unadvisedly) considering that it was not possible to maintaine a garrison in that place, wanting all commodities, and having no nation neer it subject to the *Romans*, he thanckt the man much for his good will, but would not meddle with the thing. *Ambazuces* soone after died, and *Cabades* forcing out his sonnes, possessed himselfe of the Gates. *Anastafius* also, after the truce with *Cabades*, at a place called *Darar*, built a very strong City, and named it then *Anastasia*, being distant from *Nisibis* about twelve miles, and from the *Persian* frontier three miles and a halfe at most. This building the *Persian* desiring to hinder, could not, having his hands full with the *Hunnes*. But having dispatched that warre, he expostulated with the *Romans* for this building so neer his confines, and contrary to the Articles of Peace. *Anastafius*, partly threatening, partly pretending friendship, and with large presents, put it off. Another City also this Emperour built upon the frontier of *Perfarmenia*, which had been before a village, and from *Theodosius* his name was called *Theodosin*. But *Anastafius* compassed it with a strong wall, which no lesse then the other troubled the *Persians*, being both as Rampires upon his Country. Not long after *Anastafius* deceasing, *Justine* succeeded in the Empire; the others kindred being rejected, though many of them very eminent men.

Cabades was also troubled, fearing innovation upon his house after his decease; For upon his Sonnes he could not transerre the Kingdom, without some question. His eldest, *Casfer*, the law invited, but him he could not abide; the fathers opinion therein overruling nature, and the ancient Lawes. His second Sonne *Zames*, having lost an eye, the Law excluded, prohibiting to make a King having but one eye, or any other maim. But *Chosroes*, borne of the sister of *Aspevedes*, he chiefly affected. But seeing the *Persians* admire the valour of *Zames*, as being a good Souldier, and a favourer of vertue, he feared least taking armes against *Chosroes*, they might ruine his house, and Kingdom. Hereupon he resolved to make a peace with the *Romans*, by procuring his Son *Chosroes* to be adopted by the Emperour *Justine*; which he conceived the onely way to preserve the security of his Empire. To this purpose he dispatched Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, with letters to *Justine*, to this purpose. Your selfe know, that the *Romans* have done us wrongs, which I am resolved not to urge; knowing that those in reason ought to have the Victory, who having the right on their side, are yet willingly put to the worst, to gratifie their friends. But for this I must demand a favour, which binding our selves, and subjects by kindred, and the consequent thereof, good affection, may for ever settle to us the blessings of peace. It is, that you would adopt my Son *Chosroes*, who is to succeed me in my Kingdom, for your Son *Justine* was glad at the proposition, and so was *Justinian*, his sisters son, and successor designed, urging the speedy perfection, and drawing up of the adoption after the *Roman* forme. But *Proclus* crost it: who was assessor to the Emperour (the *Romans* call this officer, *Quasior*) and a knowne just man, not to be bribed, nor hastily passing Edicts, or altering things settled: He opposing it, spake thus. I use not to meddle with novelties, which of all things I feare most knowing that they cannot possibly stand with safety. But were I a very daring man, I think I should shrink and tremble at the storme that is to be expected from this Act. For I cannot conceive any thing now in consultation, but with a faire pretence to betray our State to the *Persians*; who in plaine words, without disguising, or modellics, pray us to let them take our Empire from us, covering their grosse deceit with simplicity, and their impudent proposition with a pretended desire of quietnesse. But you both had need to oppose this designe of the *Barbarians*, to the utmost of your power; you Sir! least you prove the last *Roman* Emperour; and you the Generall, least you block up your own way to the Empire. Some tricks covered with faire pretences, need an interpreter to the common sort. But this Ambassage bluntly, at first dash, will have this *Chos-*

He was Son of Vigilancia, sister of Justine, by a very obscure man, one Sabatius, an Illyrian. This Quasior or Assessor Imperatoris distasteth all Lawes and Edicts, and subscribed them, which was warrant to the Praefectus Praetorio to publish them. He judgeth all as to the Emperours person; and in summe had the care of the whole Empire committed to him, vid. Notitiam uniusq; Imperij.

roes heir to the Roman Emperour. Consider it thus, I pray. By nature is due to children their fathers estates: All Lawes, though differing in other things, do yet in this agree, both among *Romans*, and *Barbarians*, that children are to inherit their fathers estates. So that yielding to this their first request, the rest you must consequently grant. The Emperour and his Nephew approved this speech, consulting what was to be done. In the meane time came other letters from *Cabades* to *Justine*, to send to him men of experience, for concluding of a peace, and to signifie the forme that was to be observed in the adoption. Upon this *Proclus* more eagerly opposed the *Persians* propofall, and urged that they should rather adopt to themselves the *Roman* power and dominion; declaring his opinion, that it was fit they, as speedily as might be, should conclude a peace; and withall that some chief men should be sent; who being demanded by *Cabades*, in what manner the adoption should be, should answer, as is fit for a *Barbarian*. For the *Barbarians* adopt sons, not by writings, but by arming them. Accordingly Ambassadors were sent by *Justine*, and promise of some greater men to follow, for consummating all touching the peace, and *Chosroes*. There were therefore shortly after sent *Hypatius* a patrician, Nephew to the late Emperour *Anastasius*, and Generall of the East; and *Rufinus*, sonne of *Silvanus*, a principall patrician, and one well knowne to *Cabades*. From the *Persians* came *Seofes*, their most powerfull man, who had the chief power over all armies and offices; and with him *Mebodes*, who was Master of the Palace in *Persia*. These meeting upon the frontier, created concerning an according of the differences, and concluding a peace. And *Chosroes* came down to the *Tigris*, two dayes journey from *Nisibis*, that the peace being concluded, he might go to *Constantinople*. Many discourses past about their differences; and *Seofes* alledged, that *Colchis*, now called *Lazica*, antiently belonged to the *Persians*, and that the *Romans* held it from them unjustly. The *Romans* took it very ill that their title to *Lazica* should be questioned; But when they said, that the Adoption must be performed in a form fit for a *Barbarian*, the *Persians* thought this insufferable. So both broke off, and they severally went home. And *Chosroes* returned to his father, vowing to revenge this scorn upon the *Romans*.

Mebodes afterward accused *Seofes* for mentioning *Lazica* without their Masters direction, purposely to break the Treaty, and for communicating therein first with *Hypatius*, who bare the King least affection, and crost the conclusion of the Peace, and the Adoption. *Seofes* being charged by his Enemies with many other things, was called to a judiciall tryall before the *Persian* Senate, who were all displeased with his new Office, and offended at his behaviour. He was a man free from corruption, and very just; but extremely arrogant. Which, though a vice naturall to the great Officers of *Persia*, yet in *Seofes*, themselves thought it to reign in extremity. His accusers charged him with the matters afore mentioned; and for not contenting himself with the ancient customes of the *Persians*, worshipping new Gods; and that lately he had buried his Wife; the *Persian* Laws prohibiting the burying of dead bodies in the earth. So the Judges condemned him to dye. And *Cabades* seemed to grieve as for a friend, but would not pardon him; professing that he was not offended with him, but he must not infringe the Laws: And yet he owed his life to *Seofes*, who was the chiefest cause of his living and reigning; and being thus condemned, he was put to death. His office as it began so it ended with him, none after him having ever the like Generall power over all offices and armies. *Rufinus* also accused *Hypatius* to the Emperour, who upon it discharged him of his Office; but after torturing some about him, he found no truth in the accusation, and so did no other harm to him.

CHAP. VIII.

Cabades then desired to invade the *Romans*, but found this impediment. The *Iberians* of *Asia*, who are seated by the *Caspian* Gates to the Southward

ward, have next them to the West, *Lazica*, and to the East, part of *Persia*. This people are Christians, as devout as any, and have alwayes been subject to the King of *Persia*. These *Cabades* would enforce to his Religion, writing to their King *Gurgenes* to do all things as the *Persians* did, and not to bury their dead bodies in the earth, but to throw them out to the dogs and birds. Whereupon *Gurgenes* revolted to the Emperour *Justine*, requesting assurance of him, that he should not leave him to the mercy of the *Persians*. Which he granted willingly, and sent *Probus*, Sisters son to the late Emperour *Anastasius*, a Patritian, with money to raise an army of *Hunnes* for his ayd, to *Bosporus*, a Maritime City lying on the left hand as you sail toward the *Euxine* Sea, 20 days journey distant from *Cherson*, which is the farthest *Roman* City that way; all between being possessed by *Hunnes*. These *Bosporians* were formerly a free people, but lately they submitted to the Emperour *Justine*. But *Probus* returning without doing any thing, the Emperour sent *Peter* Generall into *Lazica*, with some *Hunnes* to ayd *Gurgenes*. And at the same time *Cabades* sent an army against *Gurgenes* and the *Iberians*, under *Boes* a *Persian*, his Generall. But *Gurgenes* finding himself too weak for the *Persians*, and the *Roman* succours not competent, fled into *Lazica* with his wife and children, and chief men of *Iberia*, and his brothers, whereof *Peranios* was the eldest; and in the confines of *Lazica* layd, fortifying in the fastnesses against the Enemy. Which hindred the *Persians* that pursued them, from doing any thing to purpose. Afterward some *Iberians* came to *Constantinople*, and *Peter* was remanded home. The *Lazians* also refusing to help to guard the Province, the Emperour sent an army commanded by *Irenaeus*. Formerly the guard of two Forts at the entrance of *Lazica* from *Iberia* was carefully maintained by the Provincials, though enduring much: For no Corn nor Wine grows near, nor other commodity; nor for the fastnesses can be brought thither, but upon mens backs; and they lived (being used to it) upon *Panicum*, or Mill-feed, there growing. But the Emperour taking thence those Warders, put *Roman* Garrisons to keep the places; whom at first the *Lazians* supplied with provisions, though hardly; but after refused the service, and the *Romans* abandoned the Forts, which the *Persians* seized on.

In the mean time, the *Romans* led by *Sittas* and *Belisarius*, invaded *Persarmenia*, and having foraged much country, and taken many prisoners, they retired. They were youths then, their beards first springing, and Lancers of the guard to *Justinian* the chief Generall, who soon after held the Empire with his Uncle *Justine*. In another inroad into *Armenia* by *Sittas* and *Belisarius*, they were suddenly met, and put to the worst by *Narjes* and *Aratius*, who not long after revolted to the *Romans*, and served under *Belisarius* in *Italy*. *Licelarius* also a *Thracian* invaded about *Nisibis* with another Army of *Romans*, who retreated running away, and none charging them. Whereupon the Emperour discharged *Licelarius*, and gave *Belisarius* the command of the forces in *Darus*: And then was *Procopius* the writer of this history chosen his Counsellor. * Shortly after *Justine* died, having before declared *Justinian* his Sisters Sonne Emperour with him. *Justinian* being sole Emperour; directed *Belisarius*, to build a Fort at *Mindau*, upon the confines of *Persia*, on the left hand of the way to *Nisibis*: who having raised it to a good height, the *Persians* sent to forbid him, threatening to hinder it, not with words only, but deeds. The Emperour hereof informed, and how *Belisarius* was not able with the Forces he had, to beat off the *Persians*; he commanded *Cutzes* and *Buzes*, Captaines of the Forces in * *Phanicia Libani*, to repaire thither with another Army. These were *Thracians*, and brethren, young men, and rash in their encounters; They march't together to the building; where the *Persians* hindred, and the *Romans* assisted the workmen, all they could. In the fight the *Romans* had the worst, and lost many men; *Cutzes* and some other were taken: whom the *Persians* shut up in a cave perpetual prisoners; and no Forces defending the building, they cast it down.

* Anno Dom. 527. *Justinian* 1. who was declared Emperour with *Justine* on good Friday being then the first of April, Anno Dom. 527.

And *Justine* died the first of August after. See *Alemandus* Historical notes pag 43.

* This was one of the five-ene Provinces subordinate to the Governour of the Orient: And these were there Duces limitanei; The Country bordering with *Arabia*, and the *Saracens*.

Anno Domini. 528. *Justinian* 1.

CHAP. IX.

Afterward *Justinian* made *Belisarius* General of the East, and directed him to make an expedition against *Persia*: who levying an Army of good importance, came to *Daras*. With him was joined in the command, *Hermogenes*, Captain of the Emperours Guard, and sometime *Quæstor* to *Vitalianus*, when he rebelled against the Emperour *Anastasius*. *Rufinus* also he sent his Ambassador, with direction to stay at *Hierapolis* upon the *Euphrates*, till he should signifie his pleasure, there being some discourses on both sides for a peace. But *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes* had newes, that a *Persian* invasion was feared, to take *Daras*. Whereupon they provided to fight, in this manner. Near to the gate toward *Nisibis*, a fones cast off, they drew a deep trench, with many passages through it; not dig'd in a right line, but thus. In the midst was a short Line: on either end whereof went out two streight horn-works, and from both ends of the horn-works, the trenches ran in right lines a great space of ground. The *Persians* soon after came with their army, and encamped at *Amodis*, a Village two miles and a half from *Daras*, where were *Pituazes* and *Baremanas* with one eye, and other Commanders; the General of the whole Army being *Peroses*, by office a *Mirrane*, so called in *Persia*, who sent to command *Belisarius*, to make ready the bath, for the next day he meant to bathe in *Daras*. The *Romans* upon this provided strongly for the encounter, as being the next day to fight. The Sun up, and seeing the enemy come on, they put in order of battell, thus. The farthest point of their left-hand Line, which ran from the horn-works there, to a hillock, *Buzes* posset with store of Horse, and *Pharus* the *Herulian* with three hundred of his Countrymen. To the right hand of these, on the outside of the trench, in the Angle made by the Line and the horn-work, stood *Smiccas*, and *Augas*, by birth *Massagets*, with 600 Horse; that if *Buzes* and *Pharus* should be routed, they wheeling about, and getting the backs of the enemy, might readily second the *Romans* on that side. On the other hand they were embattel'd in the same manner: The point of the Line that way was made good with store of Horse, commanded by *John* the son of *Nicetas*, *Cyrtius*, *Ancellus*, *Germanus*, and *Dorotheus*; & at the right hand angle were placed 600 Horse, commanded by *Simas* and *Alseas*, *Massagets*; who were likewise (if *John* should be routed) to fall on from thence, upon the backs of the enemy. All about the trench stood the rest of the Horse, and the Infantry; behind whom toward the middle, stood *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes*. Thus were the *Romans* ordered, amounting to 25000; the *Persian* being 40000 Horse and Foot. They stood both in rank (their Fronts against each other) striving to make it as deep, as might be. Neither began the fight; but the *Persians* seemed to wonder at the *Romans* order, muling what they would doe. Towards evening some Horse from their right wing charged the Troupes of *Buzes* and *Pharus*; who retreating fair and softly, the *Persians* did not pursue them, but stood still; fearing to be compassed by the Enemy. The retiring *Romans* then of a suddain charged them; who staid it not, but galloped home to the Battallion; and *Buzes* and *Pharus* put themselves into the same place and order again. Seven *Persians* in this encounter were slain, whose bodies the *Romans* carryed off. As their battels stood thus, a young man, a *Persian*, spurred up to the *Roman* army, challenging any to fight with him. No man daring to undertake him; one *Andrew*, a follower of *Buzes*, no souldier, nor trained to the wars, but the master of a Wrestling school in *Constantinople*, and following the army to attend *Buzes* in the bath, being a *Constantinopolitan* born, without provocation by *Buzes*, or any other, adventured the combat. And the *Barbarian* looking about him which way to assault him, *Andrew* prevented, and with his Lance hit him on the right pap, so strong a blow, that the *Persian* fell from his horse, and *Andrew*, as he lay, with a short knife cut his throat. At which, from the Town-wall, and the *Roman* army was a huge shout. But the *Persians* being grieved at it, sent out another horseman, valiant, and very tall,

tall, no youth, but with some gray hairs. Who approaching the *Romans*, and flashing with his whip often, made his challenge also. None presenting themselves, *Andrew*, though prohibited by *Hermogenes*, stole into the field; and both with their Lances made a furious charge. Their Lances broke upon their Gorgets; and their horses heads meeting, down they fell with their riders; both falling near each other. And striving to rise, the *Persians* heavy body could not so easily: But *Andrew* by the advantage of his practise in the Wrestling school, first got up, and struck the other as he was upon one knee, and having him down killed him. Upon which a greater shout than before was made from the town and *Roman* army; and the *Persians* looting their battailion, retired within their trenches, it growing dark. The next day came 10000 men from *Nisibis* to the *Persians*, But *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes* wrote this Letter to *Mirrane*.

All men confess peace to be the chiefeſt of blessings, and consequently a Peace-breaker to be guilty of his own and other mens mischiefs. So that that General is best, who is apt to end a war in a peace; whereas you bring a causeless war upon us, while all stands well between the *Persians* and us, and our Princes are consulting upon terms of peace, and our Ambassadors near at hand to accord all differences, if some desperate effect of this your invasion check not our hopes. Draw home your Army therefore, and be not an obstacle to so great a blessing, lest you prove author of the mischiefs likely to fall on your own Nation. To these Letters *Mirrane* returned this answer.

I should be persuaded by your letters to doe what you desire, if it were not a Letter from *Romans*; who can easily promise, but their performance is not to be hoped; though you confirm your agreements with oath. So that tired with your deceits, we are forced to come armed; and expect nothing, my deare *Romans*! now, but war with us. For here will we die, or grow gray, till you have done us right. *Belisarius* wrote againe unto him.

Good *Mirrane*! you must not humour your own arrogance, nor lay false imputations upon others; we have said it, and truly, that *Rufinus* is coming in Ambassage, and not farre hence: Which shortly your selfe will know. But since you desire warre, with Gods helpe we shall oppose you; who will assist our peaceableness, against your arrogance; who being by us invited to peace, reject it. The Letters we have written both, we shall hang up upon our Ensignes in the battell. *Mirrane* to this replies againe.

Neither are we entred into this war without Gods; but with them shall come upon you; who we hope to morrow will put us in possession of *Daras*. Let there be made ready therefore for me the best bath in the town. *Belisarius* then prepared for the battell.

CHAP. X.

And the next day, *Mirrane* about Sun rising, calling his Souldiers, made a speech to them; That he knew *Persians* in dangers, not to take their courage from their Captains orations, but from their own vertue, and awe of one another. But seeing them dispute, how the *Romans*, not using without tumult and disorder to come to fight, received the *Persians* now with an order so little belonging to them: Least upon a false conceipt they should commit error, he warned them, not to suppose the *Romans* upon the suddaine grown more valiant, and expert Souldiers, but rather towards more then ever; being so afraid of *Persians*, that they dare not embattle without making a trench to defend them; nor with it begin a fight, but are glad, and thinke their business sped above their hopes, if they are able to retire to their walls, the *Persians* not charging them: Hence were they in no disorder, not coming to the hazard of a battell. But if the fight come to bandy blows, then their cowardize and want of experience will put them into their wonted disorder. And for themselves he bid them have their thoughts upon the judgement of their King of Kings; expecting a base punishment, if they doe not now fight as becomes the valour of *Persians*.

Mirrane

Mirvanes having thus encouraged his Souldiers, led on against the enemy. *Belisarius* also and *Hermogenes*, drawing out their troupes from their trench; exhorted them to consider by the former fight, that the Persians are not invincible, nor immortal; and that they were beaten by them formerly through their own disobedience to their commanders, not by any advantage of valour or strong bodies in the enemy. Which fault they may easily amend. Indeed the crosses of fortune no industry can cure, but of mans faults; his own will may be the Physician. So that if they resolve to obey directions; the day will be theirs: and the enemy failing in their only confidence, (the Romans disorder) will goe off, as they did in the former encounter. And for the enemies numbers (their greatest scare-crow) he bad them despise it: Seeing their foot was nothing else, but a multitude of miserable peasants; who come to the warre onely to sappe a wall, or riddle a dead body, and other things to serve the Souldier: having no armes to trouble much an enemy; and their bucklers no bigger then to ward a shot onely. So that if they fight bravely this day, they will both vanquish the Persians now, and restrain their insolence from invading the Romans. *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes* having made this exhortation, and seeing the Persians coming on, ordered the Army, as before. The Persians stood opposite in front; *Mirvanes*, not placing so the whole Army, but the one halfe overly, the other stood behind him, to receive men from the fight, and to give on fresh, and so in their turnes to come all to fight. The band onely, named *Immortall*, he commanded to stand still, till himself gave the signall: Who stood in the front, giving the command of the right wing to *Pityazes*, and of the left to *Barefmanas*. The Armies being thus embattell'd *Charas* came to *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes*; and said thus: I see no great service I can doe upon the enemy, staying here with my *Herulians*: But if covering our selves under yonder rising ground, when the fight is begun, we shall suddainly from the hillock charge, shooting the enemies backs, in likelyhood we shall ruine them. *Belisarius* approved it, and accordingly it was done. Neither side began the fight till noone, which being past, the Persians gave on: Who put it off to that time of the day, because themselves use to eat about evening, and the Romans at noone; and if they charged them fasting, they thought they would not endure the fight so well. At first the arrows flew from both sides, and with their multitude made a kind of duskiness a long time, and slew many. The Persians arrows came much thicker, by reason of their fresh men still renewing, which the Romans did not make: Who notwithstanding had not the worse, a strong wind blowing upon the Persians, and not suffering their shot to do much effect. The Arrows being spent, they used their Lances, on both sides, and came up closer. The Romans left wing was in most distress, where the *Cadifens*, with *Pityazes* charging suddainly and furiously, routed them & kill'd many in the execution. Which *Smicas* and *Aigas* perceiving, gallopt amaine to them: But first the three hundred *Herulians* under *Pharas* came down from the hill upon the enemies backs, and did wonders, specially upon the *Cadifens*: who when they saw *Smicas* too giving on upon their flank, ran away. And there the overthrow being cleer, the Romans on that side joining, made a great slaughter among the Barbarians; so that of their right wing they lost about 3000. The residue escaped hardly to the Bataillon; and the Romans chasing no farther, both parts stood still in their orders: And such was the successe on that side. But *Mirvanes* sent the *Immortall* band, and many others closely to the left side: which *Belisarius*, and *Hermogenes* perceiving, sent *Smicas* and *Aigas*, with their six hundred horse, to the angle of their right hand line, where *Smicas* and *Aigas* stood, and behind them many troupers of *Belisarius*. The Persians left wing commanded by *Barefmanas*, with the *Immortalls*, charged the Romans with full career: who not abiding it, fled. Then from the Angle, the Romans, and those behind them gave on hotly upon the Barbarians flank, as they pursued, and cut their Army in two, leaving the most to their right hand; the rest to the left, among whom was the Ensigne-bearer of *Barefmanas*, whom *Smicas* with his lance wounded. The Persians, who pursued foremost, seeing their ill case, turned about, and leaving the chase, rode against these; and so came to be charged both wayes by the Romans; For they that fled, knowing

knowing what happened, turned head. The *Immortall* band, and the other Persians there, seeing the great Ensigne taken down, and lying upon the ground; they with *Barefmanas*, presently charged the Romans; who received them; and first *Smicas* kill'd *Barefmanas*, and threw him from his horse. Then the Barbarians struck with feare, thought no more of fighting, but ran away in confusion. The Romans compassing them, as they could, kill'd about 5000. So the Armies moved, the Persians to their retreat, the Romans to the pursuit. The Persians foot in the overthrow threw away their bucklers, and surprised in confusion were cut in pieces. The chase lasted not long, *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes* not suffering them to follow further, lest the Persians might turn head, and rout them pursuing without order. They thought it enough to keep the victory entire: For before that day, 't was long since the Persians were overthrowen by the Romans. Thus they parted then; nor would the Persians come to any more battells. Some skirmishings there were upon inroads, wherein the Romans had not the worst. And this was the successe of the Armies in *Mesopotamia*.

CHAP. XI.

BUT *Cabades* sent another Army into the Roman Armenia, consisting of *Perfarcenians*, and *Sunites* (who border upon the *Alans*) and three thousand *Sabirian Hunnes*, a very warlike Nation. The Generall was *Mermeroes*, a Persian, who encamped in *Perfarcenia*, three dayes journey from *Theodosiopolis*, preparing for the invasion. *Dorotheus* was then Generall of Armenia, a wise man, and who had seen many wars; but *Sittas*, Generall of the Forces in *Constantinople* commanded the Armenian Army in chief. These hearing of Forces levied in *Perfarcenia*, sent two Lancers to discover the enemies power. To whose Army they came, and having observed all, and returning, met in a village some of the enemies Hunnes, who took one of them named *Dagavis*, the other got away and brought newes to the Generalls. Who instantly armed their Forces, and suddainly set upon the enemies campe; who frighted with the suddainness, ran away without striking stroak. The Romans killed many and rifled their Camp, and then rode back againe. But not long after *Mermeroes* with his Army entred the Roman territory, and finding the enemy neer the City of *Sattala*, he encamped in a village called *Ottabes*, seven miles from *Sattala*. *Sittas* behind a hill (whereof are many about that City, though circuite in a plaine) with 1000. men lay close, directing *Dorotheus* with the rest to keep within their trenches, seeing they were not able to stand the enemy being 30000. strong, and themselves not half the number. But the next day the Barbarians came to their trenches, and were compassing them, when suddainly seeing *Sittas* coming down from the hill, and not being able to judge the number, because of the dusk, then great in the Summer time, they thought them more then they were, and so left compassing; and made halt to draw together into lesse ground; which *Sittas* to prevent, divided his men into two Troupes, and charged them coming from the trenches. Which the Romans therein perceiving, took courage, and sallied all upon the gallop, and charged the enemy also; and having them thus in the midst of their Troupes, they routed them. But the enemy exceeding them in numbers, made head; and the fight was fierce, and at handy stroakes, and some short chafes upon one another, being all Horsemen. Then *Florentius* a Thracian, Captain of a Troupe of Horse, rushed into the midst of the enemy, and took away the Generalls ensigne, and throwing it down to the ground, gallopt back, but was over-taken and cut in pieces in the place, and so was the greatest cause of the Romans victory. For the Barbarians losing sight of the chiefe Ensigne, fell into feare and disorder, and retired within their Camp, having lost many in the fight. The next day they march't home, and none followed them; The Romans thinking it much, first to beat so many of them in their own Country; and now when they invaded them, to send them home vanquish't by a lesse number, and with nothing done.

Anno Domini.
529.
Justinian 3.

The Romans then also took in some townes of the Persians in *Perfermenia*, and two Forts called *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, where the King hath a revenue out of gold mines. A little before also they had subdued the *Tzanians*, who lived formerly within the Roman land, a free people: Concerning all which thus it was. In the way out of *Armenia* into *Perfermenia* to the right hand is Mount *Taurus*, reaching to *Iberia*, and the nations before named. To the left hand the way is steep with ragged Mountaines over head, covered with perpetuall clouds and snow, whence the *Phasis* springing runs into *Lafica*. Here anciently have dwelt these *Tzanians* subject to none, formerly called *Sani*, using to robb the neighbouring Romans, and living hardly and upon what they could steale, their own Country bringing forth nothing good to feed on. The Emperour therefore gave them a pension in gold, not to robb those parts. For which they tooke their Country Oath, and broke it, coming still unlookt for, and mischieving the *Armenians*, and other Romans beyond them, even to the sea. They made short inroads, going quickly home; and if they met a Roman Army, were beaten, but impoſſible to be taken, by reason of their strong Country. But *Sittas* before this warre overcoming them in fight, and using many allurements both by words and deeds, gained them absolutely, that they became Civill men; and were enrolled in Roman bands, and march with their Armies, and turned Christians also. Beyond these *Tzanians* Country, a deep rockie vally runs, as far as Mount *Canofus*; wherein are populous villages, and vines, and other fruits in abundance. For three dayes journey, it is tributary to the Romans; but further begin the marches of *Perfermenia*, where is that mine of gold, by *Cabades* committed to the charge of one *Simeones*: Who seeing the King in the heat of a warre, cosened him of the revenue thus. He yielded himself, and the Fort of *Pharangium* to the Romans, who demanded not the gold of the Mine, being contented, if the Persian lost the benefit; and the Persians could not force away the Romans, the Country was so fast and strong. About the same time also *Narſes* and *Aratim*, who had some blowes with *Sittas* and *Belſarius*, (as I said before) revolted to the Romans, with their Mother, whom *Narſes*, the Emperours peculiar Treasurer entertained, (being also a *Perfermenian*) and gave them great gifts. Which *Isaac* their younger brother hearing, got ſecret conference with the Romans, and delivered them the Fort of *Bolus*, ſtanding not far from *Theodoſopolis*, by cauſing them to hide Souldiers neer, whom he in the night time cloſely let into the Fort by a Poſterne; and thus he came to *Conſtantinople* too.

CHAP. XII.

IN the meane time the Persians overthrowen by *Belſarius* at *Daras*, kept together about those parts, till *Rafinus* coming to *Cabades* told him, That *Iulianian* his brother, had sent him to him with a just complaint, against the Persians, for entering his Country in Armes. That it would become so great a King, and so prudent, rather to procure peace, then a troublesome war to himself and his neighbours. In which hope, he said, he was come to him, that for the future both of them might enjoy the benefit of peace. *Cabades* replied; O Son of *Silvanus*! Doe not recriminate; knowing, (no man better) that you Romans are the chief cause of these troubles. Wee for the common benefit of us both, took the Caspian Gates, forcing thence the Barbarians. The Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, (you know) might have purchased them, but would not, least he should be put to a great expenſe for us both, by maintaining there forces continually. And from that time we have lodged a Garrison there, and maintained it; and you thereby have dwelt in your own Country, unpoſſeſſed by Barbarians on that side, and poſſeſſing quietly your estates. But as if this were nothing; you have fortified at *Daras*, and made it a great City, and a rampier against *Perſia*; a thing expreſſly prohibited in the treaty with *Anaſtaſius*. And hereby our affaires have been ruined with toyles, and the expenſe of two Armies, the one to hinder the Maſſagetes from forraging both our Countries, the other to reſtrain your incurſions; wee complaining hereof and demanding either your joint Forces at the

Caspian

Caspian Gates, or *Daras* to be diſmantell'd, you have ſlighted it; my advanced your deſigne with a greater injury, (if I remember) your fortiſieing at *Mindon*. So that the Romans may choſe peace, and they may choſe warre, either by righting us, or proceeding in the contrary. For the Persians shall not lay down their armes, till the Romans (as they ought) either joyne in the Guard of the Caspian Gates, or diſmantle *Daras*. *Cabades* having thus ſaid, diſmiſſt the Ambaſſadour, intimating to him, that for a ſumme of mony he would be content to lay aſide all his quarrells to the Romans. Wherewith *Rafinus* acquainted the Emperour at his returne to *Conſtantinople*; which ſoon after came *Hermogenes*. And ſo the Winter ended, and * the fourth yeare of *Iuſtinians* raigne.

* In the beginning of the Spring, 15000. Persians all horſe, under the command of *Azaret* the Persian, invaded the Romans; and among them *Alamundarus* the Saracen, with great numbers of Saracens. In this invasion, they did not as they were wont, enter by *Mefopotamia*, but by *Comagena*, now called *Euphrateſia*. The reason of forbearing *Mefopotamia* now, and why it is ſo called, is thus. From a Mountaine of *Armenia* not very ſteep, being five miles to the North of *Theodoſopolis*, iſſue two ſprings, preſently making, the right hand ſpring, *Euphrates*, and the left, *Tigris*. *Tigris* without winding, goes ſtrait on to *Amida*, taking in no waters by the way, and by the North-side of it paſſes into *Aſſyria*. But the *Euphrates*, running not far, vaniſhes, not ſinking under ground but with a kind of miracle. Over the water lyes a bogge, deep and fix miles long and two miles and a half broad, wherein much reed growes, and the mudd is ſo ſtiffe, that to paſſengers it ſeemes firme ground. Horſe and Foot and Waggonſ paſſe upon it every day, and ſtir not the ground, nor diſcover it for a bogge. The inhabitants every yeare burn off the reed, that it ſtop not the way: and ſometimes a ſtrong wind blowing, the fire pierces to the roots, and diſcovers the river in a ſmall channell. And the mudd landing up againe ſoon after, reſtores to the place the forme it had. Hence this river runs to the Country of *Eceleſa*, where was the Temple of *Diana* in *Tauri*; *Iphigenia*, *Agamemnon*s daughter, with *Oreſtes*, and *Pilades*, flying thither with the image of *Diana*. The other Temple ſtanding to this day at *Comana*, is not that of *Tauri*. But thus it was. *Oreſtes* ſtealing with his ſiſter from *Tauri*, fell into a great ſickneſs; and enquiring of the Oracle for cure, was answered, that he ſhould have no help, till he had built a Temple to *Diana*, like that in *Tauri*, and there ſhould ſhave off his haire, and call the City by it. *Oreſtes* hereupon travelling in theſe parts; ſaw the river *Iris*, ſpringing from a ſteep Mountaine, and ſuppoſing it to be the place deſigned by the Oracle, built there a faire City, and a Temple to *Diana*, and having his haire, called it *Comana*, which continues to this day. But this abated not the diſeaſe, which raged rather more. So that travelling, and ſeeking yet further, he found a place in *Cappadocia*, very like *Tauri*, and I have wondered ſeing it, taking it for *Tauri* it ſelf. The Mountaine there is abſolutely like *Taurus*, and ſo called alſo, and the river *Sarus* there very like the river *Euphrates*. So there *Oreſtes* built a goodly City, with two Temples in it, the one to *Diana*, the other to his ſiſter *Iphigenia*, which the Christians have made Churches, not altering the buildings at all. This City is called the Golden *Comana*, where he cut off his haire, and recovered of his diſeaſe. Which ſome hold to be no other, but the madneſs he fell into, for killing his own Mother. But the *Euphrates* from this *Tauri* in *Eceleſa* of *Armenia*, runs Southward by much Country, and takes in many rivers, and among the reſt *Arſinus*, (which comes down from *Perfermenia*) then grown large, paſſes into *Leucoſyria*, now called the leſſer *Armenia*, the *Metropolis* whereof is *Meliſene*, a ſmall City. From thence it runs by *Samofata*, and *Hierapolis*; and many other townes, to *Aſſyria*; where both rivers meeting, end in one name of *Tigris*. The Country from *Samofata* beyond the river was anciently called *Comagena*, but now *Euphrateſia* from the river. The Country on this ſide, between it and the *Tigris*, is called *Mefopotamia*: Some part of which hath ſeverall other names, as *Armenia*, unto *Amida*; *Edeſſa* alſo, with the townes about it: And *Oſroene*, from *Oſroes*, who anciently raigned there, when they were confederates of the Persians. The Persians therefore

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having

* Anno Domini. 530.

Iulianiani 5.

* Anno Domini. 531.

Iulianiani 5.

Anno Domini. 530.
Iulianiani 4.

having taken *Nisibis*, and other places in *Mesopotamia* from the *Romans*, when they invaded their country, ever neglected the Province beyond the *Euphrates*, being without water and waſt, and there drew together, being their own country, & near an enemies inhabited, & from thence uſed to make their invaſions.

CHAP. XIII.

Miranes alſo upon his return with his Army overthrow'n, having loſt moſt of his men, had a ſharp puniſhment from the King, who took from him his Head-tire of gold and pearl, which tied up his hair; a mark of the greateſt honour in *Perſia*, next to the King: where none may wear gold, ring, nor belt, nor buckle, nor any thing of gold, but by the Kings grant. *Cabades* then being in doubt how to invade the *Romans*; for *Miranes* failing thus, he could not preſume upon any other; *Alamundarus*, King of the *Saracens*, adviſed him thus, 'In all things not to truſt to Fortune, nor in all wars to expect the better; being neither reaſonable, nor mans condition; but the conceit of it prejudicial. For mens unreaſonable hopes of ſucceſs, failing ſometimes, (as they may) prove their vexation. That men having not ever Fortune to preſume on, put not war bluntly upon hazards, though they have the advantage of their enemies, but ſtudy to deceive them with ſtratagemes. In a danger upon equal terms is no aſſurance of victory. That therefore he ſhould not grieve for the miſfortunes of *Miranes*, nor tempt Fortune again. If he enter by *Mesopotamia* and *Oſroene*, where the Cities were never ſtronger, nor better guarded with ſouldiers, that he will have no ſure bargain of it. That the Country beyond the *Euphrates*, and *Syria* next it, hath no fortified City, nor conſiderable Forces; but he ſhall find *Antioch* the chief *Roman* City of the Eaſt for wealth, bigneſs, and populouſneſs, with no ſouldiers in it; and a common people thinking upon nothing but Holy-daies, and Feaſts, their perpetual quarrels with one another in the Theaters. Which he may take by ſurpriſe, and return home, without meeting an Enemy, and before the Forces of *Mesopotamia* can have the news of him. That he ſhould take no thought about water, or proviſions: himſelf would guide the Army the beſt way. *Cabades* neither diſputed againſt this adviſe, nor diſtruſted it; knowing *Alamundarus* a wiſeman, an experienced ſouldier, and faithfull to the *Perſians*, and very valiant; who for fifty years, had brought the *Romans* into low caſe, from *Egypt* to *Mesopotamia* foraging their country, and driving all afore him, burning cities, and making innumerable ſlaves, whom he kill'd, or ſold for a great deal of money. He made his inroads ſo ſuddainly, and advantageouſly, that none encountred him: The Commanders ſeldome hearing of him, before he was gone with his booty. And when any overtook him, he defeated them, either charging them unprepared, or purſuing diſorderly. Once he took priſoners *Demoftratus*, brother of *Rufinus*, and *John* the ſonne of *Lucas*, with all their men, and got a great ſum of money for their ranſom. In a word, he was the ſharpeſt enemy the *Romans* had. The reaſon was, becauſe onely *Alamundarus* had command of the *Saracens* under the *Perſians*, with authority and title of a King; whereby he could invade the *Romans* when and where he pleaſed. Neither were the *Roman* Captains, called *Duces Limitanei*, nor the *Phylarchi*, or chieftains of the *Saracen*-tribes in league with the *Romans*, able to oppoſe him, being too weak to fight with him ſingle in their ſeverall countries. Whereupon the Emperour *Juſtinian* put many of thoſe Tribes under *Arethas*, the ſonne of *Gabalas*, chieftain of the *Saracens* in *Arabia*, giving him the title of a King; a thing not uſed by the *Romans*. But *Alamundarus* rather more ruined the *Romans*; *Arethas* in the inroads or fights, either having ill fortune, or betraying the buſineſs; we have no certainty of him. And ſo *Alamundarus* (none oppoſing) foraged the Eaſt furtheſt of any, and longeſt, being a very old man; and *Cabades* liking his counſell, ſent 13000 men under the command of *Azarethes* (as I have ſaid) whom *Alamundarus* was to guide the way.

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CHAP. XIV.

THEſe paſſing the *Euphrates* into *Comagena* unlookt for, and being the firſt *Perſians* that ever invaded us that way, that we can learn, it amazed the *Romans*, and at firſt perplexed *Belſarius*, when he heard it. But he ſoon reſolved upon reſiſtance, and having left competent garrisons in the places, of *Mesopotamia*, that *Cabades* with the reſt of his army might not find them unguarded; he went with ſpeed againſt the Enemy, compaſſing the *Euphrates*, and having about 20000 horſe and foot, 2000 of them *Iſaurians*. The Captains of horſe were the ſame that fought at *Dura* with *Miranes*. Of the Infantry was *Peter* commander, a Lancier of the guard to *Juſtinian*; and of the *Iſaurians*, *Longinus* and *Stephanacius*. At the City of *Colchis* they encamped, hearing the Enemy were at *Gabbula*, a place almoſt fourteen miles from it. *Alamundarus*, and *Azarethes* hearing thereof, ſtayd their journey, reſolving to march homeward, fearing to hazard; and they retired, keeping the *Euphrates* to their left hand. The *Roman* army followed; and where the Enemy lodged, ſate down the night after: *Belſarius* purpoſely not ſuffering the Army to march greater journeys, having no mind to fight, and thinking it ſufficient if *Alamundarus* and the *Perſians* retired home without effect. The army at this murmured at him, both Commanders and Souldiers, but not yet to his face. The *Perſians* at laſt lodged upon the ſhore of *Euphrates*, oppoſite to the City of *Callinicum*, reſolving from thence to march through a deſert country, and ſo out of *Roman* ground, and not as before by the rivers ſide. The *Romans* from the City *Sura*, where they lodg'd, roſe, and overtook the Enemy truſſing up their baggage. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* was to be the next day, which Chriſtians obſerve above all others; the day before it, and much of the night abſtaining from all meats and drinks. And *Belſarius* ſeeing them eager upon the enemy, and willing to withdraw them from the opinion, (*Hermogenes* being of the ſame mind, ſent newly Ambaſſador from the Emperour) he called them together, and ſpoke thus: 'Whether are you transported fellow ſouldiers! to chuſe thus a needleſs danger? That onely is pure victory, that comes off without damage from the Enemy: and that now fortune, and the fear of us amazing them, gives us; which advantage it is better to enjoy, having it, than to ſeek it when it is gone. The *Perſians* invited with hopes, invaded us, and now failing, run away. If we force them to change their courſe, and fight; overcoming, we gain nothing, but to rout an enemy flying already. But having the worſt, we loſe our preſent victory (not forced from it, but giving it away) and leave the Emperours land to the ſpoil of the Enemy, with none to defend it. Conſider alſo, that God doth cooperate with means neceſſary, not wilfull actions; how men ſtop from flying will fight, though unwillingly; and how many diſadvantages there are to us for a battell, many being marcht hither afoot, and all of us ſlacking, and ſome of us not yet come up. The Army reproached *Belſarius* for this ſpeech, not muttering now, but with open clamour to his face, calling him faint-hearted man, and a diſcourager of them. And this error ſome Commanders ran into with the ſouldier, onely to ſhew their valour. *Belſarius* amazed at this impudence, turned his diſcourſe to encourage them, and to order them to the encounter, ſaying that he knew not their alacrity before, but now he took courage, and went againſt the enemy with more hopes. So he ſet his Battallion in front, and his foot in the left wing towards the river, and to the right hand, where there was a ſteep peece of ground, *Azarethes* with his *Saracens*: himſelf with the horſe ſtood in the middle. *Azarethes* ſeeing the *Romans* embattell'd, and ready for the encounter, ſaid to his men; 'That being *Perſians*, certainly they will never change their honour for life, if they might have the choice. But that now, if they would, they could make no ſuch choice. They who can by running from a danger, live diſhonourable, if they can ſo reſolve, chuſe yet inſtead of the beſt, the moſt pleaſant thing. But they who muſt die either honourably by an enemy, or baſely by

a superiour, dradg'd to execution, are mad if they chuse not the best condition, instead of the basest. He had them therefore, not thinking onely upon the enemy, but upon their Lord and Master, so to fight that day. Having exhorted them, he placed his Battallion opposite to the Enemy, and gave the right wing to the *Persians*, and the left to the *Saracens*. The battell then joynd, and was stiffly fought. The arrows flew thick from both sides, and killed many. Some single encounters were between the Battallions, with much valour performed. The *Persians* fell more by the shot, though they shot thicker, and are almost all Archers, and the most dextrous living; but from weak bowes little beat, the shaft lighting upon the *Romans* corset, head-peece, or shield, crackt without hurt doing. The *Romans* shot is slower, being from stiff bowes much bent, and hardly; but coming from stronger men than *Persians*, they speed where they light, no armour resisting the force. Two thirds of the day were past, and the fight yet equal: When the *Persians* best men combining, charged the right wing, where was *Azarethas* and his *Saracens*. They opened their Battallion, and not abiding the charge ranne away, suspected that day to betray the *Romans*. The *Persians* thus breaking through the ranks, had the backs of the *Romans* horse, who weary with their journey and toyl in fight, being fasting too, and prest both wayes by the enemy, gave it over, and ran into small llands in the river near them. Some flaid and did bravely; among whom *Ascas*, having slain many chief *Persians*, was with much adoe cut in pieces, leaving a noble story to his enemies; and with him eight hundred more fell, good men; and all the *Isaurians*, with their Commanders, using no resistance: Men unexperienced, newly taken from the plough, and who knew not what a battell meant; yet hotter than any upon the fight, they reproached *Belisarius* with cowardize a little before. Indeed they were not all *Isaurians*, but most *Lycanians*. *Belisarius* staying with some few, while *Ascas* and his company stood, resisted also: But seeing them slain, he fled into the battallion of foot, where *Peter* their leader maintained the fight, with some with him, the most being run away. Then *Belisarius* quitted his horse, causing his followers to doe the like, and with the rest received the enemy. Who after a short execution came back, and gave on upon *Belisarius*; who to prevent the enemies compass, kept his mens backs to the river, and stood their charge; where was a fierce fight, though with unequal powers, a few footmen fighting with all the *Persian* horse, and yet not routed by them. For standing close, and fencing with their shields, they shot the enemy to more purpose, than they were shot. And the *Barbarians* to break them, riding oft against them, rode back again without effect; their horses being skittish upon the clashing of the shields, and the riders in confusion. And at night they retired to their camp. *Belisarius* also with some few got into a ship, and past into an lland, whether some came after swimming. The next day the *Romans* were transported to *Callinichum* in ships, sent from thence. The *Persians* having spoyled the dead bodies, went home; finding their own not fewer in number than their enemies. *Azarethas* at his coming home had no thanks from *Cabades*, though he wanne this battell; and upon this reason. When an Army is levied in *Persia* the King uses to sit upon his Throne, and by him stand baskets, and the General designed for the army; which is to pass man by man before the King, and each to throw an arrow into the baskets; and they to be sealed with the Kings own seal. When the army comes home, every souldier takes his arrow out of the panniers, and some Commissioners number the arrows remaining, and so report to the King the number of the souldiers come home; whereby it is known how many are perished in that war. This custom is ancient in *Persia*; and *Azarethas* presenting himself to the King, he askt him what place he had conquered, having invaded the *Romans* with *Almundarans*, with design to take *Amiuch*? *Azarethas* answered, that he had taken no place, but had vanquish *Belisarius* in battell. Then *Cabades* willed the army to come in, and take out their arrows, whereof many being left in the baskets, the King reviled *Azarethas*, and after hold him in disgrace.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Emperour *Justinian* then bethought himself of associating the *Homerites*, and *Ethiopians* against the *Persians*: Who, where they inhabite, and wherein the Emperour thought them usefull to the *Romans*, I will tell you. The *Homerites* are to the East of *Palestina*, upon the red sea, which beginning from *India*, ends in that part of the *Roman* Empire, having upon the coast where it ends, in a narrow straight, the City *Elas*, and the mountains of *Egypt* to the South, and a desert country, reaching far to the North. As you sayl in, the land from both sides is seen, till the lland of *Jorabé*, which is from *Elas* some hundred and five and twenty miles; where are seated the *Hebrews*, anciently free, but in *Justinians* reign made subject to the *Romans*. From hence a large sea opening, no land is to be seen to the right hand, as you sayl in, but at night you cast anchor on the left hand shore, the sea being full of shelves, and in the dark not to be meddled with. There are many harbours made by the nature of the places, and safe to put in at. The coast from *Palestina* the *Saracens* possesse, who are anciently seated in the country of Palm-trees, being in the midland, spacious, and having nothing growing but Date-trees. Which *Abucharabus*, Governour of the *Saracens* there, gave to *Justinian*, who made him Chieftain of the *Saracens* in *Palestina*, thereby preserving that Province from spoyl, *Abucharabus* being terrible to his subjects and enemies; and very valiant. This country of Palm-trees being desert, and in the middle without water, for ten dayes journey, is of no use to us. *Abucharabus* gave us the name of a present only, which the Emperour knowing well, yet took it off him. Next to the *Saracens* in *Palestina*, are other upon the same coast, called *Maadeni*, subject to the *Homerites*. Upon the coast next beyond are the *Homerites*, and beyond them many other nations are seated, to the Man-eating *Saracens*. Beyond whom are the *Indians*. Opposite to the *Homerites* on the other shore are *Ethiopians*, called *Auxomites*, of the City of *Auxomis*, where is their Kings court. The sea between them is five dayes and nights sayl over, with a reasonable wind, keeping there the sea all night, by reason there are no tielves. This some call the Red sea; and the rest as you sail out to *Elas*, the Arabian gulf. For all the country from thence to *Gaza* was formerly called *Arabia*, and their King held his Court at *Petra*. The *Homerites* haven from whence they sayl into *Ethiopia* is called *Boulcas*, and they land at a haven of the *Adulites*, from whence, the City of *Adulis* is onely two miles and a half, and from *Auxomis* twelve dayes journey. The vessels of *India*, and on these seas are not buile like other ships, nor trimmed with pitch or such like, nor are the planks fastned with iron through them, but tyed together with cords, Not because of Iron-drawing Rocks (as is vulgarly thought) the *Romans* ships upon that sea coming from *Elas*, though built with Iron, finding no such matter; but because neither *Indians*, nor *Ethiopians* have Iron, nor other materials for that use: Nor can they buy any of the *Romans*, who forbid it upon pain of death. From *Auxomis* aforesaid, to the *Roman* Frontiers in *Egypt*, is thirty dayes journey; where are the *Blemmyes*, and *Nobates*, and other numerous people. The *Blemmyes* are seated in the midland, but the *Nobates* upon the Nile. This was not formerly the *Roman* frontier, which was seven dayes journey beyond. But *Dioclesian* finding their tribute a trifle, and their country narrow, being molt taken up with the rocks of *Nile*; and the garrisons in it (being many) burdening his Treasury with the charge: And considering how these *Nobates* then dwelling about the City of *Oasis*, spoyled the Towns near them, he drew them to rise from that place, that they might no more trouble the country about *Oasis*, by giving them fair *Roman* Cities, and a large country, all from *Elephantina* on both sides the Nile, which he thought they would now guard, and beat off the *Blemmyes* (as being their own land) and other barbarous Nations. He gave them also, and to the *Blemmyes*, a pension in Gold, not to prey upon the *Roman* territories; which they still receive, yet over-run the Provinces. So impossible it is for *Barbarians* to keep faith

faith with *Romans*, but for feare of the Souldier. Yet the said *Emperour*, in an Island of the Nile neer *Elephantina*, built a strong Castle, with Temples, and Altars for the *Romans*, and these people; appointing Priests of each Nation, and thinking by a participation in the same devotions, to make a sure amity between them. And upon this he called the place *Phile*. Both the *Blemmyes*, and the *Nobates* worship the Gods esteemed by the *Gracians*, and *Isis* and *Ophris* and *Priapus* too; and the *Blemmyes* sacrifice men to the *Sunne*. The Temples in *Phile* these *Barbarians* held to my time, but by direction of the *Emperour Justinian*, *Narses* the *Perser*, who revolted to the *Romans*, (as I said) commanding the forces in those parts, demolished them, keeping the Priests in restraint, and sending the Images to *Constantinople*.

CHAP. XVI.

BUT during this warre with *Persia* *Hellistham* King of *Ethiopia*, a very devout Christian, hearing how the said *Homerites* of the opposite continent were many of them *Jewes*, and many *Heathens*, and laid excessive burdens upon the Christians, he sent out a Navy and Army against them, and fighting with them, routed them, and slew their King and much people. And having made *Esmiphams* King of them, a *Homerite*, and a Christian, and imposed a tribute upon them, he went home. In the *Ethiopian* Army were many, both slaves and leud persons, that would not follow the King home, but staid with the *Homerites*, being in love with the Country, as being very good land. But not long after, the people imprisoned *Esmiphams*, and made one *Abrams* their King, a Christian, who had been a slave to a *Roman* Merchant, residing for his traffique, in the *Ethiopian* City of *Adulis*. *Hellistham*, to punish *Abrams*, and his complices, for the wrong done to *Esmiphams*, sent against them under the command of a kinsman, 3000. men. These also desiring to remaine in that good land, had secret conference with *Abrams*, unknown to their Commander, and in the battell kill'd him, and joyned with the enemies, and continued there. *Hellistham* angry, sent another Army, which coming to a battell returned with much losse; and then afraid to meddle any more with *Abrams*, he forbore warr. But he being dead, *Abrams* was content to pay the tribute to his successour, and so confirmed his government.

These things happened afterward. But then during the reignes of *Hellistham*, and *Esmiphams*, *Justinian* sent his Ambassadour *Julian*, to desire their confederacie against the *Persians* (the *Romans*, and they consenting in one religion) and that the *Ethiopians* would make themselves masters of a rich trade, by dealing with the *Indians* for their silke, and selling it to the *Romans*, who should have this only advantage therein, that they should carry out their money to their enemies for it. Of this silke are made the anciently called *Persian*, now *Serick*, or silke garments. The *Homerites* were prayed also to make chieftaine of the *Mandepi* *Saracens*, one *Casius*, a banisht man (who having kill'd a kinsman of *Esmiphams*, was fled into a wilderness, being of the race of the *Phylarchi*, and a very good Souldier) and that together with those *Saracens*, they would invade the *Persians*. Both dimitt the Ambassadour with promise to effect the *Emperours* desires, but neither performed; the *Ethiopians* not being able to buy the silke; because the *Persian* Merchants ever come first to the havens, where the *Indians* unlade, being their next borderers, and buy up all. And the *Homerites* thought it hard, to travell through a desert, many dayes journey, to fight with a people more warlike then themselves. Afterward *Abrams* having settled his Kingdome, promised off to *Justinian*, but only once began the journey, and turned home againe. Thus the *Romans* speedd with these people.

In the meane time *Hermogenes* came to *Cabades* in Ambassage after the battell of *Euphrates*, but could not effect the peace, finding him much enraged, and so came away. *Belisarius* also the *Emperour* sent for, discharging him of that command, to make warre upon the *Vandalles*; and *Sittas* was sent to guard

the East. The *Persian* Army, led by *Chananages*, *Aspevedes* and *Mermegotes*, againe entred *Mesopotamia*, and (none encountering them) late downe before *Martyropolis*, where were garrison'd *Buzes*, and *Bessus*; It stands in the Province of *Sophanene*, thirty miles to the North of *Amida*, upon the river of *Nymphius*, which bounds the *Roman* and *Persian* territories. The *Persians* assaulted, and were valiantly receaved by the besieged, who could not thinke long to hold out, the walls being very assailable, and easie for the *Persians* works, and they having neither provisions, nor engines, nor any other thing within of importance to defend. *Sittas* with the *Roman* army came to *Atiachas*, twelve miles from *Martyropolis*; where he encamped, not daring to march further: with him was *Hermogenes* in another Ambassage. In the meane time this happened. The *Romans* and *Persians* have anciently had spies, defrayed at the publique charge, who secretly passe among the enemy; informing themselves of all occurrences, and advertising their owne Princes. Many of these, as affectionate Patriots, doe their best, some betray their Countries secrets to the enemy. One of the *Persian* spies then discovered to *Justinian* much of their affaires, and how a Nation of *Massagetes* was coming into *Persia*, and from thence were to invade the *Romans*, with the *Persian* army. The *Emperour* had experience of the mans truth, and perswades him with money, to goe and report to the *Persians* before *Martyropolis*, that these *Massagetes* were hired by the *Emperour*, and instantly to come against them. Who according went to the *Persian* Camp, and told them that an armie of *Hunnes* their enemies were coming to ayde the *Romans*: which made them afraid, and doubtfull what to doe.

CHAP. XVII.

IN the meane time *Cabades* fell mortally sicke, and calling to him *Mebodes*, a *Persian*, his chief favourite, opened his resolution concerning *Chosroes*, and the Kingdom, and that he feared, the *Persians* would seek to frustrate it. *Mebodes* prayed him to leave his resolution in writing, and to assure himself, the *Persians* would not disrespect it, *Cabades* thereupon declared *Chosroes* King by his testament, written by *Mebodes* himself, and soon after died. His usuall funerall ceremonies being performed, *Casios* presuming upon the Law, took upon him the dignity. *Mebodes* forbod him, alledging that none of himself might take the Kingdome, but by the votes of the principall *Persians*. *Casios* referred to the great Officers the cognifiance of the matter, not suspecting opposition from thence. So the principall *Persians* being assembled, and set down, *Mebodes*, by reading the testament, manifested the determination of *Cabades*: whose great vertues they all remembring, forthwith declared *Chosroes* King of *Persia*. And thus *Chosroes* got the Kingdom.

But *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, having no meanes to relieve *Martyropolis*, sent to the enemies Generalls to tell them; That they were hindered to do it by the King their master, so the blessings of peace, and to both their common wealths. Their Ambassadors are sent from the *Emperour* to their King, to end all differences, and to make a truce; That therefore they should quit the *Roman* territory, and give the Ambassadors leave to negotiate for the good of both parties; and that they are ready for what they say to give good hostages, that is will shortly be effected. There chanced to be there at the same time a messenger with the newes of the death of *Cabades*, and that *Chosroes* was King, and the affaires in *Persia* yet tottering. Which caused the Generalls to heare gladly the *Romans* propositions, starting also the invasion of the *Hunnes*. So that the *Romans* declared for hostages *Maurinus* and *Sencius*, one of *Sittas* his Lifeguard: and the *Persians* raised their siege, and went home. The *Hunnes* not long after entred the *Roman* territory, and finding no *Persian* army, after some few dayes, retired home also. And *Hermogenes* with his fellow Ambassadors, *Rufinus*, *Alexander*, and *Thomas*, repaired to the *Tigris*, where was the King of *Persia*; who upon their coming, released the hostages. The Ambassadors, to make *Chosroes* tractable, used flatteries little be-

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coming *Roman* Ambassadors, which so pacified him, that a perpetual peace was concluded for 110. *Centenaries*, to be given him, and the Commanders of the Forces in *Mesopotamia* to reside no more at *Daras*, but at *Constantina*, as they did formerly: The forts in *Lazica* he denied to restore, and yet demanded of the *Romans* restitution of *Bolus*, and *Pharangium*, A *Centenary* weighs 100. pound weight, so called of *Centum* in Latin: and this gold he demanded to quit the *Romans* from demolishing *Daras*, and sharing in the charge of the Garrison at the *Caspian* Gates, The Ambassadors liked all, but the Forts; alledging they could not deliver them without the Emperours expresse pleasure. So it was resolved, to send *Rufinus* to *Constantinople*, concerning these particulars, prefixing him seventy dayes for his journey; and the rest to stay till his returne. The Emperour hearing what *Chosroes* stood upon, directed the peace to be concluded upon those termes. But *Chosroes*, upon a false rumour that *Justinian*, offended with *Rufinus*, had put him to death, being troubled, and angry at it, he invaded the *Romans* with his army. But *Rufinus* returned, and overtook him neer *Nisibis*, where they resolved to consummate the peace, and the money was brought into the town by the Ambassadors. But *Justinian* repenting the quitting the two Forts in *Lazica*, wrote to his Ambassadors, absolutely forbidding to part with them. So *Chosroes* refused to conclude the treatie, and then *Rufinus* considered how more hastily then safely he had brought the money into the *Persian* dominion, and casting himselfe prostrate before *Chosroes*, besought him to safe conduct the money, and to deferre the present bringing an Army upon the *Romans*. *Chosroes* bad him rise, and promised to grant all for his sake. So the Ambassadors came to *Daras* with the money, and the *Persian* Army marcht back. His fellow Ambassadors were jealous of *Rufinus*, and accused him to the Emperour, because *Chosroes* yielded upon his persuasions to every thing. But the Emperour did him no hurt, sending him againe shortly after, and *Hermogenes* to *Chosroes*; when they concluded the accord, That each should restore what was taken in this warre; That there should be no more any Commander of Forces residing in *Daras*; And for the *Iberians* now in *Constantinople*, they were to have their choice, either to stay there; or returne home. Upon which many of them staid, and many went into their own Country. Thus was concluded the Perpetual Peace (as they called it) in the sixt yeare of *Justinians* raigne, the *Romans* delivering up the Forts of *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, and the *Persians* the places in *Lazica*: Who then also sent home *Dagaris*, to the *Romans*, for another *Persian* of quality. *Dagaris* did often after expell the *Hunnes*, and he overcame them in severall battells, being an extraordinary good Souldier.

Anno Domini
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CHAP. XVIII.

THE peace being thus ratified by both parts, two Rebels of their owne subjects fell upon both these Emperours, in this manner. *Chosroes* was of an unruly spirit, a great undertaker, troublesome; full of tumult himselfe, and an extreame troubler of others. So that the *Persians* being weary of his government, such of them, as were stirrers, consulted to make another King of the house of *Cabades*. *Zames* they had a mind to, but the Law excluded him, for his mayme of an eye: In the end they resolved to advance to the Kingdome the son of *Zames*; and he, as his sons protector, to manage the affaires. This resolution they revealed to *Zames*, and with their many encouragements, perswaded him to the business; and a fit time was appointed to surprize the King. But the plot being discovered to the King, he prevented it, and put *Zames* to death, and the rest of his brother, and their male issue, and all such men of quality, as contrived, or were accessary to the conspiracy; among whom was *Asperedes*, his mothers brother. *Cabades*, the son of *Zames*, (being fostered with the Generall *Adorgudanbades*) he directed the said Generall to kill, (though his own foster child) trusting the man: neither indeed could he force him, nor without him kill the child. The Generall much grieved at this

this dismall Injunction, acquainted his wife with it, and the childes nurse. The wife weeping, took him by the knees, and besought him not to kill *Cabades*. So they consulted together, and concluded to breed the child closely, and to write to *Chosroes*, that he was dead. This they did accordingly, and so concealed the young *Cabades*, that none had any suspicion, but his own son *Varames*, and one of his trustiest servants. But *Cabades* being come of age, the Generall fearing discovery, gave him money, and bad him save his life in banishment. And all this he kept from the knowledge of *Chosroes*: till *Chosroes* went with his army into *Lazica* (as shall be related hereafter) and *Varames* with him, who had waiting on him the servant privy to the business of *Cabades*, and revealed all to the King, producing his servant, who agreed in all points. *Chosroes* raged, and thought it unutterable, to beare such things from one of his own slaves; and he bethought himselfe of this way to get the man into his hands. When he was coming home out of *Lazica* he wrote to the Generall, that he resolved to invade the *Romans*, and not at one entry, but dividing his army, that he might make his invasion both on this side, and beyond the *Euphrates*. One part himselfe must lead, and he would upon no servant bestow an equality in honour with himself, but on him the Generall, in regard of his valour. So that he should doe well, with speed to meet him in his journey, that he might communicate, and direct what should concern the expedition, leaving his traine to follow fair and softly after. The Generall overjoyed with this honour from the King, and farr from guessing his own mischief, did as he was commanded. But spent with hard travell, (being an old man) he slipt his bridle, and fell from his Horse; wherewith his legg being broken, he was forced to stay to be cured. *Chosroes* arriving at the same place, he was brought to the Kings presence; who told him he could not go the expedition appointed, with his legg in that case; but bad him at some Castle there get the help of Surgeons. And so he sent him the way to his death, and after him men to kill him; An invincible Generall, and so reputed by the *Persians*; having subdued twelve Nations to *Cabades*. Being dead, his son *Varames* was made Generall. Long afterward *Cabades* the son of *Zames*, or one usurping his name, came to *Constantinople*. He was in his face like King *Cabades*, and *Justinian* used him honourably, as the grandchild of that King. *Mebodes* also *Chosroes* killed upon this ground. Being upon earnest business, he bad *Zaberganes* call *Mebodes* to him: who found him training his Souldiers, and told him, the King called him in haste. He said, he would come presently, when he had dispatcht the business he was about. The other hating him, reported to the King, that *Mebodes* would not come as yet, alledging business. The King enraged, sent one to him, to command him to the *Tripes*, or three-footed table. Which is thus. An iron three footed table stands ever at the Court-gate, and when any *Persian* understands the King to be offended with him, he may not fly to Temple, or elsewhere; but sitting by this table must expect the Kings sentence, none being to guard him. Here *Mebodes* fate many dayes in a pitefull habit, till one by the command of *Chosroes*, took him away, and killed him. To this came the good services he had done *Chosroes*.

CHAP. XIX.

ABOUT the same time happened in *Constantinople* a suddaine mutiny, which grew high, and ended in much mischief, both to the Senate, and people. The Commons of every City anciently have been divided into the *Veneti* and *Prasini*, the *Bleui*, and the *Greens*. But it is not long, since about these names and colours, (wherein they stand to see fights) they continue their estates, abandon their bodies to tortures, and refuse not the most shamefull death. They run the danger of fighting with their opposites, being sure, (should they get the better) to be haled to prison, and after extreame torturing, to be put to death. There growes in them a hatred without ground, and lasts undeterminable, not yielding to allyance, kinred, or any law of friendship; be

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it brother, or son, that dotes upon the contrary Colour. Nothing human, or divine they regard, in comparison of the victory in these, be it impietie against God, or violation of lawes, or of the Commonwealth by subjects or enemies: nay themselves wanting necessaries, and their Country receaving injury in the most important things, they are not sensible of it, so this their portion may prosper: So they call their fellow Factionists. Nay the very women partake in this abomination, not onely as their husbands followers, but often their opposites; though they never goe to the Theaters, nor have other inducements. That I know not what to say, but that it is a meer disease of the mind: and thus it is in every City, and Corporation. But at that time * the Governour of the Citizens of *Constantinople*, led some Factionists to execution. Both parties then making peace, and conspirings, first took away the men led to punishment, then let out of prison all who lay either for sedition, or any other crime; and without respect, slew the said Governours ministers. The Citizens who were of neither faction fled to the opposite continent; and the City, (as if under an enemy) was set afire. The Temple of *Saint Sophie*, and the Bath of *Zeuxippus*, and the Emperours Court from the porch to the Temple of *Mars* was consumed. Moreover the great *Porticus*, reaching to *Constantines* market place; and many great mens houses, and much wealth. The Emperour and Emperess with some Senators shut themselves up in the Palace, without stirring. The peoples word to one another was, *Nica*, overcome; From whence to this day that Mutiny is called *Nica*. *John the Cappadocian* was then * Prefect of the Court; and *Tribonianus*, a *Pamphylia*n, Assessor to the Emperour, by the Romans called *Questor*. *John* was a man vnbred in any liberall science (having learn't at the Grammar Schoole onely poore letters, to write as poorely) but in naturall abilities, the most powerfull man we ever knew, both to discern fit things, and in doubtfull to find a resolution; but the wickedest man alive: wherein he employed the strength of his nature, without respect of God or men; for gaine studying the ruine of mens estates, and of whole Cities. Quickly growing to a great wealth, he fell into boundles gluttony, preying upon the subject till dinner time, and the rest of the day spending in drunkennesse, and wanton abusing his body, eating till he vomited. A man ready to catch money, and more ready to lavish it. Such was *John the Cappadocian*. But *Tribonianus*, beside a great naturall ability, had attained to an excellence in learning, inferiour to no man of his time: But in the wayes of Covetousness most industrious, and ever ready to sell right for gaine; making, and repealing Edicts every day, ever selling them to any who had occasion to use them. During the peoples quarrells about those names, and colours, there was little speech of these mens misgovernments. But when they consented, and were now formed into a mutiny; openly in the City they rail'd upon them, and sought occasions to kill them. The Emperour to reconcile the people, put them both out of their places, and made *Phocas* a *Patrician*, Prefect of the Palace; a wise man, and naturally addicted to justice, and *Basilides* a *Patrician* he made *Quasor*, a famous honest man. But the mutiny raged nothing lesse. The fift day of the same, about evening, the Emperour commanded *Hypatius* and *Pompeius*, Nephewes of the late Emperour *Anastasius*, to retire to their houses; either suspecting some attempt of theirs upon his person, or afraid that they were driven thereto by destiny. They fearing what came to passe, that the people would force them to the Empire, said, that it was not honest to leave their Emperour in so great danger. *Justinian* at this was more suspicious, and bad them instantly be gone home. They went, and it being night, were quiet; but the Sun no sooner up, but it was divulged, how these Lords were retired from the palace: and all the multitude ran to them, and salute *Hypatius* Emperour, and conducted him to the market place, to take the affaires upon him; *Maria* his wife, a wise and sober Matrone, crying, and lamenting, and protesting to her friends, that the people were leading her husband to his death; and hanging upon him to stay him, till the people forced him from her. And when he was unwillingly come to *Constantines* market-place, they proclaimed him Emperour

* Praefectus Urbis, next in dignity to the Prefect of Praetorio. The Author in his old age held this office.

* Praefectus Praetorio of the Orient; There was another of Illyrium, both belonging to the Eastern Empire.

of the Romans, binding about his head a golden wreath, for Diademe they had none, nor other thing usuall to invest the Emperour. The Senators, as many as were not in the Palace, joyned; and the opinions of many were, to try their fortune at the Palace. But *Origen* a Senator admonished them; That indeed the case they were in, could not be decided without warr, and that warr and Empire are contest the greatest things among men. But great actions are not managed in an instant, but with advices and labours, which must have longer time for their execution. That if they march now to the Enemy, their affaires will be upon the edge of a razor; and in a little piece of time they shall adventure all, and then for what happens, either adore or revile Fortune, into whose hands the hastiest businesses commonly fall. But that if they carry it leisurely, they shall not take *Justinian* in the Palace, if they would; who will thinke it well, if he may run away. Sovereignty despised, totters downward, the strength of it daily consuming: That there are other Palaces, *Placidianae*, and that of *Helena*, from whence this Emperour may issue, and manage the warr, and other matters. The multitude embraced this advice, and *Hypatius*, (who was to have a mischief) bad them lead on to the *Circus*. Some say he went thither purposely, being well affected to the Emperour: Who held a Counsell, whether he should stay, or fly by Sea: Many discourses were; but the Emperess *Theodora* spake thus. I suppose this no time to enquire, whether a woman should be bold among men, or may be valiant when they are afraid. They, whose affaires are come into extreamest perill, must attend nothing, but how to settle best, that which lyes before them. I hold flying (if ever, certainly now, though it would preserve us) not expedient. For a man born into this light, not to dy, is impossible: But for one that hath been an Emperour, to become a Exile, is not to be endured: For let me never come to be without this purple robe, nor live that day, in which I they that speak to me, call me not their Lady and Mistress. If Sir! you have a mind to escape, 'tis no hard matter. We have store of money; and there's the sea; and yonder are ships: But consider, whether you may not have cause, most willingly to exchange your safety, for death. For me, I like the old saying: How brave a Sepulcher a Kingdom is! At this speech they took courage to stand it out, and consulted of meanes of opposition, if any should set upon them.

All the Souldiers, both quartered about the Emperours Palace and elsewhere, neither affected the Emperour, nor durst openly joyne in this action, but expected the event. But *Justinians* whole hope was in *Belisarius* and *Mundus*. The first newly come from the Persian warr, had brought a strong retinue with him, of *Lancers* and *Targettiers*, and others, all old Souldiers. And *Mundus*, being * Generall of *Illyrium*, chanced, being sent for to *Constantinople*, to bring with him a Troop of *Herculians*. But *Hypatius* in the *Circus*, went up directly, and sate him down in the Emperours Seat, where he uses to see the horie races and other exercises. Then out of the Palace came *Mundus*, by the gate called *Cochlea*, from the round forme like a shell-snail. But *Belisarius* went first toward *Hypatius*, and the Imperiall Seat, and at a hall where uses to be a guard of Souldiers, he called, willing the Souldiers to open the doores for him to goe against the Usurper. The Souldiers resolving to stand for neither, till one were clearly the Conquerour, made as if they heard him not. *Belisarius* returning to the Emperour, affirmed they were all undone; the Souldiers revolting, who guarded the Palace. The Emperour bad him goe in by the Brazen gate, and the portall there; and he passing with much danger and toyle, through rubbish, and places halfe burn't, got to the *Circus*. Being come to the Gallery of the *Veneri*, which is to the right hand of the Emperours Seat, he was thinking to set upon *Hypatius*; but the gate there was narrow, and he feared the people, fying him pelted in a narrow passage, might cut in pieces himselfe and his company, and then easily set upon the Emperour. So resolving to give on upon the innumerable multitude, which stood confusedly and crowded in the *Circus*, he drew his sword, and bad the rest doe the like, and ran upon them, with a great shout. The people being crouded together, and seeing cosselets, and Souldiers of approved valour and experience, unmercifully hewing them with their swords, fell to running away. A fearfull cry was made, and *Mundus* standing neer, and desirous to have his share in the action

* There was another call'd Generall of all of the Orient; and two Generalls of the Legions in Byzantium: In Latin their name was Magistri militum.

action (being a daring man) when he saw *Belisarius* in fight, he rush into the *Circus* also at the gate called *Nevra*. And so the Mutineers between them both were cut in peeces. And the overthrow being clear, and much slaughter of the Commons, *Boraides* and *Iustus*, the Emperours Nephews, pulled *Hypatius* out of his seat (none resisting) and led him with *Pompeius* to the Emperour; (Of the common people there being slain that day more than 30000.) The Emperour commanded them to prison; and *Pompeius* wept, being a man little versed in business; but *Hypatius* chid him, saying, That none ought to lament for men perishing unjustly; forced at the first by the people, and then coming to the *Circus* for no hurt to the Emperour. But the next day the souldiers killed them both, and threw their bodies into the sea. The Emperour confiscated their estates, and of all the other Senators of their faction; but afterward restored to them, and to the sonnes of *Hypatius*, and *Pompeius*, their former dignities, and so much of their estates, as he had not * given away. And thus the mutiny ended.

* But he gave away all their best lands and goods first. See the Secr. Hist.

CHAP. XX.

Tribonianus and *John* the *Cappadocian* had their Offices restored to them again. *Tribonianus* lived many yeares in the same, and dyed in his bed, without receiving other disgrace, being a faire spoken man, pleasant, and able to vail his Covetousness with abundance of Learning. But *John* was irksome to all the world, threatening the whip to all men, and sharking all kind of booty. In the tenth year of his Office he paid the just penalty of his lawless life in this manner. * The Empreſſe *Theodora* hated him of all men; and he being fallen foul with her by some errors, fought not to gain her with flattery and good turnes, but openly plotted against her, and accused her to the Emperour; neither respecting her fortune, nor the Emperours extreme affection to her. She perceiving his doings, desired to kill him, but could not, the Emperour so much esteemed him. But *John* knowing the Empreſſes mind, was terribly afraid, suspecting every night in his bed, some *Barbarian* should rush in to kill him; and still peeping out, and searching the entries, that he could not sleep, though he had about him some thousands of *Lanciers* and *Targetiers*; a thing never used by any *Præfect*. But no sooner day; but again, forgetting all fear of God, or man, he became a common destruction to all *Romans*, frequenting Sorcerers, and hearkning to impious South-sayings, vainly foretelling to him the Imperiall dignity; that one might see his thoughts in the air, transported with hopes of the Empire: And in his wicked course of life he bated nothing, nor was God in any of his thoughts. If he went to Church to pray, or watch all night, he observed not the Christian Rites; but having on a coarse garment, like a Heathen Priest, he mumbled all the night some ungodly spels, to captivate more the Emperours mind, and to preserve himself from mischief.

In the mean time *Belisarius*, after the conquest of *Italy*, came to *Constantinople* with his wife *Antonina*, to manage the war against the *Persian*, being precious to all men, and indeed deserving much estimation. Yet this *John* was harsh to him, and still plotting against him; onely because himself was generally hated, and *Belisarius* of all men the most renowned. And the hope of the *Romans* being upon him, again he made an expedition into *Persia*, leaving his wife *Antonina* in *Constantinople*, who (being the ablest woman alive to effect things hard to be effected) to gratifie the Empreſſe, devised this. *John* had a daughter, his onely child, named *Euphemia*, whom he extremely loved, very modest, but young, and so easily caught. This mayd, *Antonina*, by much soothing, and assiduity, at last gained to her lure; not disdainning to impart her secrets to her. And once having her above in a chamber, she feigned to lament her own fortune, That *Belisarius* (after so much enlarging the *Roman* Empire, and two Kings brought prisoners to *Constantinople*, and so vast a wealth) found *Justinian* ungratefull; and in other things she accused the

* This story begins 8 yeares after the Mutiny, and ends tenne yeares after it, when John was stript of all, and sent begging to Alexandria. As appears in the end of the Chapter.

the Government, as unjust. *Euphemia* overjoyed at this discourse, being troubled too with the Government, and fear of the Empreſſe; * Truly, dear Lady! (quoth she) you are the causes, who having power, will not use it. We are not able, daughter (replied *Antonina*) to stirre in the Camp, if some in the Court concur not in the action: But if your Father would, wee should easily (being once in the business) effect, whatsoever it should please God: *Euphemia* confidently promised, that this should be done; and departing, related the matter to her father. Who pleased with it, and conceiving it to lead him the way to his Propheties, and the Empire, without pausing upon it, consented: Willing his daughter to treat for a meeting the next day, and that he might give her his oath. *Antonina* knowing his mind, and desirous to draw him from suspecting the truth: * To give him a meeting now (quoth she) will doe hurt; it will cause suspicion, and hinder all: But she was instantly to goe into the East to *Belisarius*; being departed from *Constantinople*, and in her house in the suburbs (which is called *Rusiniæ*, a burse of *Belisarius*) there *John* should come to take leave, and bring her on her way; where they might conferre, and give oath, and take it. *John* liked this, and a day was assigned accordingly. The Empreſſe informed of all from *Antonina*, commended the plot, and encouraged her in it. And at the day appointed, *Antonina* took leave of the Empreſſe, and came to *Rusiniæ*, and the next day was to begin her journey. Thither at night came *John*, to finish the agreement. The Empreſſe had informed her husband of these attempts of *John* to usurp, and so sent to *Rusiniæ* *Narſes* the Eunuch, and *Marcellus*, Commander of the *Palatine* guards, with many souldiers, and direction to search out the business, and if they found *John* in any plot, to kill him, and come away. They say the Emperour advertised of this proceeding, sent one to *John*, not to meet *Antonina* secretly. Which advise *John* neglecting (it being his fate to be ruined) about midnight met *Antonina* near a hedge; behind which she had placed *Narſes*, and *Marcellus*, to hear what was said. There did *John* consent in plain words to the conspiracy, and confirmed it with most terrible oaths. Then did *Narſes* and *Marcellus* break in upon him. But at the noise, *Johns* *Lanciers* (who were at hand) came presently in. One of them wounded *Marcellus* with his sword, not knowing who it was; whereby *John* with them escaped, and ran to the City. If he had had the heart to goe immediately to the Emperour, he had had no hurt, I verily think: But by flying to the Temple, he gave the Empreſſe full scope to advance her design against him. So that of a *Præfect* made a private man, and removed from that Church, he was brought to another, standing in a suburb of *Cyzicum*, called *Artace*, and there made a Priest, naming himself *Peter*. He was not made a Bishop, but a Priest: Neither would he execute the function of a Priest, lest it should hinder his promotion to greater offices. For he would not lay down his hopes. His estate being confiscated, the Emperour remitted much of it, being still inclined to spare him. There had *John* the means (secure from dangers, and rich, both by what he had collected himself, and what he had by the Emperours grace) to use his pleasures without controlement, and with moderation to esteem his estate happy. At which all men repined, that being the wickedest devil in the world, he should thus live happier than he did before.

But God would not suffer his punishment to stay there, but prepared this greater scourge for him. *Eusebius*, the bishop of *Cyzicum*, was as harsh a man as *John* himself. And him the *Cyziceniens* accused to the Emperour in a judicial way; but not prevailing (*Eusebius* being too strong for them) some young men laid wait, and killed him in the Market-place of *Cyzicum*. With this *Eusebius* *John* had great differences, which cast a suspicion of the fact upon him. So that some Senators being sent to examine it, first put him in the common prison, setting him naked like a robber, or some pilfering rogue (one who had been so powerfull a *Præfect*, enrolled among the *Patricians*, and had sat in the *Consuls* chair, then which dignity none is greater in the *Roman* state) and tearing his back with many stripes, they forced him to reveal his own life. There was no great argument of his guilt of the murder; but

but the justice of God exacted from him a revenge, for abusing the whole world. They took then all his estate from him, and put him naked into a ship, save with one coarse coat, which cost not much. His conductors, wherefoever the ship put in, made him beg his bread, and small moneys for his subsistence. And so begging all the way to Egypt, he was brought to *Antinoë*; and this is the third year of his being there a prisoner. Yet in all this affliction, he quitted not his hope of the Empire; but fell to accuse some *Alexandrians* for Arrears to the Treasury.

This just vengeance fell upon *John the Cappadocian*, ten years after this time. But then the Emperour made *Belisarius* General of the East again, and sending him into *Africa*, recovered the country, as shall be hereafter declared; which much vexed *Chosroes*; and the *Persians*, repenting they had made a peace, when he saw the *Romans* power so augmented. And sending an Ambassadour to *Constantinople*, he congratulated with the Emperour, and in merriment demanded his share of the spoyles of *Africa*, seeing he had not vanquished the *Vandals*, if the *Persians* had not made peace with him. But *Justinian* sent *Chosroes* a present in money, and dismissed the Ambassadour.

In the mean time at *Darus* one *John*, a souldier of the Garrison (some few of his fellow souldiers conspiring) usurped, and possessed the City. In the Palace there, as in a Citadell the fate, confirming dayly his tyranny: And had not there been peace then with the *Persians*, some desperate mischief had fallen out. The fourth day of this tyranny, some other souldiers, by the direction of *Mamas* Bishop of *Darus*, and *Anastasi* a principall Citizen, went to the Palace at noon; each having under his cassock a short sword. And first at the inner court, finding some few Lanciers of the guard, they killed them; then going into the Hall, layd hold on the usurper. Some say the souldiers did not begin with him; but that (they demurring upon it in the inner court, afraid of the danger) a pudding seller in their company rusht in suddainly upon *John*, and with his knife wounded him; not mortally. But flying in haste, he fell among the souldiers, and then (they say) they laid hold on him; and having set the place on fire, that it might not encourage any hereafter to rebel, they put him fettered in the common prison. Where one among them, fearing, that the souldiers knowing him to be living, might trouble the City again, killed him, and so appeased the mutiny, and the said tyranny in *Darus*.

Finis Lib. I. Bell. Pers.

Anno Domini 533. & Justiniani 7.

The Contents of the Chapters of the Second Book of the Persian War.

CHAP. I.

Chosroes seeks occasions of war; causes Alamundarus to pick quarrels, and invade; excepts against Justinian for seeking to gain Alamundarus, and for provoking the Hunnes to invade Persia. Ambassadors from Vitigis, King of the Goths, persuade him unto it.

CHAP. II.

The War in Armenia; where Sittas, a brave General, is unfortunately slain. Buzes succeeds upon the killing of John they revolt to Chosroes, and persuade him to break the Perpetuall Peace.

CHAP. III.

A Comet. A cruel invasion of Hunnes into Thrace and Illyriumi. Justinian deborts Chosroes from war. Chosroes first invasion. His cunning taking of Suras, and destroying it. He causes Candidus Bishop of Sergiopolis to redeeme their captives.

CHAP. IV.

Buzes abandons Hierapolis with a speech. Germanus is sent to Antioch: Hierapolis compounds. Berrheca is taken: Of their Bishop Megas.

CHAP. V.

The Antiochians refuse composition. In the absence of Megas their Bishop, Berrheca is taken. He obtains their bodies of Chosroes, who had sacked the City before.

CHAP. VI.

Antiochia is assaulted; and present taken. The Souldiers run away at another gate. Zaberganes dissuades mercy. The cruel execution. Two Ladies drown themselves. Chosroes his vaunting dissimulation; and his charalter.

CHAP. VII.

Chosroes having robbed the Church of great treasures, and sacked the City, burnt it all, save the Church, and some few buildings. He spares the Walls. The Ambassadors get a promise of peace for a great summe in hand, and a yearly pension.

CHAP. VIII.

He burns the Church of St Michael the Archangel in Daphne, by a mistake: Enters Apamea, which had a piece of the true Cross; and takes all their treasures. Chosroes will be for the Pralini, Justinian being for the Veneti. Colchis redeems it self.

CHAP. IX.

Chosroes attempts Edessa. A digression of Augarus and Augustus, and Christs Letter, that the town should never be taken. Edessa gives a little money, and is let alone.

CHAP. X.

The redemption of the Antiochian captives hundred by Buzes. A digression why Chosroes claimed Constantina. Daras besieged, and saved by a counter-mine. Antioch of Chosroes. A Prodigy foreboding the destruction of Antioch. Belisarius having brought Vitigis prisoner, King of the Goths, is appointed General against Chosroes.

CHAP. XI.

Colchis, called Lazica, revolts to the Persian; and invites him thither with an army; being angered by John Tzibus, the General there. Belisarius resolves with the advice of his Captains to invade Persia.

CHAP. XII.

Chosroes his second invasion of the Romans in Lazica. Petra is taken by composition, after the killing of John Tzibus.

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CHAP. XIII.

Belisarius at Nisibis fights with Nabedes, without much advantage: Sends Arethas to spoil Assyria, who returns another way. Belisarius takes Sisabranum, and 800 Persians in it; then wisely returns in safety: and Chosroes comes out of Lazica.

CHAP. XIV.

Chosroes his third Invasion, Sergiopolis escapes; but their Bishop Candidus is made a captive. Belisarius comes post into the East, and gathers the scattered forces to Europus.

CHAP. XV.

Belisarius rides away Chosroes with a bravado. A Truce is agreed, yet Calinicum destroyed by Chosroes.

CHAP. XVI.

An universal Pestilence: And how it raged in Constantinople, where dyed 10000 a day.

CHAP. XVII.

The peace is not concluded, through Justinians default. His Captains invade Persarmenia disorderly, and are overthrown at Anglon, and shamefully run away.

CHAP. XVIII.

Chosroes his fourth Invasion against the God of the Christians, and Edessa. He raises a mound. Stephanus, a Physician, persuades peace, but cannot prevail.

CHAP. XIX.

The entreaties of Martinus for a peace are rejected. The Romans burn the Mount. The Persians are beaten back from their assaults. A truce for five years is accorded, Alamundarus hath a war.

CHAP. XX.

Chosroes plots: the possession of Lazica: And by his Ambassador Isdigunas the surprise of Daras; who failed in that design; but is magnificently entertained by Justinian at Constantinople.

CHAP. XXI.

Chosroes sends Fabrizus to kill Gubazes, who fails in his plot. Gubazes revolts to Justinian. Dagisthaeus besieges the Persians in Petra. The description of Phasis. Dagisthaeus by absurdly dallying, misses the taking Petra.

CHAP. XXII.

Mermeroes, with an Army of Persians, forces his way through the passage. Whereupon Dagisthaeus runs basely from Petra. Mermeroes, having relieved Petra, retires home, leaving 5000, who are cut in pieces by Gubazes. John the Cappadocian, after Theodora's death, returns to Constantinople, a priest only; and how he wore the habit of Augustus.

The



THE HISTORY

Of the Wars of the

EMPEROUR

JUSTINIAN,

Of the Persian War.

The Second Book.

CHAP. I.



Chosroes hearing how Belisarius was recovering Italy for the Emperour Justinian, could hold no longer, but would find some specious pretext to break the peace: Alamundarus he directed to procure causes of a war. Who charging Arethas for encroaching on him, with that colour torraed the Romans; alledging it no breach of peace between them and the Persians; neither having included him. Indeed in no treaties was any mention of the Saracens; being comprehended in the names of the Romans and Persians. The Country these Saracens disputed, is called *Strata*, and lies to the South of the City of *Palmyra*. Trees nor Corne it hath none, (being parcht with Sun,) onely it affords some flocks of Sheep. *Arethas* claimed it for the Romans from the name it had (*Strata* in Latin being a paved way) and producing testimonies of ancient men: But *Alamundarus* would not dispute about names, alledging the owners to have anciently paid him rent for the pasturage. Justinian committed the arbitration of these differences to *Strategius*, a Patrician, superintendent of his treasures, a wise man, and nobly born, and to *Summus* late Captain of the Forces in *Palestine*, and brother to *Julian*, (who was Ambassador to the Ethiopians and *Homeritis*) who thought it not fit the Romans should quit the Country. But *Strategius* prayed the Emperour, not to give the Persians, (now quarrelling,) occasion for a war, about such a poore barren Country. Who consulted about it, and much time was spent in the Arbitration. But Chosroes said the peace was broken, in that Justinian during the same had manifested a great designe upon his house, by endeavouring to gaine from him *Alamundarus*; *Summus* at the Arbitration having importuned him with great offers of money to revolt. Chosroes also produced the Emperours letters written to *Alamundarus*; And he alledged, that he had also written to the *Hunnes* to invade and forrage the Per-

ians, and that the *Hunnes* had sent him the Letters. *Chosroes* with these objections, (true, or false, I know not) resolved to break the peace.

Then also *Virigis* King of the *Goths*, brought low with the warr there, sent two Ambassadors to him, to persuade his invading the *Romans*; being not *Goths*, (for feare of spoiling the business being discovered) but *Ligurian* priests, won to this negotiation by large gifts. He that seemed the better man, and called himself a Bishop, went for the Ambassadors, and the other for his servant. Being come into *Thrace*, they took in an Interpreter for the *Syrian* and *Greek* tongues; and so came into *Persia* undiscovered; the *Romans* keeping no exact guards because of the peace: And having access to *Chosroes*, they spake thus; Other men, O King! employ Ambassadors for ends of their own: But *Virigis* King of the *Goths* and *Italians*, having sent us to advise you concerning your Empire, think him, as present, to say thus. In a word, O King! you abandon your own Empire, and all men besides, to *Justinian*; who being naturally pragmaticall, ambitious, and restless, hath strong desires to conquer every Land and Dominion. But finding himself unable to deale singly with the *Persians*, nor during their opposition, to assaile others; he resolved to blind you with a Peace, and to compell others to joine their powers to his, against your Dominions. The *Vandales* and *Moors* he hath already ruined, by removing us out of his way with a title of friendship: And now fully stored with money, and men, he invades us: shewing, that if he can subdue the *Goths*; with us, and the *slaves* he hath already made, he will bring his Army upon the *Persians*, respecting no name of friendship, nor his Oath. So that while there is yet hope, doe us no more hurt, nor suffer any your selfe; but in our misfortunes, see what may happen to be *Persians*. Think the *Romans* never your friends, but once above you in power, that they will consummate their hatred. Use your power in the due time, least you seek it, when 'tis gone. The point of opportunity once blunted, never recovers. 'Tis better to prevent and be safe; then coming short of the opportunity, to suffer the basest things from an Enemy. *Chosroes* esteemed this Counsell of *Virigis* to be good; and studied more the breaking the peace; in his envy of *Justinian*, not considering these discourses to come from the Emperours Enemies. He had a mind to it, and so like a willing fugitive he yielded himself: which happened also to him upon the discourses of the *Armenians* and *Lazians* afterward. They imputed to *Justinian* that, which is the high praise of a generous Emperour, the making his Empire greater and more glorious; which they might aswell object to *Cyrus* the *Persian*, or *Alexander* the *Macedonian*. But envious men know no right: And thus *Chosroes* resolved to breake the peace.

CHAP. II.

BUT in the meane time this happened. *Simeones* (who gave up *Pharangium* to the *Romans*) in the heat of the warr obtained of *Justinian* some *Armenian* villages; and having them, he was slaine by some of the ancient possessors; the murderers being two brothers, the sons of *Perozes*, fled into *Persia*; and the Emperour *Justinian* gave the villages to *Amazaspes*, sisters son to *Simeones*, and made him governour of *Armenia*. After this a follower of *Justinian*, one *Acacius*, accused *Amazaspes* of confederacy, and plotting to deliver *Theodosius* to the *Persian*, and other Townes, and by the Emperours direction put him to death treacherously, and was made Governour of *Armenia*: He was a wicked man, and so appeared, and most cruell to the *Armenians*, by unreasonable rapines, and by taxing them with a new tribute of foure Centenaries. The *Armenians* not able to endure him longer, conspired and killed him, then seized upon *Pharangium*: Against whom the Emperour sent *Sittas* from *Constantinople*, where he had remained ever since the peace. He at first made a slow warr, striving to appease, and reduce them to their former affections; promising to get their new tribute remitted. But the Emperour, at the instigation of *Adolus*, the son of *Acacius*, reproach't him for dallying. Then he prepared to give battell, endeavouring with faire promises

12650 li. sterl.

promises to joine some, to have the rest better cheape. The *Apetians*, a great and populous people, willing to submit, sent to him for assurance; that turning to the *Roman* Army from their own Countrey-men, they should enjoy their own estates, free from grievance. He gladly made an Instrument of their assurances, and sent it them signed; and confident upon this to winne the battell without striking stroke, he marcht to the *Oenochalaces*, where the *Armenians* encamped. But the bearers of the Instrument could not meet the *Apetians*; and part of the *Roman* Army, not knowing of the accord, killed some few of them they met. And *Sittas* finding some children and women in a cave, angry for the *Apetians* not joine according to promise, or not knowing them, killed them. So they stood in battell with the rest, offended with all this. The fight could not be in one place, but was scattered in ragged ground, and precipices, and bottomes of hills. So that *Sittas* not with many, and some few *Armenians*, came neer each other, with a deep vally between them; being both sides horse-men: *Sittas* past the vally, and charged the enemy; who retiring, stood still, and *Sittas* stopt there too. By chance an *Herulian* of the *Roman* army came back in fury from the chase of an enemy; passing by *Sittas*, who had struck his lance into the ground, The *Herulians* horse rushing mainly against it, brake it; which much troubled *Sittas*. For an *Armenian* who knew him (having his helmet off) assured the rest it was *Sittas*. Who hearing what the *Armenian* said, and seeing his lance crackt upon the ground, drew his sword, and would have retreated over the vally. The Enemy rode eagerly after him, and one overtook him in the vally with a sword, which cut off the crown of his head, not hurting the scull. *Sittas* spurred on; but *Artabanes*, the son of *John*, of the race of the *Arfacides*, kill'd him with a thrust of his lance behind. Thus was *Sittas* lost impertinently, and not suitably to his former actions; A goodly man he was, valiant, and an excellent Commander, inferior to none of his time. Some say one *Solomon* killed him, an obscure fellow, and not *Artabanes*.

Sittas being dead, the Emperour sent *Buzes* against the *Armenians*. Who being neer them, promised to reconcile them, desiring conference with some of their chief men. None would give credit to *Buzes*, nor hearken to his offers, save *John*, the father of *Artabanes* his friend, of the race of the *Arfacides*, who presuming upon *Buzes*, as his friend, came to him with his son in law *Bassaces*, and some others. These the next day lodged where they were to meet *Buzes*, and perceived themselves compass't with the *Roman* army. *Bassaces*, when he could not persuade *John* to flee, rode back, leaving him all alone; whom *Buzes* kill'd.

The *Armenians* having no hope of reconciliation, and unable to maintaine the warr; under the conduct of *Bassaces*, a valiant man, betook themselves to the *Persian* King: To whom some of their Chiefs being admitted, spake thus. There are amongst us, Sir! many *Arfacides*, descendants of that *Arfaces*, who no stranger to the *Persian* Empire, when it was under the *Parthians*, was a famous King in his time, inferior to none. But we now stand before you, become slaves and fugitives, not willingly, but forced; in appearance by the *Romans*, but indeed, O King! by your resolution. For who gives power to the wrong doer, justly beares the blame of the wrong. To deduce it higher, and through the severall occurrences, *Arfaces*, our last King, quitted his Royalty, it seemes, willingly to *Theodosius* the *Roman* Emperour, with condition for those of his blood, to enjoy libertie, and not to be subject to Tribute. Which we preserved till your famous Peace, or rather common calamitie. For now not regarding friends nor enemies, this friend of yours, O King! in words, and enemy in deeds, hath troubled all the world. Which your selfe will know ere long, when he hath subdued the Western Nations. What thing prohibited hath he not done! what well settled not stirred? Hath he not taxed us with unusuall tributes? made slaves of the *Tzanians* our borderers, a free people? set a Governour over the King of the wretched *Lazians*, a thing not incident to the nature of things? not to be exprest? Hath he not with his Generalls unjustly surprized the *Bosporites*, subjects of the *Hunnes*? made league with the *Ethiopians*, never heard of by the *Romans*? added the *Homerits*, red Sea, and Country of *Palme*-trees to the *Roman* Empire?

Empire? not to speak of the Africans and Italians, The whole world not containing the man, he fears his gulfe beyond the Ocean, and another world. Why doe you delay, O King! respelling this wicked ruinous peace? Is it, after all the rest, to be his last dish? To know what man Justinian is to them that yeild to him, you have us for a Precedent, and the poore Lazians; how he uses men unknown, as well as them that wrong him; consider the Vandales, Goths and Moores. But the maine of all: stundies he not during the peace to draw Alamundarus your servant to revols from you? to associate the Hunnes against you, men unknown to him? But a shrewder all then this was never: Now he perceaves his Westerne conquests ready for conclusion, he seeks to circumvent the East, having none now to wrestle with left, but the Persians. So that himself hath broken the Perpetuall Peace. They break peace, not who arme first, but who plot against their allies in time of peace, and the crime is acted by him that goes about to do it, though the success faile. And not they who cause the warre, but they who oppose them, use to conquer. Nor will the match be equal; their best Souldiers being in the utmost parts of the world; and of their two best Generalls, we have lately slain Sittas; and Belisarius Justinian will not look on. Which he slighting, holds in his hands the dominion of Italy: So that you will have none to oppose your invasion; and us you shall have with our best affections, and long experience of the Countrey, the guides of your Army. Chosroes liked these reasons, and imparted to his truistfull subjects, what Vitigis and the Armenians had said; propounding in Counsell what was to be done; where the conclusion was, to make warre on the Romans in the beginning of the spring, it being then *Autumne*; and Justinian in the thirteenth yeare of his raigne; the Romans the while not suspecting the breach of the Perpetuall Peace; but hearing onely that Chosroes murmured against the Emperours successes in the West, and charged him, as I have mentioned,

CHAP. III.

Then also appeared a Comet, at first about the length of a tall man, afterward much longer: The taile was toward the East, and the head to the West, and being in Capricorne, kept behind the Sun in Sagittary. Some called it (being long with a sharp head) *gladiata*, some *barbata*. It was seen more then forty dayes. The learned in these things, made severall repugnant predictions upon this star: But what hath fallen out since, I will relate. Immediately a great army of Hunnes passing the river *Ister* overran all Europe; a thing often done, but never with so much mischief to people. * From the *Ionian* gulfe, to the suburbs of *Constantinople*, they spoiled all in their way; in *Illyrium* they took 32. Castles; destroyed *Cassandria* (anciently *Potidea*) having never; (that we know) attempted before a walled Town; and with much booty, and some 120. thousand captives retired home, meeting no opposition: Afterward they did many mischiefs to the Romans in their inroads. They assaulted the wall in *Chersonesus*, and forcing the Guards, and at full Sea (being upon the Gulf called *Melas*) getting over it, entred within it, fell suddainly upon the Roman inhabitants in *Chersonesus*, slew many and made almost all the rest slaves. Some cross't the Straite between *Seslus* and *Abidus*, spoiled the towns of *Asia Minor*, and then returning to *Chersonesus*, went home with the rest of their army and their booty. In another inroad having spoiled *Illyrium* and *Thessaly*, they assaulted the wall at *Thermopyle*; where the Garrison defending stoutly, they unluckily found the path up the mountaine, and so wasted all *Greece*, save *Peloponnesus*; and then retired.

Nor long after the Persians breaking the peace, did much infest the Romans of the East; Belisarius having newly subdued *Vitigis*, and brought him to *Constantinople*. Before the Persian invasion, Justinian, who saw Chosroes (as I have said) quarrelling, sent a remonstrance to him by *Anastasius*, a prudent man, who lately had suppressed the Rebellion at *Darat*, and wrote letters to this effect. *Wise men, who know God, strive to root up the occasions of warre, especially with their best friends. But men unadvised, and rashly affecting even God for their enemy,*

contrive

contrive causes, which are no causes, of fights and troubles. To break a peace, and run into a warre, is an easie matter. The nature of things makes the worst courses easiest to worthles men. But to finish a warre to ones mind, and to get peace againe, is not so easie. You complaine of letters, which by me were written with no ill purpose; but by you are interpreted with a sense, such as conduces to the execution of your own counsell with some pretence. But we can alledge your *Alamundarus* his forraging our countreys, and acting desperate things during the peace; sucking our Towns, ransacking, killing, enslaving our people; so that you are not so complaine, but to excuse. The complaints of wrong doers are proved by actions, not discourses. And we, notwithstanding all this, resolved to observe the peace; while you seek warre, and coine complaints, which concerne not us. Men seriously embracing quiet, shake off complaints against friends, though they presse hard: But such, whom the articles of their friendship displease, study for pretexts: A thing not becoming ordinary men, much lesse Kings. Lay then these things by; and consider the multitudes to perishe in this warre; and who shall beare the blame of what shall happen in it. Consider the oath you took, when you received your money, which you slight now, but can with no sophistry evade. God is of a more excellent nature, then to be cozened by all the men living. Chosroes would not answer any thing to this Letter, nor dismiss *Anastasius*.

But in the end of the Winter, and of the * thirteenth yeare of Justinian's raigne; Chosroes entred the Roman territories with a great army, and so cleerly brake the Perpetuall Peace. He marcht not through the midland, but with the Emperators to his right hand. Beyond the river stands *Circesus*, the furthest castle the Romans have, and a very strong one. The river *Aboras*, being great, meetes the *Euphrates* there, and the castle stands in the neck of land between the two rivers; and a long wall from each river, taking in the ground without the castle, makes it a triangle. Chosroes would not attempt so strong a place, nor passe the river; his designe being for *Syria* and *Cilicia*; so he marcht on; and being gone so much way, as would amount to about three ordinary dayes journey, by the bankes of *Euphrates*, he came to *Zenobia*; a City built by *Zenobia* the wife of *Odenatus*; who anciently being a Prince of the *Saracens*, and in amity with the Romans, recovered for them the Easterne Empire, subdued by the Persians. This *Zenobia* Chosroes considering to be no place of importance, and the Countrey about it desert and barren; not to take time from his greater affaires, he attempted to get it by composition; and not prevailing, marcht on as much way more, and came to the City of the *Suremians* upon the *Euphrates*. Staying before it, the horse he rode on neighed, and pawed with his foot; from which Omen the *Magi* pronounced the Town would be taken. So he encamped, and from his Camp drew his Army to assault: where an Armenian, one *Arfaces*, who was Captain of the Garrison brought his men up to the battlements, and after a brave fight, and many enemies slain, was kill'd by a shot; and the Persians (it being late) retired to their Camp, meaning the next day to renew the assault. But the Romans, despairing upon the death of their Commander, sent out the next day the Bishop of their City, to supplicate Chosroes for the sparing themselves & the Town. Who with some attending him, and a present of fowle, wine, and fine manchetts, callt himselfe downe before Chosroes, weeping, and beseeching him to spare miserable men; and a City of little estimation with the Romans, or Persians hitherto, and promising to pay reasonable ranfome for their persons and city. Chosroes was offended with the *Suremians*; the first Roman subjects in his way, and refusing to receive him; nay taking armes and killing many principall Persians: but he hid his anger under a faire countenance, that by these mens chastisement he might terrify all in his way, and bring them to yeild without fighting. So he took up the Bishop very courteously, received his present, and pretended to communicate with some chiefe men about the ranfome, and then to satisfie his request; and so sent him away without the least jealousie of his designe. With him he sent a convoy of Persians, whom he instructed to go to the Town, comforting the Bishop with hopes; that himself and company might be seen by the Townsmen cheerfull without feare, and when the guards opened the gate for him,

* Chosroes first Invasion.

* Justinian's reign ended with the Winter almost 3. For he was declared Emperour with his Uncle the third day before Easter. See Secret. History. So this first Invasion of Chosroes was Anno Justiniani 14. Anno Dom. 540.

Anno Domini 539. & Anno 13. Justiniani.

He calls the Ionian Gulfe that which is called the Adriatique Sea.

him, to cast a stone or piece of wood between, and hinder their shutting it awhile; presently his army should follow; which he presently made ready, with command to ride full speed to the town upon signal given. The *Persians* came close to the town, and took leave of the Bishop, whom the *Surenians* seeing over-joyed, and honourably conducted by the enemy, apprehended no mischief, but set their gate wide open, and caught the bishop in their arms, being in, the Guards thrust the gate to shut it, but the *Persians* having thrown a stone between, they could not get it together; and they durst not open it again, perceiving it possib^l by the enemy. Some report, that it was not a stone, but a piece of wood that the *Persians* threw down. But before the townsmen could perceive it, *Chosroës* came with the army, and quickly forced open the gate, and entered the town, and being in a fury, ransacked the houses, kill'd most of the men, and making the rest slaves, burnt the City to the ground; and then he sent away *Anastasi^{us}*, willing him to carry the news to *Justinian*, in what part of the world he left *Chosroës* the sonne of *Cabades*. But either for covetousness, or kindness to *Euphemia* (whom, being one of these captives, and very beautifull, he made his wife, and infinitely doted on her) he was pleased to doe the poor *Surenians* some good. He sent to *Sergiopolis*, a Roman City (bearing the name of *Sergius*, a famous Saint, and distant from this ruined City fifteen miles to the Southward, in the *Barbarian* plains) and directed that *Candidus* the bishop thereof, should ransom them, being twelve thousand captives, for two *Centenaries*. But he not having the money, refused it. *Chosroës* willed him to send him a bond to pay it hereafter, and so with a small summe to redeem a multitude of Captives. *Candidus* did so, promising to pay the money within a year, confirming it by oath, and upon penalty, if it were not paid by the day, to pay it double, and to be no more a Priest for breaking his oath. This was drawn up in writing, and so he had the *Surenians* delivered to him: of whom the most part, not enduring the misery fallen on them, perished.

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CHAP. IV.

Chosroës, this done, marcht forward, The Generall-ship of the East the Emperour had so divided, as that all to the *Euphrates* was left to *Belisarius* (who formerly had the whole command) and from thence to the *Persian* frontier, all was under *Buzes*, and till *Belisarius* should returne out of *Italy*, he had the charge of the whole East; who first lay at *Hierapolis* with all the army. But understanding what happened to the *Surenians*, he called to him the chief men of *Hierapolis*, and told them; That when the match is equal, there is reason to fight quickly with an enemy invading; but to men much weaker than their enemy, it is more expedient to circumvent him with stratagems, then to run into an evident danger: What forces *Chosroës* hath, they have heard. That if they make the war from the walls, the *Persians* will block them up; and furnish themselves with provisions out of their country (none opposing) while they want within; and that the siege lasting, their walls cannot hold out, being very assaultable, nor can the *Romans* but fall into some desperate estate. But that guarding the City with part of the army, and lodging the rest in the bottoms of the mountaines near the City, infesting the enemies camp, and his foragers with suddain courses, they will force him to raise his siege, unable to make his assaults at his ease, nor to provide food for so great an army. The advise of *Buzes* seemed pertinent, but he did nothing; but went away with the choicest men of the army; and in what part of the world he was, neither the *Romans* in *Hierapolis*, nor the enemy could learn. *Justinian*, hearing of the invasion, dispatcht *Germanus*, his brothers sonne, in much haste with three hundred men, promising to send a great army soon after. Who came to *Antioch*, visited the walls, and found much of them of good strength; the plain ground was compass'd by the river *Orantes*, and the hill was steep, craggy, and unapproachable; onely at the top

of

of mount *Casius*, he found the wall very assaultable, from a rock stretching far in breadth, and as high as the wall. He directed therefore, either to cut the rock from the wall, that none from it might get up, or else to joyn it to the wall by a tower upon it. But workmen found both these impossible, in so short time with an enemy so near, and to beginne and not perfect it, would but shew the enemy where to make their war. *Germanus* failing in this, and after long time seeing no army from the Emperour, nor likelihood of any, fearing *Chosroës* might make it his chief business to take *Antioch*, hearing the Emperours Nephew to be within it; and the *Antiochians* having the same thoughts, resolved all in counsell to buy their safety with money. And to *Chosroës* they sent *Megas*, Bishop of *Berrhaea*, a prudent man; who finding the *Persians* not far from *Hierapolis*, and being admitted to *Chosroës*, brought him to pity men who never offended him, nor were in case to resist him. That it is not fit for a King to use violence against yielding men; nor generous to give the Emperour no time to consult, either for rectifying the peace, or for preparations to war, by a mutuall consent; and to invade thus without warning; their Emperour not knowing in what case they are. The rude nature of *Chosroës* could not be put in tune by discreet words; they rather more swell'd him with pride and folly; threatening to destroy all the *Syrians* and *Cilicians*; and he bade *Megas* follow him. Then he encamped before *Hierapolis*; which finding strong, and a good garrison within, he sent *Paul* his interpreter to demand money of them; *Paul* was bred up in the Roman Territory, and went to a Grammar-school in *Antioch*, and was thought to be descended of *Romans*. The citizens fearing their walls, which embraced a great circuit to the mountaine; and willing to save their country from spoiling, agreed to give two thousand pound weight of silver. And *Megas* obtained of *Chosroës* with much intreating, to accept ten *Centenaries* of gold for all the Easterne provinces, and so to leave them. *Megas* returned to *Antioch*; and *Chosroës* having his money for *Hierapolis*, marcht to *Berrhaea*, standing between *Antioch* and *Hierapolis*, from either two dayes journey. But the fourth day, *Megas*, with few in company, came to *Antioch*; and the *Persian* army to the suburbs of *Berrhaea*. *Chosroës* urged the *Berrhaeans* by *Paul* the interpreter, for twice as much money as *Hierapolis* gave, because their walls were weak, nor could they trust to them. They yielded to his demand, paying down 2000 l. weight of silver, but the other 2000 l. alledging they could not pay down; and he urging them, they fled by night to the Castle in the high town. The next day, they that came from him to receive the rest of the money, found the gates shut, and could speak with none. The King understanding it, by his command they entered the Citie with scaling ladders, none resisting; and opening the gates let in all the army. *Chosroës* in a rage would have burnt the City; but first he would take in the Castle; where some *Roman* souldiers defended valiantly, and killed some enemies. But the *Berrhaeans* flying to the castle with all their horses and cattell, by that niggardly trick were undone; for there being but one spring, and all the cattell suffred imprudently to drink up the water, the spring became dry; and in such estate they were.

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CHAP. V.

But *Megas* could not perswade the *Antiochians* to the agreement he had made with *Chosroës*. For the Emperour had sent to him Ambassadors, who then abode at *Antioch*, *Iohn* the sonne of *Rufinus*, and *Julian* his Secretary; which *Julian* forbade expressly to give money to the enemy; or to buy thus the Emperours towns. They accused also *Ephraim*, the Bishop of *Antioch*, to *Germanus*, of attempting to betray the City to *Chosroës*. So *Megas* departed, nothing done; and the Bishop of *Antioch*, fearing the *Persians* coming, went into *Cilicia*, whether soon after came *Germanus* with some few, leaving there most of his company. But *Megas* arrived at *Berrhaea*; and much afflicted

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with what happened, complained to *Chosroes* for this perfidious usage, to send him to *Antioch* about truce, and in the mean time to ransack his countrymen, who never wrong'd him; to block them up thus in the Castle, and burn and ruin their city. Your self, Sir (answered *Chosroes*) are too blame, making me lose my time here, and returning so long after the day appointed. For your countrymen; they contracted to pay money, which as yet they cannot think of performing; but presumptuous in their strong Castle, they put us, as you see, to the necessity of a siege: Whom I hope with the help of the Gods shortly to chastise for it, and for my *Persians* here lost. *Megas* replied; 'If all must be silent, while you, a King, accuse wretched men; then am I bound to confesse without disputing; absolute power, as in all the rest, must overcome in words. But if one may (laying aside respects) stand for truth; O King! you have nothing justly to charge us with. I went the messenger of your propositions to *Antioch*, and returning the seventh day (then which what can be more speedy) I find my country thus used by you. Who having abandoned all that is most precious, have nothing now left, but to fight for their lives; and the advantage of not paying the rest of the money; it being impossible for men to pay what they have not. Names are anciently defined for things; Difability is one thing, and Ingratitude another. Indeed, he that wantonly refuses, is with reason hated; but one by difability driven to the same point, is to be pity'd rather. Though the worst things are befallen us, yet, Sir! leave us with this comfort, not to have been authors of our own misfortunes. Think what you have received, to be the whole summe; and enough; not weighing it by your own greatness, but by the the *Berberians* ability. Force us no further; least at last you seem to want power; seeing excessive undertakings ever are rewarded with unsatisfaisment. The most powerful way is to attempt no impossibles. Let this be our apology for the present. But if I might speak with the poor men; I might say something, now not thought of. *Chosroes* permitted him to go to the Castle; who finding there what happened to their spring, weeping, he came back to *Chosroes*, and falling flat upon the ground, protested, the *Berberians* had no money; and besought him to bestow the bodies of the poor men upon him. Which *Chosroes* granted upon his lamentable crying, and gave his faith to all in the Castle. Who being to near lost, thus came out; and went whether they pleased; and among them some of the souldiers; but the most revolted to *Chosroes*; complaining of the state to be behind in their Pay for many years; and they went with him into *Persia* afterward.

CHAP. VI.

BUT then, hearing from *Megas*, that the *Antiochians* would give no money, the marcht against them, where some were fled the City with their goods, and the rest resolv'd the like, if *Theoetistus* and *Moluthes*, Captains of the forces in *Phœnicia Libani*, had not with a supply of 6000 old souldiers encouraged them, and stay'd their flight. Shortly after came the *Persian* army, and encamped near the river *Orontes*. *Chosroes* sent *Paul* his Interpreter to demand money of the city, and for ten *centenaries* of Gold, or lesse, if it were payd presently, he appeared willing to have been gone. Then came to him the Ambassadors, and after much expostulation on both sides, about the breaking the peace, returned. The next day the common people of *Antioch*, who are not us'd to serious matters, but still to merriments and debauches, put scorn upon *Chosroes*, and derided him from the battlements; and had almost stoned *Paul*, if he had not foreseen and avoyded it, for exhorting them to redeem their persons and city for a little money. *Chosroes* incens'd herewith, resolv'd upon the assault; and the next day he commanded part of the army to give on by the river side. And himself went against the top of the hill, where the wall is most assailable. Here the *Romans* finding the places they were to stand and fight on, narrow, tied long beams between the turrets

fast

fast together; and enlarged the standings for more bodies to oppose the assailants. The *Persians* came on valiantly, and their arrows flew to the very top of the hill. The *Romans*, both souldiers, and many of the boldest citizens defended stoutly; the great breadth and height of the rock commanding the wall, and bringing the fight to be equal, as upon even ground. If the *Romans* had put out but three hundred men, and posselt the rock first, and thence kept off the assailants, I doe not think the town had been endanger'd; for the *Barbarians* had no means from whence to assault, being beaten perpendicular from the rock and the walls both. But this was not thought of; the *Antiochians* being to perish by this army. The *Persians* having *Chosroes* present, and crying loud unto them, strove beyond power, giving no space to the other to spee or ward their shot. But the *Romans* pressing up to defend, the ropes under them which tyed the beames suddainly brake, and down they all fell: They who made good the next Turret, hearing the noise, thinking the wall to be thrown down there, ran away. Some young citizens only, who us'd to quarrell in the *Circus*, would run no further; being come down from the wall. But the old souldiers, with *Theoetistus* and *Moluthes*, leapt on their horses, which stood ready, and rode to the gate, giving out that they went to receive in *Buzes* with an army with him. Thither ran also the *Antiochians*, men, women and children, and the place being narrow, they tumbled over one another, overborn with the horses; and the souldiers sparing none, but rather urging on faster, that there was a great slaughter made. But the *Persians* set their scaling ladders, and mounted, none opposing; and a while stayd upon the battlements, as if doubtful, and discovering; lest there might be ambushes in the rough waste ground, among rocks and precipices, which is within the walls, upon the descent from the hill. Some say it was upon the advice of *Chosroes*, who perceiving the bad ground, and the souldiers running away, feared to necessitate their turning head upon him, which might hinder him from taking the greatest, fairest, most populous, richest, and happiest *Roman* City in the East; than which esteeming lesse all things else, he resolv'd to give the souldiers fair leisure to run away: so that the *Persians* pointed with their hands to them, and bade them make haste away. And they did so, with their Commanders, going out of the gate of *Daphne*, a suburbe of *Antioch*, with some few of the common people; the *Persians* having onely not medled with that gate, who when they saw the souldiers gone far, they descended, and from the hill fell into the midst of the City. Some young men encountered them, some armed with corselets, but most unarmed; onely throwing stones, and driving them off a little, they seem'd to have the better, and sang their *Pans*, and cryed Emperour *Justinian*, *Constantinus*, or the fair Conquerour, as if they had the victory indeed. In the mean time, *Chosroes* sent for the Ambassadors to speak with them, sitting upon the Turret by the top of the hill; when *Zaberganes*, one of his commanders, conceiving the conference would be for a composition, came to him hastily, and sayd: 'O Master! you differ from the *Romans* themselves, to think to preserve these men, who before the danger flout your Majesty, and being beaten, dare impossibilities and desperate acts upon the *Persians*; as if they feared your humanity should pity men, scorning preservation, and spare them, that will not be spared; such as lay ambushes for, and kill their Conquerours in a town taken, their own garrison having forsaken them. *Chosroes* at this, sent many of his best men against them; who brought him word, that all was well; the *Persians* having by their numbers routed the *Antiochians*, with much slaughter, sparing no age. Two wives of Noblemen of *Antioch* are reported to have gotten without the walls, and that seeing the enemies coming towards them on all sides, and fearing to be taken, and abused, they ran to the river *Orontes*, and covering their faces with their veils, leapt into it, and were drowned. So every species of misery fell upon the *Antiochians*. Then did *Chosroes* speak thus to the Ambassadors. 'The old saying, I see, is true; God ever gives the good mingled with the evil; so that we have not so much as laughter, which we repent not of. Good fortune is attended with

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some

Some cross, and pleasure with grief, suffering no prosperity untainted. This city, the most renowned of the *Roman* dominion, I have taken without labour; God hath given me, (you see) a suddaine victory. Yet to behold the slaughter of such multitudes, & my trophy died with so much blood, it takes away the pleasure: And hereof are the miserable *Antiochians* guilty; who being not able to beat off the *Perfians*, have yet with fenceless rashness sought their own deaths, struggling under the yoke against men conquering them so easily. My chief men importune me to compasse the city, and destroy every man in it: But I, to preserve them, direct rather to drive them on that fly; as being impious to insult on men under my power. This *Chosroes* spake in a vaunting affected way to the Ambassadors; who saw for what reasons he gave the *Romans* leysure to run away. He was the shrewdest man living to speak things that were not; to conceal the truth; and to lay the blame upon men he wrong'd, for the faults done by himself; Ever ready to agree to any thing, and swear to it; but more ready to forget both agreement and oath; skillfull to abuse his mind to any abomination for money, and yet in his countenance to pretend piety, and in words to detest the action. As when he so treacherously ruined the *Syrenians*, who never wrong'd him. Espying a principall matrone (the town being taken) drag'd violently by her left hand by a *Barbarian*, and with the other haling after her her little child newly weaned, and fallen to the ground, which she would not let goe, it being not able to keep pace; Here he shewed his very humour; Groaning, and seeming to the standers by, specially *Anastasiu* the Ambassador to weep, he pray'd God to punish the Authors of those things; intimating the Emperour; though he knew well himself to be the onely authour. With this strange bad nature he became King of *Persia*, after rejection of the gallant *Zames*, for his one eye; and of the eldest *Casfes*, for his Fathers reasonless hatred; and he prevailed easily against his oppugners; and to the *Romans* did even as much mischief, as he desired. Thus Fortune, resolving to make a man great, ever acts her resolution in the fit time (none opposing the strong current of her will,) she regards not the worth of the man, nor avoids things seeming unfit, nor cares for the worlds rayling for having advanced one not deserving her grace; In brief, not thinking upon any thing, but how to bring her purpose to effect.

CHAP. VII.

Chosroes commanded his army to make slaves of the *Antiochians* surviving, and to ransack their estates; and himself with the Ambassadors went down from the Hill to the Church. Here he found so great treasures of gold and silver, that had he taken no other spoile, he had gone away with a huge wealth. He took down many admirable pieces of marble, which he Commanded to lay without the walls, to be carried into *Persia*; and then gave order to burne the City. The Ambassadors requested him, to spare the Church onely, for which he had receaved a sufficient ranfome. This he granted, and commanded to set fire to all the rest; for which leaving some few, he retired to his camp. God had foreshewn a while before this calamitie to this city. The Ensignes of the Cohorts residing there, standing to the West-ward, of themselves turned to the East, and then returned where they were before, none touching them. This the Souldiers shewed, among many others, * to the Pourveyor of the expence of the army, one *Tatianus*, born at *Mosphesia* in *Cilicia*, a discreet man. They seeing the prodigie, knew not then how the dominion of the city would be transfer'd from the *Western* to the *Eastern* Emperour, that being appointed to suffer what fell out, they might have no means to avoid it. I am astonished, recording for ages to come this great calamitie, and comprehending what should be the will of God, highly thus to exalt some man or place, and then upon no reason appearing, to ruine them. It is not lawfull to say, but that all things by him are done with reason; who yet endured *Antioch* to be laid

flat

* This Officer he calls before Prefett of the Camp.

flat with the ground by a most impious man; whose beauty and magnificence could not even then be wholly concealed. The Church onely escaped this destruction, by the *Perfians* care, who had the charge of it; Many houses also were saved in the *Ceratanum*, not by any mans care; but standing in the furthest end of the city, not joyning to other buildings, the fire reacht them not. They burnt also, all without the walls, but the Church of *Saint Julian*, and the houses about it, where the Ambassadors lodged. And the city-walls they wholly forbore. The Ambassadors came againe also to *Chosroes*, and said thus. If we did not, Sir! speak to your self present, we should not believe, that *Chosroes* the son of *Cabades* were entred the *Roman Territories* in armes, despising his Oath so lately sworn, (the strongest pawn of faith among men) and breaking Truce, the onely hope left in the calamities of warr. Certainly this course is to translate the life of men to that of beasts. Without Truces must be perpetuall warr, which will banish those from nature who use it. You wrote lately to your brother, that he is guiltie of breaking the Truce: confessing thereby, that Truce-breaking is a foule mischief. If the fault be not his, you do not justly to invade us. If he have done some such thing, yet pursue your action no further, and appeare the better man. He that hath the worst in the ill, ought to overcome in the better. But we know the Emperour hath not transgressed the peace; and we entreat you not to act those mischiefs upon us, which the *Perfians* will never enjoy: and you will gaine nothing, but the fortune of doing desperate injuries to the *Romans*, with whom you lately made Truce. But *Chosroes* protested, *Justinian* to have broken the Truce, and recited particulars, some materiall, others slight, or counterfeited. Especially he offered to shew the Emperours letters to *Alanundarius*; and the *Hunnes*, the maine causes of the warr; but he neither alledged nor shewed, that ever any of the *Romans* invaded the *Perfians*, or did any hostile act. The Ambassadors denied some things, and in others laid the blame upon *Justinians* Ministers. In conclusion, *Chosroes* demanded money; not onely a present summe, being to establish a peace for ever; (For friendships gotten with money, commonly wast with the money) but a yearly pension for a firme peace, and for the *Perfians* guarding the *Caspian Gates*, and no more importuning about *Darus*; for which they shall be their perpetuall stipendiaries. What! said the Ambassadors, would you have the *Romans* pay them a tribute? No! quoth he, but to have the *Perfians* their souldiers, giving them pay for their service. You give pensions to the *Hunnes* and *Saracens*, not as they are Tributaries, but to guard your Territories. After much debate, in the end they came to this accord; That *Chosroes* should presently receive fifty *Centenaries* of gold, and a perpetuall yearly payment of five more; and so do no more mischief, but receiving hostages upon this accord to retire with his whole army into his country: whether other Ambassadors should be sent from *Justinian* to settle a firme peace.

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CHAP. VIII.

Chosroes then went on to *Seleucia*, a maritime city, about sixteen miles from *Antioch*, where neither finding nor harming any *Roman*, he waitt onely in the Sea-water, did sacrifice to the *Sun*, and whom he pleased, with a deale of superstition, and rode back againe. Being come to his camp, he desired much, (as he said, onely for curiosity) to see *Asiamea*, which stood neer. The Ambassadors unwillingly yeilded, upon condition, that having seen the city, and received 1000. P. weight in silver, he should retire without spoiling it. But *Chosroes* appeared to the Ambassadors and all men, to take that journey, onely to catch at some triviall cause to sack the city, and countrey about it. Then he went up to *Daphne*, a suburb of *Antioch*, where he admired the Grove and the Fountaines, things worth the seeing. Having sacrificed to the *Nymphs*, he came away, doing no mischief there, but the burning of the Temple of *Michaell* the Archangell, upon this mistaking. An eminent *Persian*, well known to the King, rode with some in his company by a ragged

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piece of ground, called *Tretum*, where stands the Church of the *Archangel* made by *Evaris*; where finding a young man of *Antioch* hidden, and alone, he quitted his company and chased him. The young man was a Butcher, named *Acimachus*; who ready to be caught, turned upon his pursuer suddenly, and with a stone hit him under the ear into the *dura mater*: and being fallen down, dispatch him with his own Cimiter, rifled his armes and apparell, got up on his horse, and rode cleer away by good chance, or his knowledge of the wayes. *Chosroes* was grieved at the accident, and commanded some to burne that Church of the *Archangel*; who thinking he meant this in *Daphne*, burnt it with the buildings about it.

Then *Chosroes* with his army went to *Apamea*: where is a piece of wood of a cubit long, part of *Christs* Crofs, brought thither long agoe by a *Syrian*. This the Inhabitants believing to be a great defence to them and their city, have put it in a casket set all with gold and precious stones, and committed it to three Priests to keep; and one day yearly the whole city brings it out, and adores it. The *Apameans* were afraid of the *Persians* coming, hearing too, how in *Chosroes* was no truth: and they entreated their Bishop *Thomas*, to shew them the wood of the Crofs that they might doe it their last worship: When a miracle happened above reason and belief. The Priest carrying, and shewing the wood, a bright flame hovered above it, and the rooffe over it shone with an extraordinary light. The Priest going round the Church, the light went along, keeping still the place of the rooffe directly over him. The *Apameans* were ravish'd with delight at the miracle, at once rejoycing and weeping; and now confident of their preservation, *Thomas* having gone round about the Church, put up the wood of the Crofs into the casket, and covered it and suddenly the shining ceased. Understanding the enemies to be neer, he went to *Chosroes*; who asking him if the *Apameans* meant to oppose his army, he answered, they had no such thought. Then open your gates (saith *Chosroes*) and receive me into your city with some few. I am come (replied the Bishop) for the same purpose to invite you. So the Army pitcht their tents by the walls, and *Chosroes* with two hundred of his best men rode into the city. And no sooner in, but he forgot his promise to the Ambassadors, commanding the Bishop to give him not 1000 l. weight of silver onely, nor ten fold that; but all their treasures of gold and silver, being very great. I doubt not, but without scruple he had sackt, enslaved the whole city, if God had not manifestly hindred him: So did covetousness and vaine glory beset him; For to lead cities into captivity he esteemed it a great renown; and thought it nothing to use the *Romans* thus, contrary to accords and truces. This humour of his appeares by his attempt upon *Daras*, and the *Callinicians* during the truce, which I shall relate hereafter. But God, as I said, preserved the *Apameans*. When *Chosroes* had taken their treasures, and *Thomas* saw him drunk with abundance, he brought the wood of the Crofs, and opening the casket, shewed it him, saying; O Excellent King! This is all I have left; This casket beautified with gold and precious stones, I envy not unto you: Take it with all the rest. But this piece of wood is to us both preservative, and precious. I beg, and entreat you Sir to give it me. Which *Chosroes* granted. Then to shew magnificence, he willed the people to goe to the *Circus*; and the Charioters to run their matches; and himselfe was an earnest beholder of their sports. But hearing how *Justinian* was long addicted to the *Veneti*, meaning to be contrary to him in that also, he would procure the victory for the *Prasini*. The Charioters from the starting place set out; and one that wore the *Blew*, got the start, another wearing *Green*, following close at the others wheels. *Chosroes* supposing it done purposely, chased, and cryed out, That *Cesar* was foremost; which should not be; commanding the foremost Chariot to stay, and so cast behind, to get afore againe if it could. His command being fulfilled, his side, the *Prasini* won the match. There an *Apamean* came, and complained to him of a *Persian*, for entering his house, and forcing his daughter a virgin. He in a great rage, commanded the man to be produced, and crucified in the campe; But the people clamour'd to him, and beg'd to spare the man. *Chosroes* promised to pardon him, but shortly after

secretly

secretly crucified him; and these things done, rode back with his army.

And at *Chalcis*, distant ten miles and a half from *Berberia*. He forgot the accord againe; encamped before the city, and sent *Pant* the interpreter, threatening to force their city, unless they buy their safety, ransom themselves, and deliver him the Souldiers in their town with their Commander. The *Chalcians* feared both the Emperours, and swore they had no souldiers; hiding most of them, and *Adonachus* their Capitaine, in poore cottages from the enemy; And getting up hardly * two *Centenaries* of gold, (their city being not rich) with it they ransomed their bodies and city. From hence *Chosroes* meant to make his retreat, not by the way he came, but to cross the *Euphrates*, and plunder *Mesopotamia*. Neer *Obbaze*, which stands five miles from the castle of *Barbalissus*, he made a bridge, and went over, signifying to the army to follow; and that the third day by such an houre, he would take up the bridge; and some of them chancing to be cast behind, at the houre, he not regarding them, sent to take up the bridge, and they got home as they could.

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CHAP. IX.

Chosroes was then ambitious to take *Edeffa*; induced by a confident tradition among the *Christians*, (which troubled him) that it was never to be taken; affirmed upon this ground. *Angarus*, long agoe *Toparch* of *Edeffa* (so they then called their nationall Kings) was one of the wisest men of his time, and for that cause in much favour with the Emperour *Augustus*. Desiring to be a *Roman* Confederat, he went to *Rome*; and conferring with *Augustus*, so amazed him with his wit, and enamour'd him with his conversation, that he would not part with him, though he urged his dismissal. At last, after long absence, longing to returne to his country, but not perswading *Augustus* to let him goe; he used this devise. He went out neer *Rome* to hunt (being therein studious) and compassing much country, took many wild beasts alive, and from every countrey where he caught them, carried of the earth home with him to *Rome*, together with the beasts. *Augustus* sitting in the *Circus* (as his manner was) *Angarus* came to him, and shewed him the beasts, and the earth, and which countrey earth belong'd to every beast. The earth he caused to be laid in severall parts of the *Circus*, and the beasts from one place to be let goe: When every beast leaving one another, ran to the countrey earth from whence he was taken. *Augustus* beheld it long and earnestly, wondering to see nature untaught make even to beasts desirable their native earth. Then *Angarus* suddenly taking him by the knees, said, O Sir! And what mind doe you think I have, who have wife and children, and a Kingdom (though a small one) in mine own countrey? *Augustus* overcome, and forced with the truth, dismissed him, though unwillingly; and bad him ask him some thing. *Angarus* prayed him to build a *Circus* at *Edeffa*; which being granted him, and he dismissed, he came home. His Subjects askt him; what good he had brought them from the Emperour *Augustus*. He answered, That he had brought a Grief without damages, and a joy without gaine; intimating the fortune of the Horse-races. *Angarus* growing old, and vexed with a grievous gout, and the paine, and sitting still troubling him, he consulted with the skillfullest Physicians from all lands; but finding no ease, he forsook them, and absolutely despairing, bewayld his fortune. At that time *Jesus*, the Son of God, converted in the body with the people of *Palestine*; by committing no sin, and by working miracles, manifesting himselfe indeed the Son of God. He raised dead men, as from sleep; to men born blind he opened their eyes, cleansed leprous bodies, lame feet he set loose, and did what ever Physicians pronounce incurable. *Angarus* hearing the relation from some *Palestinians*, residing at *Edeffa*, took comfort, and wrote to *Jesus*, to leave *Jury*, and those ungrateful men, and to live with him. *Christ* wrote back againe to *Angarus*, refusing to come, but promising health by his Letter. They say he added this, That the city should never be conquered by the *Barbarians*. This Postscript, the writers of the history of that

that time knew not of; but the *Edeſſenians* aſſume to have found it with the *Epistle*; which *Epistle* they have hung for a defence, engraven upon their city gates. But ſhortly after it came under the *Persian*, not forced, but thus. *Augurinus* upon the letter from *Chriſt*, grew well, and having lived long, deceased. But his ſon ſucceeding him, being the ungodly yet man living, wronged his ſubjects; for which fearing the *Romans* chaſtiſement, he revolted to the *Persians*. But long afterwards the *Edeſſenians* killed the *Barbarian* Garriſon, and yielded their city to the *Romans*. Which *Chofroes* knowing, ſtudied to recover the city: and this I gueſs by things happened in my time, which ſhall be related in their ſeaſons. And I have had a conceit, that if *Chriſt* did not write that Poſtſcript, yet (men having that opinion) he would keep the city from taking; that he might give them no excuſe of wandring.

But upon this ground *Chofroes* much affected the taking of *Edeſſa*. At *Eatne*, a little Town three dayes journey from *Edeſſa*, he lodged his army; and by break of day was marching toward *Edeſſa*. But they went out of their way ſo, that the next night they lodged in the ſame place: and this happened twice: And when with much ado he was gotten to *Edeſſa*, they ſay, his chopps ſwell'd with Rhewme; which ſo troubled him, that he reſolved not to attempt the city. But he ſent *Paul*, and demanded money of them. They ſaid, that of their city they had no feare; but not to hurt their towns, and villages, they agreed upon two *Centenaries* of gold; which he received, and kept his agreement.

CHAP. X.

Then came letters from *Juſtinian* to *Chofroes*, agreeing to ratiſie: the treatie between him and the Ambaſſadours; upon which he diſcharged the Hoſtages, and prepared for his retreat; being pleaſed to ranſome the *Antiochian* captives: the *Edeſſenians* therein ſhewed an incredible alacrity. Not a man, but according to his ability brought the ranſomes into the Church, and ſome above ability. *Courtiſans* threw in their Jewells, and the husbandman, wanting money or houſholdſtuffe, brought his aſſe or poore cwe to the Church, that a great quantity was gathered of gold and ſilver, and other goods; but none of it was given for the ranſome. *Buzes* being there, prohibited the ranſoming, expecting ſome great gaine out of it. So *Chofroes* with the captives marcht on. The *Curventians* met him, and offered him a great ſumme, but being no *Chriſtians* but *Heathens*, he would not take it. But of the *Conſtantinians* he took their monie, yet claimed the city to be his from his Anceſtors. For *Cabades* having taken *Amida*, would have alſo gotten *Edeſſa*, and *Conſtantina*. And being before *Edeſſa*, he demanded of the *Magi*, if it were to be wonne, pointing with his right hand to the place. They told him, no. For by ſtretching his right hand to it, he gave a ſymbol, not of taking, or of hurting the city, but of preſervation. He was ſatiſfied with this, and led his army againſt *Conſtantina*, and encamped, with purpoſe to beſiege the town. *Baradatus* then Biſhop of the city (an upright godly man, mighty with God in prayer; whole very countenance ſhewed him to be indeed gracious with God) came to *Cabades* with a preſent of wine, dry figgs, hony, and fine manchetts; and beſought him, not to attempt a town of no importance, neglected by the *Romans*, without garriſon, or other defence, but the poore miſerable inhabitants. *Cabades* upon this, not onely beſtowed the city upon him, but gave him all the ſtore-viſtualls of the army for the ſiege, and then departed out of the *Roman* territory. Hereupon *Chofroes* claimed the city to belong to him from his Father.

Being come to *Daras*, he ſate down before it. Within, the *Romans*, and the Generall *Martinus* prepared for their defence. The city hath two walls; the innermoſt large and faire, and ſixty foot high, with turrets; all one hundred foot high: The outward wall is much leſſe, but ſtong and of good importance. The ground between is about fifty foot broad; where, upon the approach of

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an enemy, the *Darenians* put their cattle. At firſt *Chofroes* with multitude of arrows forced upon the walls to the Weſt-ward, and ſet fire to the gates of the leſſer wall; but none durſt enter. Then he wrought a Mine cloſely on the Eaſt-side of the town, the reſt of it being built upon a rock. The *Persians* beginning from the town ditch, being very deep, were neither ſeen, nor at all diſcovered by the enemy. And now they were under the foundation of the outter wall, and in the ground between the walls, and ſhortly to paſſ the great wall, and take the town; when from the camp of *Chofroes*, about noon, came a man (or more than a man) all alone to the wall, ſeeming to gather up the ſcattered arrows; and withall warding with his ſhield, to ſhout choſe upon the battlements. Then diſcovering the buſineſſe, he bade them watchfully provide for their ſafety, and went his way. The *Romans* immediately dig'd for life in the ground between the walls; which the *Persians* not diſcerning, went on with their work, in a ſtreight line to the wall; and the *Romans*, by the adviſe of *Theodorus*, a famous Engineer, traſverſed with their Mine very deep, that in the end the *Persians* in the ground between the walls, fell ſuddenly into the *Romans* croſs Mine; who killed the firſt comers, but the reſt eſcaped to the camp. The *Romans* would not purſue them in the dark. *Chofroes* falling in this, and ſeeing no hope of taking the town, capitulated for a thouſand pound weight of ſilver, which he had from the beſieged, and went home. *Juſtinian*, for this attempt of *Chofroes* upon *Daras*, during the truce, reſuſed to ratiſie the Treaty. And this was the ſucceſſe of *Chofroes* firſt Invaſion, and ſo the ſummer ended.

In *Aſſyria* he built a City a dayes journey from *Cteſiphon*, and named it *Antioch* of *Chofroes*, planting there the *Antiochian* captives. He built them a publique Bath, and a *Circus*, and fitted it for other delights; bringing from *Antioch*, and other *Roman* Cities, Charioters, and ſkilfull Muſicians. He kept theſe *Antiochians* at the publique charge, not like captives; and termed them *Baſilici*, as exempt from all Magiſtrates but the King. If a *Roman* captive ranne from his Maſter, and fled to this *Antioch* of *Chofroes*, being there avowed by an inhabitant for his Kinſman, he might not be led away by his maſter, though a very principall *Persian*. The Prodigy which beſell the *Antiochians* in the reign of *Anaſtaſius* was now conſummated. A ſtrong wind then, and a ſuddain, blew up by the rootes, the goodly tall *Cypreſſes* in *Daphne*, the ſuburb of *Antioch*; it being not lawfull to cut them. Shortly after this prodigy, in the reign of *Juſtine*, an Earthquake ſhook the City ſo, that it overthrow moſt of the buildings, and deſtroyed three hundred thouſand men. But in this laſt deſtruction the City, as I have related, was even ruined.

And now *Belisarius* the Emperour ſent for to *Conſtantinople*; where having wintred, at the beginning of the ſpring he ſent him Generall againſt *Chofroes*; with the Commanders who came with him out of *Italy*. Of whom *Valerianus* was made Generall of the Cohorts in *Armenia*; *Martinus* being formerly ſent into the Eaſt; ſo that, as I ſaid, *Chofroes* found him at *Daras*. Of the *Goths*, *Vitigis* ſtayd at *Conſtantinople*; the reſt ſerved with *Belisarius* againſt *Chofroes*. At this timethe Ambaſſadour of *Vitigis*, who called himſelf a Biſhop, dyed in *Persia*. The other ſtayd awhile with them for an Interpreter; then retired into *Roman* land; where *John*, commander of the forces in *Meſopotamia* took him near *Conſtantina*, and imprifoned him; and being queſtioned, he told him all his negotiation. *Belisarius* made haſte to prevent any new Invaſion of *Chofroes*; But

Anno Dom.
ſ41. & Juſtini-
niani 15.

CHAP. XI.

IN the mean time *Chofroes* led an army into *Lazica*, upon this ground invited by the *Lazians*. The *Lazians* firſt inhabited *Cholchis*, and were ſubject to the *Romans*; not to payment of tribute: Onely upon deceaſe of their King,

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Second Invaſion
of Chofroes,
the ſaid Anno
Dom. ſ41.

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the Roman Emperour sent to the Successor the Ensignes of Majesty; and they guarded the marches of their country; that the *Hunnes* might not by Mount *Caucasus* (which borders with them) passe through *Lazica*, and invade the *Romans*. Neither for this received they money, nor army from the *Romans*, nor served in their wars; only they trafficked in Merchandise with the *Romans* of *Pontus*; bartring skins, hides, and slaves for corn, salt, and other commodities they want. But upon the accident formerly recited by me, to *Gurgenes* King of *Iberia*, some *Roman* forces were lodged in *Lazica*; with whom the *Barbarians* were discontented, and chiefly with *Peter* the General, a man naturally mischeivous. He was born in *Arzanene*, a country beyond the river of *Nymphius*, subject to the *Persians*. Being a child, he was taken captive by *Iustine*, invading *Persia* with *Celers* army after the taking of *Amida*; who used much humanity to him, and sent him to a Grammar school. Then was he scribe to *Iustine*; who comming to the Empire upon the death of *Anastasijs*, made him a General, wherein he grew infinitely covetous, and lewd to all men. *Iustinian* afterward sent Commanders into *Lazica*, and at last *Iohn Tzibus*; a man raised from mean condition, and advanced to this Generalship, onely for being the wickedest of all men, and very sufficient to find unjust revenues. And he ruined and confounded the affairs of the *Romans* and *Lazians*. He perswaded *Iustinian* to build a Sea-town in *Lazica*, called *Petra*: Where sitings, as in a Cittadell, he made booty of *Lazica*. He prohibited Merchants to import Salt, or other provisions to the *Lazians*, nor to buy ought of them; but setting up a Monopoly at *Petra*, himself was both retailer, and sole master of the sayd trade, and sold to the *Lazians*, not at usuall prizes, but as he list. The people also were displeased at the *Roman* army, lying upon their country, not formerly used; and not enduring it, resolved to revolt to the *Persians*. And (unknown to the *Romans*) they sent Ambassadors to negotiate the same with *Chosroes*, with instructions to take assurance from *Chosroes*, not to leave the *Lazians* to the *Romans* without their consent; and so to come home with an army of *Persians*. These Ambassadors in *Persia* getting private access to *Chosroes*, spake thus. 'Great King, if ever fortune did gladly reduce men revolted foolishly from their friends to strangers, such I think us the *Lazians* to be. We were ancient allies of the *Persians*, and did, and received many good turns; the monuments whereof remaine to this day, both among our Records, and in your royall Palace. But in succeeding times, our ancestors either neglected by you, or upon some other ground, entred into league with the *Romans*. And now both we and our King present to the *Persians* our selves and country, praying you to consider of us thus. If upon no hard measure from the *Romans*, but of meer ill nature, we come to you, reject us, as not likely to be faithfull to you. The manner of breaking friendship, is a detraction of that made with others. But being to the *Romans* friends in words onely, but in effect trusty slaves, and suffering most unrighteous tyranny; receive us for your servants, formerly your friends; detest a bitter tyranny risen so near you; and doe things worthy the justice naturall to the *Persians*. He is not just who does no wrong himself, if he rescue not men oppressed by others, being able. To speak some of the things practised by these accursed *Romans*: To our King they have left the only outside of Royalty, themselves have usurped the authority. The King, in the condition of a minister, stands in awe of a Generall directing him. They have laid an army upon us, not to guard our country (for none molest us but themselves) but to lock us up in prison, while themselves are masters of what is ours. Nay, see Sir! a more expedite devise of theirs to rob us. Their own superfluities they compell us to buy, and they buy what *Lazica* affords for their use; but so, as the price in both is set down as our conquerours please. And thus they rob us of our necessary commodities, and our money too; under the specious name of Trade, being indeed a meer oppression. Over us is a Governour, a retailer, with his authority making a trade upon our wants. This being the cause of our revolt, it hath the justice of it in it self. But as to the commodity resulting to you by accepting the *Lazians*;

you

you shall add unto the *Persian* Empire an ancient Kingdom, and therein enlarge your glory. Then shall you by our Countrey have the conveniencie of using to *Roman* Seas. Wherein building ships, the very Palace of *Constantinople* will be accessible unto you, with ease, nothing being between to stop you. Adde also, that it will be in your power, for the bordering *Barbarians* to spoile the *Romans* every year, *Lazica*, (as you know) being now their onely rampier against the mountaines of *Caucasus*. So that right leading, and profit following, not to admit our proposition, is certainly no good counsell. *Chosroes* was pleased with this discourse, and agreed to aide the *Lazians*: Demanding of the Ambassadors, if it were possible for a great army to march into *Lazica*, which he heard to be scarce passable for a traveller, being mountainous, and for a long way entangled with thick woods. They told him that by cutting the trees, and throwing them into the ill passages, there would be easie way for his whole army; and they promised to be his guides, and to work in the head of the army. *Chosroes* encouraged herewith, gathered a great army, and prepared for the voyage, not discovering his intent, but to his most secret Counsellors, and charging the Ambassadors not to reveale their negotiation. His pretence was, a journey into *Iberia*, to settle things there; where a nation of *Hunnes* was reported to invade the *Persian* dominion.

In the meane time *Belisarius* gather'd together the army in *Mesopotamia*, and sent some into *Persia* to discover, intending to encounter the enemy there, if he invade againe; and he mustred, and furnished his Souldiers; being naked, and unarm'd, and afraid of the name of a *Persian*. The espials returning assured him, there would bee no invasion; *Chosroes* being engaged in a warr with the *Hunnes*. *Belisarius* upon this resolved to enter the enemies land with his army. *Aretas* came up to him with an army of *Saracens*; And the Emperour wrote to him to invade the enemies countrey immediately. So that calling to him the Commanders at *Daras*, he spake thus. Fellow Commanders! I know you experienced in many wars; and I call you not now, by remembrances or exhortations to provoke your resolution against the enemy (I doe not thinke you need discourses to make you valiant); but that by consulting we may chuse the best for the Emperours affaires. For the warr, more then any thing affects the directions of good counsell: And those who counsell, must be free from awe and feare. For feare amazing, suffers not the judgement to make choice of the best things: And awe clouding better determinations, carries the judgement commonly to the worse. If therefore the Emperour or my self, be thought to have made any resolution already, believe it not. For he being far distant from the affaires, cannot fit proceedings to new occasions; and so there is no feare; if by crossing him, you effect what is most expedient for his affaires. And me, being but a man, and after a long time come from the West, something cannot but passe unseen. So that without standing in awe of my opinion, you are to speak boldly what is best for your selves and the Emperour. At first, we came hither to restrain the enemy from invading our countrey. But now, things succeeding above our hopes, we may consult concerning his countrey. For which purpose being now assembled, it is fit for every man to speak freely, what he holds most expedient. *Belisarius* spake thus; and *Peter* and *Buzes* had lead on the army without delay into the enemies countrey, whose vote all the Assembly followed. *Requithancus* and *Theodisius*, commanders of the forces in *Phoenicia Libani*, said, they approved the invasion also, but feared in their absence, *Alamundarus* would forrage *Phoenicia* and *Syria*, and that the Emperour might be offended for their not guarding the country under their charge: So they refused to accompany the army. *Belisarius* said, they imagined that which was not; For being now Summer, two moneths of this season the *Saracens* consecrate to their God, and make no inroads. And so promising to dismisse them, and their troopes within two moneths, he commanded them to goe along, and with much diligence prepared for the Invasion.

CHAP. XII.

BUT *Chofroes* and the *Persian* army, being come through *Iberia* to the confines of *Lazica*, guided by the Ambassadors, cut the tree which they found thick and entangled, and threw them into the steep and ragged wayes, and so past easily, none encountering them. When they were come into the midst of *Lazica* (where the Poets faine to have been acted the fortunes of *Jason* and *Medea*) *Gubazes*, King of the *Lazians*, came and adored *Chofroes* as his master; rendering himself with his Royall Palaces, and all *Lazica*. *Petra* stands in *Lazica* upon the *Euxine* Sea, formerly a meane town, but by *Justinian* furnished with walls, and other ornaments, and made a strong famous place. *Chofroes* understanding the *Roman* Forces with *John Tzibus* to be there, sent an army, and *Aniavedes* Generall thereof, to surprize it. But *John* knowing their coming, directed no man to fall, nor to be seen upon the battlements; and he placed his forces in armes, close to the gates, commanding them not to utter the least sound or voice. The *Persian* being come before the walls, and seeing no man, supposed the city wast, and abandoned by the enemy. So he approach't to set up scaling ladders, expecting none to defend, because he saw nor heard no enemy, and he sent to *Chofroes*, to let him know, what they found. He sending the most of his army, commanded a generall assault, and one of the Commanders to make use of the *Ramme* near the gates, and from the nearest hill to the city himself was a spectator of the business. When suddenly the *Romans* opened the gates, and falling upon the enemy unawares, killed most of them, specially those about the *Ramme*; The rest with their Generall ran away and escaped. *Chofroes* in anger crucified *Aniavedes*, for being over-stragen'd by *John's* retailer, and no souldier. Some say he crucified, not *Aniavedes*, but the commander who attended the *Ramme*. Then himself with his whole army encamped before the town; and perceiving upon view the fortifications not very tenable, he brought on his forces, commanding to shoot at the battlements. The *Romans* defending with their engines, and shot, at first the *Persians* (though they shot thick) hurt little; but suffered much, being shot from high. Afterward (for *Petra* was to be taken by *Chofroes*) *John*, being shot into the neck, died. Then the *Romans* became careless; and it growing dark the *Barbarians* retired. The next day, they drew a mine to the town: which for steepe rocks about it, is not accessible, nor yet to the sea-ward; but by one narrow entrance only upon plaine ground, with high cliffs on each side. There the builders of the city foreseeing the walls ealie to be forced, made from each cliff a long wall, a crosse the entrance, and at each end two turrets, wrought with great stones, not hollow in the middle, but whole from the ground, and very high, and the stones so joyned, as not to be shaken with *Ramme* or other engine. The *Persians* closely with their mine, were come under one of these turrets; whence carrying out the stones, they set up timbers, and put fire to them. Which encreasing by degrees, crumbled and brake the firmesse of the stones, and so loosening the Turret, down it came suddenly. The *Romans* in it perceived it just so much before, as not to fall with the Turret, and to get within the city walls. Then the Enemy could easily force their entrance upon even ground. But the *Romans* affrighted, came to a parly, and receiving *Chofroes* oath, for their persons, and goods, yielded themselves and the city by composition. *Chofroes* finding in *Petra* much wealth belonging to *John*, took it; but of any other, himself nor the *Persians* toucht nothing; And the *Romans*, having every man his own, mingled with the *Persian* army.

CHAP. XIII.

BELISARIUS heard nothing from these parts; but marcht with the army toward *Nisibis*; and being half way thither kept his right hand way; where

were store of springs, and a spacious champion to encampe. But some had no mind to goe on, so that *Belisarius* made this speech to the Commanders. 'I did not mean to publish my determination: For a word vented in a campe spreads at last even to the enemy. But I see every man will be an absolute Commander; therefore I shall impart, what I thought to conceal; with this preamble, that when in an army many will be absolute, nothing can be well done. Certainly *Chofroes* invading others, hath not left his own country without guard, especially this City, being the first thereof, and a rampire to the rest; wherein, I know, he hath lodged a garrison so strong, and of so good men, as will be able to oppose our assaults. A demonstration thereof is *Nabedes* their Commander, who next to *Chofroes* is the prime man for reputation in *Persia*. Who doubtlesse will set upon us, and we shall not be rid of him, without vanquishing him in fight. If we fight near the city, the *Persians* will have the advantage, backt with their fortification, to follow their execution securely, if they overcome; and if they be overcome, to be presently within their walls, which you see well defended, and in-spygnable. On the other side, if we rout them, we may enter the town pell-mell with the enemy, or thrust between them, and force them to fly to some other region, and so get *Nisibis*, having none to defend it. Upon this speech of *Belisarius*, the rest obeyed, and kept within the campe: Onely *Peter*, General of *Armenia*, stood still, with a good part of the army under his command, a mile and a quarter from *Nisibis*. *Belisarius* put in order of battail the troupes with himself, and sent direction to *Peter* to stand in readinesse till he gave the signall, and to observe at noon, that the *Barbarians* will fall, because themselves dine in the evening, and the *Romans* at noon. But *Peters* men slighted his commands, and being faint with the sunne (for that city is extremely hot) layd down their arms, and disorderly fell to gather figgs, without apprehension of an enemy. Which *Nabedes* observing, gallopt up to them with his army. They seeing them issue out of the gates (being in an open champion) sent to *Belisarius* to succour them; and themselves tumultuously, and in confusion encountered. *Belisarius*, before the messenger came, saw the enemies motion by the dust raised, and with his troupes rode amain to their succour. But in the meantime the *Persians* charged them; which they not enduring, ran away. The enemy pursuing took *Peters* Ensign, and the lively of them. Doubtles they had dyed every man, if *Belisarius* had not received them into his troops, much distressed. Where first the *Goths* presenting their long thick Lances, the *Persians* stood them not, but fell to running, and the *Romans*, and *Goths* pursuing killed a hundred & fifty of them. The chaic was not long, so the enemy got within their walls, and the *Romans* returned to their campe. The next day the *Persians* set the Ensign of *Peter* for a trophy, upon one of the turrets; and laught and brag'd, but durst fall no more out of their fortifications.

Belisarius considering *Nisibis* strongly scituated, and having no hope to take it, urged to rise thence, and to march, where they might suddenly spoyle the enemy. So after a dayes march he came to a castle of the *Persians* called *Sisibannus*, full of inhabitants, and eight hundred of the best *Persian* horsemen to guard it; commanded by *Blechnes*, a principal man. The *Romans* encamped before the Castle, and assaulting were repulst with losse of many; the walls being strong, and the *Barbarians* opposing obstinately. *Belisarius* then called his fellow Commanders, and told them; 'How experience of many wars taught them to foresee the event in actions doubtful, and before differs to chuse the better way. That they knew their disadvantage now, marching in an enemies country, full of strong Garrisons. If they goe on, it is likely that from *Nisibis* the enemy will follow them, and infect them with ambushes. And if another army meet them, they will be forced to a battail with both, and may be undone. Then if they be routed, they have no means of retreat into *Roman* land. They should not therefore crush themselves with inconsiderate indoltry, nor with ambition to winne, hurt the *Roman* affairs. An ignorant daring brings to destruction, and a sober de-

laying

laying preserves men. That themselves therefore should sit down before the Castle, and that *Aretas* with his *Saracens* (men unapt for assaults, but excellent plunderers) should enter *Affria*, and with them some of their best soldiers. These, if no opposition appear, to take the spoil; and (the enemy opposing) to retire to this army: Which if it take the Castle, may passe the *Tigris*, fearing no mischief behind, and informed in what state the *Affrians* are. They all approved this advice of *Belisarius*: Who accordingly commanded *Aretas* to go against the *Affrians*, and sent with him 1200 souldiers, most of his own Targettiers, commanded by two of his Lancers, *Trajanus* and *John* surnamed *Phagas*, and directed to be obedient to *Aretas*, whom he instructed to forrage the countries, and coming back to the camp, to report what forces the *Affrians* had. These past the *Tigris* into *Affria*, found the country rich, and without guard, and so rancked many towns and got much wealth. *Belisarius* in the mean time understood from *Persian* prisoners, That the Castle (not using, as *Daras* and *Nisibis*, to lay in yearly provisions, and then prevented by an enemy, and having brought in none, and many suddainly resorting thither for refuge) wanted provisions. He sent therefore *George*, a wife man, and trusted with his secrets, to try if the place might be had by composition. Who with his reasons, and fair words, prevailed with them to take assurances for their safety, and to render themselves and the Castle to the *Romans*. *Belisarius* did no harm to the Inhabitants, being *Christians*, and anciently *Romans*. The *Persians* with *Blechames* he sent to *Constantinople*, and threw down the walls of the Castle. These *Persians* and *Blechames* the Emperour sent into *Italy* against the *Goths*.

But *Aretas*, fearing the *Romans* might take away his booty, would return no more to the camp. And he commanded some scouts sent out purposely by him, to report a great army of enemies to be at the passage of the river; upon which he advised *John* and *Trajan* to return some other way into the *Roman* Territories. So they went not to *Belisarius*, but keeping the *Euphrates* on their right hand, came to *Theodosiopolis*, standing upon the river of *Aboras*. The *Roman* army with *Belisarius*, hearing nothing of these forces, were troubled and affraid: And the said siege having being long in the *Persian* *Mesopotamia*, infinitely hot; the men being not used to heats, specially those of *Thrace*; and stirring much in them, and lodging in close cabbins in the summer, the third part of them lay half dead with Feavers; and all were earnest to be gone home; specially *Requithancus*, and *Theodistus*, Captaines of *Phenicia Libani*. Who importuned *Belisarius* (the *Saracens* consecrated time being past) protesting to stay there to no purpose, and in the mean time to abandon the towns of *Libanus* and *Syria* to *Alamundarus*. *Belisarius* hereupon called a counsell, where *John* the sonne of *Nicetas* first rose, and spake thus; 'Excellent *Belisarius*! I think the world hath not had, neither for time nor va-
'lour, a Captain like your self. This opinion prevails not onely with *Romans*, but with all *Barbarians*. And certainly hereby you will preserve this
'glory firm, if you bring us alive into the *Roman* dominions; as we now
'are, our expectations are not fair. Our *Saracens*, and best men are come over
'the *Tigris*, and gone into our upper Provinces, so fast, as not to send us so
'much as a messenger. *Requithancus* and *Theodistus* will be instantly gone;
'supposing *Alamundarus* forraging *Phenicia*: and of the rest we have more
'sick; then found men to bring them into the *Roman* dominions. Such, as if an
'enemy light on us here, or upon our retreat, not a man will be left to report
'our disaster to the *Romans* at *Daras*. To march up hither, I think it not pos-
'sible in reason. Whilst therefore some hope is left, 'tis good counsell to make
'a faire retreat; and madnes for men in our danger, not to advise upon safety,
'but designs on an enemy. All approved this speech of *John*; and cryed out
for a speedy retreat. So *Belisarius* put his sick into waggons, and led home the
army; where he heard what *Aretas* had done, but could have no right of
him, being not yet come to him.

Chosroes in the mean time, having taken *Petra*, had the newes of *Belisarius*
invasion; of the battaile by *Nisibis*; the taking of *Sisabranum*, and what the
forces,

forces, which with *Aretas* past the *Tigris*, had done. So leaving a Garrison
in *Petra*, he went into *Persia* with the rest of his army, and *Roman* captives.
These were the occurrents of *Chosroes*'s second invasion; And *Belisarius* was by
the Emperour sent for to *Constantinople*, where he spent his Winter.

C H A P. XIV.

IN the beginning of the Spring, *Chosroes* invaded the *Roman* territorie the
third time, with a great army; keeping the *Euphrates* to his right hand.
Candidus, Bishop of *Sergiopolis*, having not kept his day with *Chosroes*, was af-
raid, and came to the *Persian* Camp; where he besought *Chosroes* not to be of-
fended with him; That he never had money, nor ever thought of ransoming
the *Surenians* himselfe; he had been a sutor to the Emperour, but got no good.
But *Chosroes* put him in prison, and bitterly tortured him, and bad him pro-
cure double the summe formerly agreed. He prayed him to send to *Sergiopo-
lis*, to receive the treasures of the Church; which *Chosroes* did, and *Candidus*
sent some with his messengers: to whom the *Sergiopolitans* gave many of those
treasures, protesting to have nothing left. But *Chosroes* said, those should not
suffice; he must have more; and he sent some in pretence to make privy search
for their wealth, but indeed to surprize the city: But *Sergiopolis* was not then
to be taken. For a *Saracen* under *Alamundarus* (being a *Christian*) named
Ambrius, came under the wall by night; revealed the plot; and bad them re-
ceive no *Persians* into their town. So *Chosroes* seeing his men returne without
effect, in a great rage sent six thousand men to force the town. Who assaulted,
and the *Sergiopolitans* at first defended bravely. But grown weary and affraid,
they advised to render the city; having but two hundred Souldiers within.
But *Ambrius* came againe by night, and told them that within two dayes the
Persians would raise their siege; their water absolutely failing. Whereupon
they refused to parly; and the enemy afflicted with thirst, rose, and returned
to *Chosroes*. Who would not dismiss *Candidus*: It behoved, I think, that having
broke his oath, he should no more be a Priest.

But when *Chosroes* came into *Comagena*, called *Euphratesia*, he would not
forrage, nor take townes, as having spoiled all in *Syria* formerly in his way, and
either sackt or ransom'd them, as hath been said. But his intent was to march
directly into *Palestine*, and there to take the spoile, especially of the Treasures
at *Jerusalem*; hearing the Province was fertile, and richly inhabited. The *Ro-
mans* both Commanders and Souldiers had no mind to meet the enemy, to
stay his passage; but thought it enough within their fortifications to preserve
them, and themselves. *Justinian* advertised of this Invasion, againe sent *Belisa-
rius*; who taking Post-horses, arrived with great speed, (having no Souldiers
with him in *Comagena*. *Justus* the Emperors brothers son, with *Buzes* and some
other, were gotten into *Hierapolis*; and hearing *Belisarius* to be neer, wrote
this letter to him. *Chosroes*, as your self know, hath againe invaded the *Romans*,
with a much greater army then formerly. Whither he intends, he yet makes no shew:
onely we heare, he is very neer, and hurts no town in his way, still marching forward.
Come therefore speedily unto us, if possibly you can slip by the enemy; that you may
be preserved for the Emperour, and guard here *Hierapolis* with us. *Belisarius* liked
not this letter, but went to *Europus*, a town upon the *Euphrates*, from whence
he sent, and levied an army; which encamped there; and to the commanders
he returned this answer; If *Chosroes* goe against other people, and not *Romans*,
you have fallen upon a most safe counsell. They who by lying still can avoid the mis-
chief, are madd to run into a needles danger. But you being quit of the *Barbarian*,
he will fall upon some other country, the best he can find, and without garrisons;
Know then, that a valiant death is better, then such a preservation, or rather trea-
son. Come you therefore speedily to *Europus*; where assembling our whole forces, we
shall effect upon our enemies, what God shall grant us. The Commanders took heart
at this letter; and leaving *Justus* with some to guard *Hierapolis*, the rest went
to *Europus*.

Chosroes's third
Invasion in An.
Dom. 542. &
Justinian 16.

CHAP. XV.

This is supplied
by the Latin
Translation.

When *Chosroes* heard *Belisarius* to be at *Europsus*, he march't no further; but sent to him one of his Secretaries, named *Abandanes*, (a very discreet man,) to complaine; that *Iustinian* had not sent his Ambassadors to ratifie the treaty. Of whose coming *Belisarius* understanding, he chose six thousand the goodliest of his men, as if he would fend them out to hunt. He commanded also *Diogenes*, one of his Lancers, and *Adolius*, the son of *Acacius* an *Armenian* (one of those who attend in the Emperours Palace to keep off noise, whom the *Romans* call *Silentarij*;) and now Captaine of the forces in *Armenia* to skirke along the shore of *Euphrates*, with a thousand horse, and at times to make shew to passe the river to invade their country. Himself hearing the Ambassador to be at hand, retired to his pavillion, which uses to be made with boards; that he might seeme to the Ambassador, to be in a poore town without provisions. His souldiers he thus disposed. On the one side of his pavillion, were the *Thracians*, and *Ilyrians*; and behind them the *Goths*; and next the *Hervulians*; then the *Vandales* and *Moors*. They took up much space, not standing still, but walking at distance, and looking carelesly, and confidently upon the Ambassador. None had his mantle on, but linnen coates like women girt about them, and in their hands a Horsemans-whip. For armes some had swords, some battle axes, others bowes onely; looking like hunters, in all haste, (committing all) to be pursuing the wild beasts. *Abandanes* the Ambassador, coming to *Belisarius* said, That it was a foule indignity, that Cesar (so the *Perfians* call the Roman Emperour) had not sent Ambassadors about the Articles, which had constrained his master to enter the Roman territory in armes. *Belisarius* not fearing their great army, and without any trouble in his mind or countenance, smiled, and with a cheerfull look answered him; Men doe not censure the actions of *Chosroes* by the same reasons he does them by: other men demanding ought of their neighbours, send Ambassadors first, and if they get not right, then they make war. But he being in armes in the heart of our provinces, shamelesly now talks of peace. Having thus said, he dismissed the Ambassador. Who coming back to *Chosroes*, perswaded him to lay down armes, telling him; That he lighted upon a captaine the stoutest, and the wisest in the world, and upon such souldiers as he never beheld the like; whose order he extremely admired. Then was the match between them unequal: He overcoming, should onely vanquish a slave of Cesars; but being overcome, should get infinit dishonour to him and his house. The *Romans* also being beaten, may escape into their fortresses, and in their own country. But if other then well happen to his army, there will be no messenger left to report the calamity in *Persia*. *Chosroes* upon these reasons, had a mind to goe home, but was troubled, knowing the passages of the river to be guarded by the enemy: * and march the same way againe through a wilderness he could not, the provisions they brought with them failing. In conclusion he thought it best, though with hazarding a battaile, to get to the land on the other side the river, and so to march through a plentifull country. *Belisarius* knew well, that not 100000, men could hinder his passage; the river being passable by boats, and his army stronger, then to be barred their way by few enemies. Having also, as I said, commanded *Diogenes* and *Adolius* with a considerable party to the shore, to amaze the enemy with suddainnes, and to put him in disorder: Now he feared, least by frightening him, he might interrupt his quitting the Roman territory; thinking it a matter of much importance, to drive him away, without hazarding with a very small army, heartily afraid of the *Perfians*, against so many thousands. Wherefore he bad *Diogenes* and *Adolius* stay. And *Chosroes* speedily making a bridge, pas'd with his army over the *Euphrates*. Which was done with ease, the *Perfians* having in their marches, ever ready, great iron hooks, wherewith they fasten long timbers together, and make a bridge suddainly. Being upon the other side, he sent to tell *Belisarius*, that he had gratified the *Romans* with his retreat, but expected Ambassadors from them immediately. *Belisarius* also passed the *Euphrates*, and sent some to *Chosroes*, to commend

* Here the
Greek begins
again.

mend him for retiring; to promise Ambassadors forthwith from the Emperour, to finish the articles accorded; and to desire him in his passage through the *Roman* subjects, to use them as friends. Which he promised, so he might have some principall man for hostage of performance of what they undertook. *Belisarius* hearing what he said, sent him from *Edeffa* *John*, the son of *Basilius*, an unwilling hostage; being the chief man in the city for birth and estate. But the *Romans* much extolled *Belisarius*, who in this action seemed to gaine more reputation, then when he brought *Gelimer* and *Vitigis* prisoners to *Constantinople*. The truth is, it deserved highly to be valued, when the *Romans* were terrified, and hid in their fortresses, and *Chosroes* with a mighty army in the midst of their country, for a Generall coming post from *Constantinople*, to encamp with a few in the face of *Chosroes*; to stop him; and then, either frightening him with his fortune and valour, or deceaving him with art, to make him in effect run away, and in words desire a peace.

But *Chosroes* neglected his agreement, and took *Callinicum*, none being to guard it. Their walls, being decayed, they were ever taking down to rebuild them, and then they had opened a piece, and not made it up. When they heard the enemy to be neer, the richer sort carried out their goods, and retired to other strong places. The residue, with a number of peasants flock't thither, continued in the town without any garrison. These *Chosroes* made slaves, and laid the town even with the ground. Shortly after he received *John* the hostage, and retired into his country. The *Armenians* also, who revolted to *Chosroes*, took assurances from the *Romans*, and went with *Basilius* to *Constantinople*. *Belisarius* also went to *Constantinople*, sent for by the Emperour, to be immediatly dispatcht into *Italy*, where things were very ill.

CHAP. XVI.

About the same time was a Plague, which almost consumed mankind. Of all blows from heaven, bold and subtle men will talk of a cause, amazing us with reasons, and phylologies above our apprehension; knowing nothing to be found they lay, but contented, if they may perswade with their cosenages, such as frequent them. But of this to find any other cause is not possible, but God himself. For it came not upon one part of the world, nor in one season of the yeare, from whence subtle wits might coyne a cause. But it vexed the whole world, and all conditions of men, though differing often even to contrariety; sparing no constitution, nor age. Mens differing in their places of dwelling, diets, complexions, addictions, or any thing else in this disease did no good. It took some in the summer, some in the Winter, others at other seasons. So that let *Sophisters*, and discoursers of *Meteors* shew their learning; I will onely relate where it began to rage, and in what manner it destroyed. It began among the *Egyptians* of *Pelusium*, and spread to *Alexandria*, and the rest of *Egypt* one way, and the other, to that *Palestine*, which borders upon *Egypt*. From thence it travelled through the world, as by set journeyes and stages; removing as by appointed gistes; and staying in each country a certaine time; and making destruction its onely business; and spreading on both sides to the utmost bounds of the world, as if afraid, least any odd hole of the earth should escape it. It spared neither land, nor cave, nor top of mountaine, which had men dwelling in it. If it skipt a country, by not touching it at all, or but here, and there; yet returning afterward, it struck no more the neighbouring people formerly visited, but from that country it removed not the lore, before it had justly made up the full measure of the dead, according to the lot of their perillous neighbours. It began still at the sea-coast, and from thence went to the uplands. In the second yeare of it, it came to *Constantinople*, about the middle of the Spring; where it was my fortune then to reside. And it was in this sort. Apparitions of Spirits in all shapes humane, were seen by many; who thought the man they met, struck them in some part of the body; and so soon as they saw the Spirit, they were taken with

with the disease. At first men meeting such, blessed themselves; repeating the most divine names; and using other ceremonies; but did no good; For many who fled into Churches perished. Afterwards, they would not hear their friends calling, but lockt up in their chambers, stopt their eares, though the dores were even broken open; fearing the Sprite called on them. Some in their dreames suffred that, which others from those that met them; or heard a voice, that they were enroled in the appointed to dy. But most without warning by dreames, or waking visions, suddainly became feverish; some newly wakings; some walking; others doing other things. Their body changed not colour, nor was hot, as in a fever, no inflammation being, but the fever to remisse in the beginning, and so till evening, that neither the sick, nor the physician feeling his pulse apprehended danger. But to some the same day, to some the next, or many after, there rose a *Bubo*, not onely in the groyne (which part is called *Bubo*) but in the armeholes, under the eares, and in other parts. These things came alike to all; but the symptomes afterward, I cannot say, whether the difference of bodies made, or the onely will of him, that sent the sickness. Some had a deep slumbering; others a sharp distraction; both suffering, what was proper to the disease. These slumberers forgot all they were formerly used to; seeming perpetually to sleep. If they were look't to, they would cate sometimes; and some neglected, starved. Those taken with madness, were troubled for want of sleep, and with many apparitions; thinking men assaulted them to kill them, crying out, and running away. Their keepers vexed with endless toyle, were pittied as much as themselves: Not for being infected (for no Physician, nor other, caught the disease by touching sicke or dead bodies; many strangely continuing free, though they buried, and tended such as were nothing to them; and many catching it, they knew not how, and dying instantly;) but they pittied their perpetuall toyle; in raising them tumbling upon the ground; and in struggling with them, when they would throw themselves out of windowes. Such as could, leaped into the water, not for thirst, but caused by their phrensie; for many leapt into the Sea. Much toyle they had also to get them to eat; and many, for want of keepers, were starved, or brake their necks. Some without slumbering, or madness, had their *Bubo* gangrened, and they dyed with extreame paine. Which doubtless happened to the rest, but being not themselves, they understood it not; the *Phrensie* taking away their senses. Some Physicians upon these symptomes, conceaving the head of the disease to be in those plague sores, searcht the dead bodyes, and opening the sores, found a huge carbuncle, growing inward. Some died forthwith, some after many dayes. Such, whose bodies were spotted with black pimples, the bigness of a lentile, lived not a day. Many, a voluntary vomiting of blood seizing, died. This I can say, that many famous Physicians judged some instantly would dye, who unexpectedly grew well; and confidently affirmed the recovery of others, who were vpon the point of death. So that no cause of this sickness was reach't by mans reason; some event happening to all, whereof no reason could be rendred. Some bathing helped, others it hurt; Many dyed for want of cure; and many scaped without it; it proving both wayes to those that used it. In a word no way was found of preservation, neither by preventing the disease, nor mastering it; no cause appearing neither of their falling sick, nor recovering. Women with child taken with it, certainly dyed; some miscarrying; some fairely deliv'r'd, and perishing with their children. Yet they say that three women were delivered, who grew well, their children dying; and one dyed, whose child had the happ to live. Such as had their fore great, and running with putrefaction, escap'd; the same asswaging the violence of the carbuncles; and this was commonly a certaine signe of health. But whose plague-fore stay'd, as it first rose, such had the miserable accidents, I mentioned. Some had their thigh withered, the fore rising upon it, and not running. Some escap'd with imperfect tongues, and lived stammering, or speaking sounds without sence. In *Constantinople* this sickness lasted foure months, and was three months in extremity. At first few dyed, more then usually. Then it grew hotter; then died five thousand every day, then

10000.

10000 and more. In the beginning, men took care to bury each his own dead, casting some into other mens Monuments, either unseen or by force. But in the end all was in confusion; Servants were without Masters; and rich men wanted servants to attend them; being sick or dead; and many houses were empty. So that divers for want of acquaintance lay long unburied. *The Emperour (as was reason) made it his own care; and committed the oversight to *Theodorus*, whose office was to subscribe the Emperours answers to Petitions (the *Latines* call him *Referendarius*.) To them that wanted, and to the poor multitude, he gave reliefs in money out of the Treasury. And now in the afflicted City were no trades, nor shops to be seen. Many for fear leaving their bad courses, consecrated themselves to God; and many, when the danger was past, fell to their old despising of God again.

The Greek fails here, and it is supplied from the Latine translation.

CHAP. XVII.

BUT to return to my former discourse. *Chosroes* marcht Northward to *Ar-dabigara*, a town in *Assyria*, purposing from thence to invade the *Romans* again. Here is a great *Pyram*, which the *Persians* adore above all Gods; where the *Magi* keep a perpetuall fire, and offer much sacrifice; and in their greatest affairs use it for an Oracle; it is the fire which anciently the *Romans* called *Vesball*. Here *Chosroes* had news of two Ambassadors from *Constantinople*, about the Peace, *Constantianus* an *Iblyrian*, and *Sergius* an *Edeffenian*; both Orators, and able men. *Chosroes* expecting their coming, forbore hostility. But *Constantianus* fell sick upon the way; and the Plague at last came into *Persia*. But *Nabedes*, Governour of *Persarmenia*, by the Kings command, sent *Endulius*, Prelate of the Christians there, unto *Valerianus*, Commander of the forces in *Armenia*; to complaine of the slownesse of the Ambassadors; and to exhort the *Romans* to peace. He came into *Armenia* with his brother, and told *Valerianus*, that he heartily affected the *Romans*, being *Christians* as himself; and would so perswade *Chosroes*, that the Ambassadors should find no impediment of concluding a peace to their own desire. But the Prelates brother getting privately to *Valerianus*, told him; That *Chosroes* in great distresse desired a peace; his sonne conspiring against him; and his army being full of the Plague. *Valerianus* upon this sent away the Prelate; promising the Ambassadors should shortly come to *Chosroes*; and the said advertisement he wrote to *Justinian*. Who thereupon directed him and the Army to invade the *Persians*; for he saw not that any enemy would oppose them; willing all the forces to joyn, and enter into *Persarmenia*. The Captains upon these Letters rode with their troopes into *Persarmenia*. *Chosroes* was newly gone from *Ardabigara*, for fear of the Plague, with his army to a part of *Assyria*, where the sickness was not yet come. *Valerianus* with his forces encamped at *Theodosiopolis*, to whom joyned *Narjes*, with some *Armenians* and *Herulians*. But *Martinus*, Generall of the East, with *Ildiger* and *Theodisius*, encamped at *Cisnarizum*, a Castle four dayes journey from *Theodosiopolis*; whether came *Peter* shortly after, and *Adolius*, with some other Captaines; *Isaac* also, * brother of *Narjes* was there; and *Philemuth*; and *Verns*, with the *Herulians* under their command, came to *Arzanene*, not far from the camp of *Martinus*. *Justinus* also the Emperours Nephew, and *Peranius*, and *John* the son of *Nicetas*, with *Domentiolus*, and *John Phagus*, encamped at *Phison*, a Castle near unto *Martyropolis*. Thus were these Commanders quartered, with their severall troops; amounting in the whole to thirty thousand. These joyned not, nor communicated; save when the Generals sent to one another to know news of the *Persians*. *Peter* upon a sudden motion, without acquainting the rest, invaded the enemies country. And the next day, *Philemuth* and *Verns*, with their *Herulians* followed. *Martinus* and *Valerianus* hearing thereof, marcht likewise to the Invasion. Shortly all joyned in the enemies country, save *Justinus*, who was quartered far off; but hearing (though late) that his fellow Commanders were entred the enemies land, he marcht thither also, but could not unite his troopes with theirs.

Anno Domini 541.
Justiniani 17.

Here begins the Greek again.

Those Generalls marcht directly to *Dubis*; neither foraging, nor otherwise hurting the country. *Dubis* is a Territory eight dayes journey from *Theodosiopolis*, of good land, well situated for air, and water; being fair champions, full of populous villages close together, and inhabited by Merchants, who traffique with the *Indians*, and neighbouring *Iberians*, and with all the *Persian* Nations, and some *Romans*. The Bishop of the *Christians*, the *Greeks* call *Catholics*, who hath the charge of all the country. Some fiftene miles from *Dubis* to the right hand comming from the *Roman* Territories, stands a ragged mountain, hardly to be passed, and in a very narrow passage a village called *Anglon*, where *Nabedes* hearing of the enemies comming, kept fast; confident of the strength of the place. The village is at the furthest end of the mountain; where, upon a steep rock, stands a Castle of the same name. *Nabedes* fortified the passage to the village with stones, and waggons, and drew a trench before, and lodged his army in the said village; and in old houses without it, layed ambushes of foot. The *Persians* amounted in all to four thousand men. The *Romans* came to a place, distant a dayes journey from *Anglon*, and took a scout of the enemies, who told them, that *Nabedes* was retired from *Anglon*. *Narfes* at this chafed, reproaching his fellow Commanders for their tardiness. The same others did likewise; taunting one another. And now careless of fighting, and fearless of dangers, they attended pillaging only. They marcht confusedly, without discipline, without watchword (as is usuall in such actions) or distinction by any kind of order. The souldiers were mingled with the attendants upon the baggage, and marcht as to some great booty ready drest for them. Being near *Anglon*, they sent out scouts, who brought them word, that the army was in battail array. The Commanders were amazed with the suddainness; yet thought it bafe and cowardly to turn their backs with so great an army. So ordering the army as well as in that case they could; they marcht against the enemy. *Peter* having the right hand wing, *Valerianus* the left, and *Martinus* the battell. Being come near the enemy, they stood still in their ranks confusedly, by reason of the ragged ground, and their being newly put in order. The *Barbarians* also drew close together, and stood viewing the enemies powers; *Nabedes* had commanded none to strike the first blow, but the enemy giving on, to resist him. *Narfes* with his *Herulians*, and some *Romans*, gave on upon the *Persians*; and then he routed, who ran away up to the Castle. Much mischief was done between them in the narrow passage; and *Narfes* pressed upon the enemy, and encouraged his men; and the rest fell to work. But suddainly the Ambushes issuing from the old houses, into the narrow lanes, killed some *Herulians*, and wounded *Narfes* in the head mortally, whom his brother *Isaac* carried off; but he dyed quickly, having in this fight done bravely. The *Romans* upon this growing to confusion, *Nabedes* drew out all his army, which in those narrow lanes shooting at a multitude, killed them at ease, and most the *Herulians*; being the most part unarmed, and in fight never using head-piece, corslet, or other defensive armour, save a shield, and a thick coat girt about them. Their slaves fight without shields, which their masters permit them to weare, when they have shewed themselves good souldiers. But the *Romans* not enduring the enemy longer, fled amain, remembering neither valour, shame, nor ought that good is. The *Persians* suspecting, that they could not fall to so shamelesse a running away, but had some ambushes; drave them out of the fastnesses, and then turn'd bridle, not daring with a few to encounter so many in a plain. But the *Romans* (specially the Commanders) thinking the enemy still pursuing, ran without intermission; urging their horses with whip and voice; throwing away their arms in haste; as having no courage to fight with a *Persian* over-taking, but all their hope of safety in their horses feet. In a word, it was such a running away, as scarce a horse over-lived it, but instantly dyed, the course ended. So great a disaster the *Romans* have not formerly had. Many were slain, more made slaves to the enemy, who took so great a quantity of arms and baggage, that the rich state of *Persia* appeared much richer by this victory. *Adolus* in this retreat, passing by a Castle in *Persia*.

ar menia,

armenia, was slain by a wound in his head of a stone thrown by one of the Inhabitants. *Iustus* and *Peranius*, having a little plundered the country of *Taurania*, returned home.

CHAP. XVIII.

BUT the next year *Chosroes* invaded the *Romans* the fourth time, with his Barmy into *Mesopotamia*. And this expedition he made not against the Emperor *Iustinian*, nor any mortall man indeed, but even against God, whom only the *Christians* adore. For in his first Invasion, misting *Edeffa*, and retiring so; he and his *Magi* were much discontented to be overcome by the *Christians* God. Wherefore he threatned to make the *Edeffians* slaves, and to turn their City to a Sheep-pasture. Being come before *Edeffa* with his army, he sent some *Hunnes* to the walls over against the *Circus* to steal the sheep, kept near the walls by shepherds, presuming upon the strength, and steepness of the place. But the *Barbarians* got to the sheep, and the shepherds stoutly resisted; but with the aid of some *Persians* they got away one flock; which ran back again, while some *Romans* fallying fought with them: Where a *Hunne* fighting in the front, and most troubling the *Romans*, a country fellow hit him with a sling-stone on his right knee, and down he fell headlong; which encouraged the *Romans*. The fight lasted from morning till noon, and both thinking they had the better; parted, the *Romans* to their walls, and the *Barbarians* to pitch their tents a mile from the City, where they encamped. *Chosroes*, either upon some dream, or the apprehension of disgrace to misse *Edeffa* twice, thought of selling his retreat to the *Edeffians* for money. *Paul* the Interpreter therefore the next day, under the town-walls, advised the *Romans* to send men of quality to *Chosroes*. They chose four eminent men; whom *Zaberganes* met in the camp, by the Kings direction; and with threatening words asked them; which they would rather have, a Peace, or a War. They confelling to chuse peace before dangers: Then must you buy it, quoth *Zaberganes*, with a great summe. They sayd they would give as much as formerly; when he came thither after the sack of *Antioch*, *Zaberganes* laught; and bade them consult seriously for their lives; and come back again. Shortly after *Chosroes* sent for them, and recited the *Roman* towns he had led into captivity; threatening to them also the terriblest usage, if they gave him not all their money within their walls; upon which only he would raise his siege. The Ambassadors acknowledged, that they would buy their peace, if he enjoyed possibilities. But the conclusion of a danger, they said, no living man could know before the combat; war being not upon articles of agreement between the parties. Upon this *Chosroes* commanded them in anger to get them gone.

The eighth day of the Siege, he beganne to raise a mount against the walls; making, without arrow-shot, a square work of trees cut down with leaves on, spreading over them much earth, and over all, a quantity of rude unwrought stones (his only care being to raise the Mount speedily) putting between the earth and stones long timbers, which fastned the work; that growing high, it should not be weak. But *Peter* the *Roman* Generall being in the town, with *Martinus* and *Peranius*, sent out *Hunnes* against the workmen, who falling on suddainly, killed many. One of his Lancers, named *Arger*, killed above seven and twenty. But the *Barbarians* kept better guard afterward, and none fallyed on the workmen: Who being come within arrow-shot, the *Romans* from the walls stoutly employed their slings and bows. Before their labourers in this *Aggestus* (so is it called in *Latine*) the *Barbarians* hung upon long poles hair-cloths of Goats hair, thick and long, that no fiery darts nor arrows could pierce through, but there fell dead. Then the *Romans* affraid, sent Ambassadors to *Chosroes*, and with them *Stephanus* a famous Physitian, who had cured King *Cabades* of a disease, and got a great estate by him. He with the rest

Chosroes 4th.
Invasion in An.
Dom. 544. &
Justinian 18.

coming to *Chosroës*, spake thus. Men have ever held humanity the mark of a good King. So that, mighty Sir! if you kill and lead into captivity, you may perchance obtaine some other titles, but shall never be thought a good man. And of all cities, *Edessa* should least have a misfortune from you; Where I was borne; who not foreseeing what would come to passe, fostered you; and by counselling your father to appoint you his successor, have been to you a principall cause of the Empire of *Persia*, and to my country of these miseries. Thus men are themselves the authors of most of their own misfortunes. But if you have any remembrance of this service, you will doe us no more hurt; by bestowing this retribution on me; by which, O King! you will have the fortune not to be esteemed a most cruell man. But *Chosroës* professed not to rise from thence, till the *Romans* delivered him *Peter*, and *Peranius* his fathers slaves, presuming to beare armes against him. If they refused this, they must either pay * five hundred *Centenaries* of gold, or admit his ministers to search the city, and to bring him all the gold and silver within it, and upon this they might keep the rest of their goods. This *Chosroës* spake at random, expecting with ease to take the city. And the Ambassadors finding his propositions impossible, returned much troubled; And reporting the demands, filled the city with noise and lamentations.

* 1575000. l. sterl.

CHAP. XIX.

BUT the mount rose to a great height, and went on apace. The *Romans* in perplexity, sent againe Ambassadors; who were futors for the same things, but were not regarded, but driven out of the *Persian* camp, with scorn & houting. Then they began to raise their walls higher, toward the mount; But the *Persians* worke farr overtopping that also, they gave it over; And desired *Martinus* to procure a capitulation, as he would himself. He got as neer as he could to the camp, and spake with some *Persian* commanders; who to amuse him said, Their King desired peace, but could not persuade the Emperour to leave quarrelling. He could not deny *Belisarius* to be above *Martinus* in power, and place; who persuaded the King to retire from the midst of the Roman Provinces, with promises of Ambassadors to perfect the Treatie of peace; but he could not performe, being not able to force the Emperours will. In the mean time the *Romans* drew a mine to the enemies work; and commanded not to leave working, till they were under the middle of the Mount. Where being, the *Persians* above heard the noise; and finding what they did, cross-mined on both sides, to catch them in the middle. They perceaving it, stopt up their mine there with earth; and from underneath the part of the Mount next the town, carried out the timber, stones, and earth, and made a little hollow roome; where they laid dry loggs steep't in Cedar oyle, and *Assyrian* pitch. During this preparation the *Persian* commanders in many meetings with *Martinus* discoursed to the effect aforesaid, seeming to entertaine a parley for Peace. But their mount being brought to perfection, and raised farr above the walls, they sent away *Martinus*; refusing any composition; and fell to work. * The *Romans* then fet the dry loggs a fire: which burnt part of the Mount; but not spreading to the whole, and being burnt out, they brought more into the hollow roome. Then appeared the smoake from the Mount at night: and the *Romans* to prevent the discovery, shot small vessells filled with burning coales, and fire darts, thick over the mount: and the *Persians* thinking the smoake came from them, ran to quench them. But the fire prevailed, and the *Barbarians* pitifully crying, were shot and killed from the walls. At Sun-rising, *Chosroës* came with some of his army; went upon the Mount; and first found the mischief, shewing, how the smoake came not from that darted from the enemy, but from fire below; and he willed the army to shout. The *Romans* grew confident, and flouted them: They all cast on, some earth, others water, which abated the smoake there, but presently it burst out in another part more vehemently; The water also added force to the sulfur, and *Assyrian* pitch, and spread the fire more; and within, the fire prevailed

* Here againe the Latin translation fills up a great gap.

prevailed above the water; and about evening the smoke was so high, that it was seen at *Carræ*, and other neighbouring parts. There were fights also upon the Mount, wherein the *Romans* overcame. And now the flame rose cleerly; when the *Persians* abandoned the work. Six dayes after they assaulted something before day-light, (the *Romans* being dead asleep): And they set to their ladders, and were mounting: But a peasant awaking, called up the *Romans*. They fought; and the *Persians* were beaten to their camp; leaving their ladders, which the *Romans* drew up. About midnight *Chosroës* sent a great part of his army to force the great Gate. The *Romans* (not onely Souldiers, but peasants and people) stood them, had the better, and routed them. As they were running, *Paul* the Interpreter put himself among the *Romans*, and told them, that *Recimer* was newly come from *Constantinople* an Ambassador about peace. So they parted. *Recimer* came to the *Barbarians* camp some dayes before; which they concealed from the *Romans*; expecting the event of their works; if those prosper'd, they resolv'd to come to no treatie; if they were beaten (as they now are) they might come to it fairly; the *Romans* having invited them. When *Recimer* was neer the city gate, the *Persians* demanded some to be sent out to treat an accord with *Chosroës*. They answered, they would within three dayes send *Martinus*, who now was sicke. *Chosroës* suspecting the answer not to be sincere, prepared for warr; commanding store of bricks to be laid upon the Mount. Two dayes after he approached the walls with his whole army, and applyed his ladders and engines; and begit the towns; placing squadrons at every gate, & *Saracens* behind them; who when the town was taken, were to lay hold on run-awayes. The fight began in the morning, and at first the *Persians* had the better; being many against few; for the *Romans* were not aware of the assault. The fight proceeding, the city was full of tumult; the women and little children went to the walls; and the men resisted valiantly; Many peasants did bravely. The women and children with the old men brought stones to the combatants. Some threw down boyling oyle. Then the *Persians* refused to fight any longer; telling the King plainly, they would not give on: *Chosroës* in a rage, threatening and urging them, brought them all on. And againe with shouts they applied their ladders, and engines, as if they would instantly enter. But the *Romans* defending in great numbers, the enemy fledd; and the *Romans* his't at *Chosroës*; daring him to the assault. Onely *Azathes* with his troupes continued fighting about the gate of *Soëna*; and from a place called *Tripgia*, the valiantest of the *Romans* sallied. Other *Persians* assaulting an outwork, prest hard upon the defendants, till *Peranius* with many souldiers, and some *Edeffianians*, having routed *Azathes*, rode up to these. So that *Chosroës* beginning the assault in the morning, gave it over late at night: Both passed the night quietly; the *Persians* afraid of their trenches; the *Romans* providing stones and other things against another assault the next morning; when the *Barbarians* came not on. But the day after, a part of the army animated by *Chosroës* set upon the gate of *Barlaim*; but were beaten back to their camp. Then *Paul* the Interpreter called up to the walls for *Martinus*, to treat an accord. Which he did; and *Chosroës* receiving * 50000. gold *Staters* from the *Edeffianians*, subscribed the articles; promising no more to infest the *Romans*. In conclusion, setting his palissadoes and others works on fire, he went home with his army.

About this time died two *Roman* commanders, *Justus*, *Justinians* nephew, and *Peranius* the *Iberian*; the first by sickness, the other by a fall from his horse in hunting. In whose roomes the Emperour placed *Marcellus*, his sisters sonne, a youth, and *Constantianus*, afterward Ambassador to *Chosroës* about the treatie. These had audience in *Assyria*, where stand *Selucia*, and *Ctesiphon*, faire cities, built by the *Macedonians*, who after *Alexander* the great reigned in *Persia*, Of which cities the *Tigris* bounds their territories; no other countrey being between them. Here finding the King, they demanded restitution of the places in *Lazica*, and ratification of the articles of peace. But *Chosroës* said, that a peace would hardly be, without a truce first for a time, during which by mutuall concourse, and communication, they might more firmly determine the

Perpetuall

* 39962. l. 10. s. sterl.

The Quinquennial Ceflation, An. Juftin. 19. Anno Domini 545.

Perpetuall Peace, and that the *Romans* to get it must give him money; and they must send him one *Tribunus*, with whom by a day certain he would conclude the businesse. This *Tribunus*, a Physician, had cured *Chosroes* of a great sickness, for which he was his friend, and very gratefull. *Justinian* forthwith sent him *Tribunus*; and of the money twenty thousand Staters. And so a Truce was concluded for five years, in the nineteenth year of *Justinians* reigne.

Shortly after *Alamundarus* and *Arethas* had a war, without any ayds of *Persians* or *Romans* on either side. *Alamundarus* in an Inroade took a son of *Arethas* prisoner, and sacrificed him to *Venus*. From him was discovered, how *Arethas* sold the affairs of the *Romans* to the *Persians*. Afterward they came to a battell with their whole forces, wherein *Arethas* got the better, and routed the enemy, and killed many. A while after he had the pursuit of two sons of *Alamundarus*, but could not take them.

CHAP. XX.

Here the Greek continues.

BUT in *Lazica*, *Chosroes* had a design to kill *Gubazes* their King, * and to transplant the Nation into some other part of his dominions, and to plant *Persians* in their room: For he thought it a matter of much importance, finally to possesse *Lazica*, being of manifold use to the *Persians*: First, by holding more securely the *Iberians*, who would have none to fly to in case of revolt: For the principall *Iberians* with their King *Gurgenes* revolting (as I said before) the *Persians* suffered not the nation to chule their King any more; neither were they willing subjects to the *Persians*, but both were suspicious of each other; and the *Iberians* discontented, and ready to stir upon fit opportunity. He considered also, that not only the *Persian* dominions would hereby be for ever free from the devastation of the *Hunnes* bordering upon *Lazica*; but that himself, having a mind, might send them against the *Romans*; there being no rampire against the *Barbarians* of Mount *Caucasus*, but only *Lazica*. But principally *Lazica* would advantage the *Persians*, by issuing from thence to infect by land and sea the places upon the *Euxine* sea, to subdue *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, and to surpris *Constantinople*, there being none to stop their course. Upon these considerations *Chosroes* would have *Lazica*, but could not be confident in the Nation. For after the *Romans* were retired from thence, the common people were discontented at the *Persians* Government, who of all men have least variety in their humours, their manner of life being extremely strict; their laws hard of digestion, and their commands intolerable. And in reference to the *Lazians* the difference infinitely appeared, both in Religion and conversation; the *Lazians* being Christians, none more; and the *Persians* quite contrary. Besides, no Salt being in *Lazica*, nor Wine, nor other native commodity, all is imported from the sea coasts of the *Romans*; not giving money to the Merchants, but skins, and slaves, and other things with them abounding. From which being now barred, they were discontented. And *Chosroes* perceiving it, consulted upon some safe prevention, before they should stirre for an alteration; and thought it most expedient to rid away *Gubazes* their King, and to transport the Nation, and to plant *Persians* and others in their country.

He sent also to *Constantinople* *Isdignus*, under pretext of an Ambassage, and with him five hundred chosen *Persians*, directing them to get into *Daras*, and lodging in severall houses to set them afire, and while the *Romans* were busie to quench the fire, to open the gates, and receive in the rest of the *Persian* army; the Governour of *Nisibis* being commanded to be in readynesse with forces concealed thereabout. Thus *Chosroes* thought without labour to have the killing of the *Romans* in *Daras*, and to be master of the City. But a *Roman* fugitive in *Persia* having knowledge of it, went to *Daras*, and there revealed it to *George*; who formerly perswaded the *Persians* besieged in *Sisibranum* to yeeld to the *Romans*. *George* went out to meet the Ambassador, and told him,

* this

* this was not like not Ambassage; and that *Persians* in so great numbers use not to lodge in *Roman* Cities; he should do well to leave the rest in a town called * *Amudis*, and with a few in his company to enter *Daras*. *Isdignus* chafed, and took this for a great affront, being an Ambassadour sent to the Emperour. But *George*, without respect to his storming, preserved the City to the *Romans*; receiving him in, with onely twenty of his train. He failing in his plot, went to *Constantinople*, with his Wife and two Daughters, the pretence of his extraordinary company. Where having access to the Emperour, of businesse great or small he had nothing to say, though he had been six moneths in the *Roman* dominions; but he delivered usuall presents to the Emperour, and letters, to know if he were in good health. This *Isdignus* *Justinian* entertained with the most grace and honour that we ever saw him use to any Ambassadour; seating him, and *Braduesimas* his Interpreter; and setting them upon the same couch with himself, a thing never done before. No man ever saw an Interpreter sit at table with the meanest Governour, much lesse the Emperour. And this Ambassadour without businesse, he entertained, and dimissed more honourably than ever any. His charges and presents came to more than ten Centenaries of gold.

31500 l. sterl.

CHAP. XXI.

BUT into *Lazica* *Chosroes* first sent much ship-timber, giving out it was for Engines to stand upon the walls of *Petra*. Then he sent *Fabrizus*, with three hundred chosen *Persians*, intrusting him, closely to kill *Gubazes*, and of the sequele he would take care. The timbers in *Lazica* were all consumed by lightning. But *Fabrizus*, being there, and practising to execute his instructions concerning *Gubazes*, sent for a Nobleman of the country, named *Pharjanfes*, (whom he understood to be in disgrace with *Gubazes* for some offence, not daring to come in his sight) and to him revealed the matter, and advised with him how to attempt it. The conclusion was, that *Fabrizus* should goe to *Petra*, and send for *Gubazes*, to acquaint him with the great Kings resolution touching *Lazica*. But *Pharjanfes* secretly discovered the plot to *Gubazes*. Who thereupon refused to come to *Fabrizus*, and prepared for an open revolt. *Fabrizus* committed the guard of *Petra* to the other *Persians*, to prepare all things safe against a siege; and so went home, having done nothing. *Gubazes* reported to *Justinian* the present estate, besought his pardon for things past, and his present ayd to shake off the *Persian* Government. The Emperour was glad of the news, and sent him seven thousand men, commanded by *Dagisphaus*, and a thousand *Tzanians*. Who joyned with *Gubazes* and the natives, and besieged *Petra*. The *Persians* within defended it valiantly, and much time was spent in the siege; they having laid in store of victuall in the town. *Chosroes* was troubled at it, and sent against them a great army of horse and foot, under the command of *Mermereos*. Whereof *Gubazes* being advertised, and upon advise with *Dagisphaus*, did thus. The River of *Boas* springs near the confines of *Tzanica*, about *Pharangium* in *Armenia*. First it runnes a good way to the Northward, and is small and fordable, till it comes where it hath the Marches of *Iberia* to the North, and the utmost ridge of Mount *Caucasus* to the South. Hereabout inhabit the *Alans*, and the *Abasgians*, in ancient anitile with the *Romans*, and they are Christians; the *Zechians* also, and *Sabirian Hunnes*. From the Marches of *Iberia* and *Caucasus*, this River is supplied with other waters, grows greater, and instead of *boas* is called *Phasis*, is navigable, and disembogues into the *Euxine* sea. On both sides of it is *Lazica*. To the right hand the country is well inhabited, to the borders of *Iberia*; on that side the river are their villages, and some small cities, antiently built, as *Archeopolis*, a strong place; *Sebastopolis*, and the Castle of *Pityunium*; and towards *Iberia*, *Scanda*, and *Sarapis*. Other strong Cities there are, as *Rhodopolis*, and *Machrysis*. But to the Southward are the Marches of *Lazica* for a dayes journey, a country uninhabited; upon which

which border the *Ponticke Romans*. In the desert marches of *Lazica* *Justinian* built *Petra* in my time, where, (as I said) *John Tzibus* set up the monopoly, which caused the *Lazians* defection. From *Petra* Southward the *Roman* borders begin; where are populous towns, as *Rhizann*, *Athens*, and others unto *Trapezond*. The *Lazians*, when they brought *Chosroes* into the country, past the *Bos*, and came to *Petra*; leaving *Phasis* (then so called) to his right hand; pretending to avoyd the delay and toyle of ferrying over the river *Phasis*; but in truth not willing to shew the *Persians* their dwellings. And *Lazica* on both sides the river is full of bad wayes, having rocks on either side the country, which make long narrow glinnes. (The *Romans*, as the *Grecians*, call such wayes, *Clausura*.) But then, *Lazica* being unguarded, the *Persians* guided by the natives, came with ease to *Petra*.

9450 1. Aeri.

But now *Gubazes* being informed of the *Persians* coming, wrote to *Dagifshaus* to send forces to guard the passage beyond the *Phasis*, and not to raise the siege, before *Petra* were taken. Himself with his own army march't to the utmost borders of *Lazica*, to guard the Passage there. He had sometime before gotten some troopes of *Alans*, and *Sabirians*; who agreed for three *Centenaries*, to help to guard his country, and so depopulate *Iberia*, that the *Persians* should not be able to come in that way; and the money the Emperor was to pay: whom *Gubazes* praid to send the same, and some Donative to the *Lazians*, now in much distress; alledging himself also to be behind for ten yeares, being enrolled a *Silentiary* of the Imperiall Palace, and having received no pay from the time *Chosroes* entred *Lazica*, *Justinian* meant to performe his request, but greater busines diverting him, he sent not the money in the due time. But *Dagifshaus*, being a young man, and unable to manage a *Persian* warre, made no advantage of the opportunities offered him: Whereas he should have sent to the Passage the most of his army, and been himself at the action, he sent, as to some slight business, onely two hundred men. And he did nothing upon *Petra* with all his forces: The enemy within, at first were not 1500. men, who continually being shot, and slaine at the assaults; after as much valour, as ever men shewed, were reduced to a very few; and dispairing, and unable, lay still. The *Romans* drew a mine under the wall; and the wall falling with a house joyning to it, fell all into the Ruine, securing the town as much as the wall. This troubled not the *Romans*, who saw hope, by mining in another part, to take the town: and *Dagifshaus* wrote of it to the Emperor; urging for rewards of victory, and appointing what he and his brother should have; for they would take *Petra* presently. But the *Persians* received the assaults bravely, and beyond expectation; their troopes being much decayed. Wherein the *Romans* prevailing not, they mined againe, and came on with their work so, that the foundation of the wall had no ground to beare it, and the wall was in the aire, suddainly to fall. And if *Dagifshaus* had presently put fire to the supporters, the town had been taken. But he with his hopes from the Emperor, dallying, did nothing.

CHAP. XXII.

IN the meane time *Mermeroes* with a *Persian* army past the marches of *Iberia*, and avoyding the townes of *Lazica*, for feare of stopp, kept the *Phasis* to his right hand; his care being to save *Petra*, and the *Persians* in it. Where the piece of the wall which tottered, as I said, fell suddainly; at which fifty *Romans* entred, and cryed out aloud, *The Victorious Emperour Justinian*. They were led by *John*, a young *Armenian*, son of that *Thomas* surnamed *Guzes*, who by the Emperours direction built many fortresses in *Lazica*, commanding the army there, and well esteemed by the Emperour. This *John* the *Persians* encountered, and so he retired, wanting seconds. Then *Mirranes*, commander of the garrison, willed the *Persians* to attend their guards, and went (being afraid of the towne) to *Dagifshaus*; gave him faire words; promised to render the town shortly, and so amused him, that he did not, as he should have done,

done, presently march into the town. In the meane time *Mermeroes* was encountered at the Passage by the two hundred *Romans*: who valiantly kept off the assailants. But the *Persians* persisting, and being still supplied with new men for their slaine (having lost more then 1000.) The *Romans* weary with killing, and overprest with numbers, ran up to the mountaines. *Dagifshaus* hereof advertised, presently raised the siege, and without giving any direction to the army, away he gallopt towards the *Phasis*, and all the *Romans* followed, leaving their baggage in the camp. Which the *Persians* seeing, fallyed, fell among their Calbins, and were rifling the camp. But the *Tzantians*, who followed not *Dagifshaus*, came to the rescue; routed the enemy (whom ran into the town, after the losse of many) and ransacked the *Roman* camp themselves; Then went to *Rhizann*, and from thence home by *Athens*, and *Trapezond*.

The ninth day after *Dagifshaus* his retreat, *Mermeroes* with his army came thither: where he found remaining of the *Persian* Garrison 350. men, whereof 150 found, the rest wounded and unerviceable. The dead bodies the survivors never threw from the walls, but endured almost stifling with the stench; that the enemy, seeing for many lost, might not be the more encouraged to assault. *Mermeroes* said scoffingly, that the *Romans* affaires were to be lamented, being fallen into so weak a condition, as not to be able with all their endeavour to force 150. *Persians*, that had no walls to defend them. But the walls he carefully repaired, and wanting lime and other materials, he filled with sand the linnen wallets, wherein the *Persians* brought their provisions, and laid them instead of stones; and this served for walling. In the towne he left 3000 chosen men, with a proportion of victuall for no long time, and direction to repaire the walls. Himself with the rest of his army returned homeward; And because if he marcht the same way he came, he would find no provisions, having left what he brought out of *Iberia* in *Petra*; he went over the mountaines, which, he heard, were inhabited; that by foraging he might make his army live. But one *Eubelins*, a noble man of *Lazica*, conducting *Dagifshaus*, and 1000. *Romans*, surprized the *Persians* where they lodged; and having stolne some horses at pasture, and killed some who kept them, retired; and *Mermeroes* rose from thence. But *Gubazes* not affrighted with what happened to the *Romans*, quitted not the Passage on his side, supposing there to be the maine of his hopes. For though the *Persians* forced through the Passage beyond the *Phasis*, and got to *Petra*; yet he could not incommode *Lazica*, being not able to cross the *Phasis* without ships; the river is so deep and broad, and so swift, that it enters the Sea a good way unmingled with salt water, & out of it passengers take in fresh water: And with ships, the many Fortresses on this side, will make an enemies landing unsafe. *Justinian* also at last sent the monyes for the *Sabirians*, and other for *Gubazes*, and the *Lazians*. Long before he had sent a good army thither commanded by *Recithangus* the *Thracian*, a wise man, and a good souldier; but it was not yet arrived. *Mermeroes* having gotten to the mountaines, would have provided victuall for *Petra*, knowing, that that he had left, would not serve a Garrison of 3000. men. But what he could light on in the country, hardly sufficing his own army of 30000, he could send nothing to *Petra* worth the speaking. So he resolved with the most of his army to quit *Lazica*, and leave some few, who of the provisions they could get, were to transport most to *Petra*, and to live upon the rest. And so 5000. chosen men he left with *Fabrizus*, and three other commanders. He thought a greater army not needfull; there being no enemies. With the residue he went into *Perf Armenia*, and lay quiet in the townes of *Dubis*. The 5000. upon the furthest confines of *Lazica*, encamped by the river *Phasis*, dragling to plunder thereabouts. *Gubazes* observing it, sent to *Dagifshaus* to come up to him, as having it in his power to doe the enemy a notable mischief. He did so, marching with the river *Phasis* to his left hand, till he came where on the other side encamped the *Lazians*, and where the river was fordable. This neither the *Romans*, nor *Persians* knew (not knowing the country) but the *Lazians* knew it, and there passed the river, and joynd with the *Romans*. The *Persians* sent out 1000 chosen men to prevent an enemies infesting their camp: And two of these

advancing

advancing to discover, fell into the enemies hands, and discovered all to them. So the *Romans* suddenly set upon the 1000. men, of whom none escaped, but were most slain, and the rest taken. *Gubazes* learnt the number of the *Persian* army, how far off they were, and in what estate. They march't therefore towards them, computing to fall on them far within the night. They were in number fourteen thousand. The *Persians*, without thought of an enemy, slept securely. They thought the river not fordable, and their 1000. men far upon their way, without encountering any. So that the *Romans* unexpected charging them after midnight, found some asleep, some newly awake, and naked upon their pallets; not a man with a thought of fighting; But most of them thus surprized were slain. Some they tooke, among whom a principall commander. Some few escaped in the darke. The camp the *Romans* and *Lazians* took, with all their Ensignes; and had the booty of much armes, and goods, and of Horses and Mules a great number. They followed the execution far into *Iberia*; where lighting upon other *Persian* troopes, they killed many. The *Romans* and *Lazians* also found there a quantity of meale and other provision, and burnt it; which the *Persians* were conducting out of *Iberia* to *Petra*. So they left at the Passage some numbers of *Lazians*; that no provisions to *Petra* might passe that way; and then returned with all their booty and captives. And thus ended the fourth year of the *Persian* affaires, being the three and twentjeth of *Justinian's* raigne.

Anno Dom.
548. & 23.
Justinian.
was the fourth
year of the
truce, where A-
gathias begins.


The yeare before, *John* the *Cappadosian* was sent for by the Emperour to *Constantinople*; for the Empress *Theodora* died in that yeare. Yet could he not recover any of his offices. The honour of Priesthood he held against his will. He had also apparitions promising the Empire. For the Devill uses to display before unsetled judgements, with some great hopes, that which they naturally love; and so was this *John* deluded by some Juglers; who told him he should weare the habit of *Augustus*. And in *Constantinople* was a Priest, who kept the treasures of the Church of *S. Sophia*, named *Augustus*. When *John* was thorne a Priest (having himself no garment fit,) they, who were employed in it, made him put on the Cope and Rochet of this *Augustus*; And so, I think, the prediction was fulfilled,

THE



THE
CONTENTS of the CHAPTERS
OF THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
WARRE
With the VANDALS.

CHAP. I.

 He extent of the Roman Empires, Eastern and Western, and the division thereof.

CHAP. II.

In the reigne of *Honorius*, the Gothick; or Getick Nations invade the Roman Empire. They spoyle Italy.

CHAP. III.

Alaricus by a stratagem takes Rome, *Honorius* feared the loss of his Gamecock Rome. *Attalus* made Emperour, *Honorius* miraculously restored. *Alaricus* dies. *Constantine* the Usurper of Britany slain.

CHAP. IV.

The Vandals possess Spain by the consent of *Honorius*; *John* after him, is made Emperour, but deposed: *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* held the

The Contents.

the Empires. Valentinian effeminate. The plot of Aetius against Bonifacius, which lost Africk, in whose room the Visigoths possess Spain. Some battels lost to the Vandals by Bonifacius. The presage of Martian to be Emperour.

CHAP. V.

Genfericus makes a league with Valentinian, paying him tribute. Valentinian ravishes the wife of Maximus. Aetius unwisely killed by him. Attilas the Hunn, takes Aquileia by the presage of a Stork. Valentinian slain by Maximus; who marries Eudoxia. Genfericus revenges his death, and sacks Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Genfericus hard proceedings with the Africans. His Army. His piracies. Leo sends Basiliscus against him; who betraies the business by Aspars direction. Is defeated by fire-ships. The valour of John. Basiliscus takes sanctuary, is pardoned. Aspar slain by Leo. Zeno succeeds.

CHAP. VII.

Majorinus disguises himself to spie Africk. Dies before he could make war. Basiliscus expels Zeno. Who recovers, and kills the other in a Wilderness with famine. He makes a perpetual peace with the Vandals, which lasts till Justinians reign.

CHAP. VIII.

Genfericus his Testament. Honoricus succeeds; who persecutes the Christians, as his successor Gundamund. Tralamund succeeds, and persecutes. Cunningly marries Amalafrida, sister of Theodorick. Is routed by Cabaon, a More of Tripolis, whose reverence to the Christian Churches, and order of battel is remarkable.

CHAP. IX.

Ildericus succeeds. Is deposed by Gelimer. Justinian resolves a war against him. Is dissuaded by John of Cappadocia. But by a Bishop is put again upon it, and appoints Belisarius General.

CHAP. X.

Pudentius causes Tripolis to revolt. Godas usurps Sardinia against Gelimer, and calls in Justinian to his aid. The preparation of the Army against Africk, and names of the Captains.

CHAP. XI.

Belisarius sets forth Procopius dream. Belisarius speech, admonishing the Army to Order. He sets Lanterns in the Generals Ships, to lead the
rest.

The Contents.

rest. Many die at Methone by unwholsome biskes, provided by John the Praefect.

CHAP. XII.

Antoninus way to keep the water sweet. The Fleet comes to Sicily. Procopius discovers the estate of the Vandals. They come to the coast of Africk. Belisarius after a consultation chuses to land. He encamps strongly, and gets water by miracle.

CHAP. XIII.

Belisarius speech upon his soldiers stealing the ripe fruits. He gets Syllectus by surprise, and the Inhabitants consent. Gelimers Post conceals Justinians Letters.

CHAP. XIV.

Belisarius order of marching safely. He gains the good will of the natives. Gelimer murders Ildericus. His order to compass the Roman Army.

CHAP. XV.

A party of Vandals routed by John; Another by the Hunns. A custom for a Hunnith Family to give the first blow in a battel. Belisarius encourages his Army to fight.

CHAP. XVI.

The Romans are routed; Gelimer not using his advantage, Belisarius makes a stand, and quite overthrows him.

CHAP. XVII.

Belisarius forbears to enter Carthage in the night, fearing the disorder of his soldiers. Strange news to the poor Roman captives in Carthage, when they saw the Roman fleet entering the harbour. Belisarius is joyfully received in Carthage, the City not leaving their ordinary affairs; but entertaining the soldiers. He dines in the Palace on the meat provided for Gelimer. Delphica Palatium. His admirable government of his soldiers.

CHAP. XVIII.

Belisarius repairs the ruined walls. The Prophecy, That Gamma should expel Beta, and Beta Gamma. The Cypriana storms. St. Cyprian promised

mis'd often in dreams to be revenged of the Arrians, for polluting Christian Churches; and now performs it on his festival. The Arrians running from the same, adorned by themselves. The advice of an old Vandal, concerning their old Country. The Vandals cruelty to the Læcynthians, now punisht.

CHAP. XIX.

Gelimer plots to kill Roman soldiers. Diogenes makes a brave escape with 22. men against 300. Tzazons unseasonable news of his reducing Sardinia. How Theudis, King of the Visigoths in Spain, used the Ambassadors of Gelimer, who knew nothing of the ruine of the Vandals.

CHAP. XX.

Gelimer is abandoned by the Moors and Numidians, whose Princes send for their Ensignes of principality from the Romans, according to custom. What those are. Gelimer sends for his brother Tzazon out of Sardinia by a passionate Letter. Their mournfull meeting.

THE



THE CONTENTS of the CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF THE WARRE With the VANDALS.

CHAP. I.



Gelimer maketh head. Attempts a revolt of the Huns. Belisarius encourages his Army. The Huns hover between both.

CHAP. II.

Gelimer and Tzazon encourage their soldiers. The Romans order. John begins. The rest of the horse give the Vandals an absolute defeat. Gelimer basely runs away from his Camp and Army, which is quite ruined, and the Camp spoyled, where they found infinite wealth.

CHAP. III.

The disorder of the Romans after the victory and huge booty. The unfortunate death of John the Armenian, being ready to take Gelimer. Pharas the Herulian is left to besiege Gelimer in the mountain of Pappua. Belisarius fortune to get the royal treasures of Gelimer.

CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. IV.

Sardinia and Corsica recovered to the Emperor. Likewise Ebusa, Majorica, and Minorica. The Goths refuse to render Lylibæum. Pharas attempts Pappua, and fails. The delicacy of the Vandals; and the hardness of those Moors.

CHAP. V.

Gelimer refuses the counsel of Pharas at first: desires a loaf, a sponge, and a harp. Upon the sight of his Nephew, a boy, beaten by a Moorish boy for snatching up a cake, he relents. Being brought to Belisarius, on a sudden he fell a laughing.

CHAP. VI.

Belisarius discovers a plot against him, of his fellow-Commanders. The Moors revolt, upon the Oracle of their soothsaying women. The Army is left by Belisarius with Solomon. Belisarius triumphs at Constantinople: Where were shewed the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem. Gelimer hath Towns given him to live on.

CHAP. VII.

The unfortunate loss of Aigan and Rufinus. The original of the Moors from the Canaanites subdued by Joshua. Solomon persuades peace; but is answered with denial.

CHAP. VIII.

Solomon kills 10000 Moors, and takes their camp and baggage. At Burgaon kills 50000. and utterly routs them: He took so many prisoners, that a Moorish boy was sold for a sheep. He fulfils their womens prophecy, that they should be destroyed by a man without a beard.

CHAP. IX.

The Moors remaining, fly to Jabdas to mount Aurafium. Althias his single combat with Jabdas. Solomon makes war on him in Aurafium without effect. He prepares a new war that way, and against the Moors of Sardinia.

CHAP. X.

Belisarius in Sicily. A strange passion of the Sun-agar together. A mutiny of the soldiers in Africk, caused by their Vandal wives. Solomon fled to Belisarius into Sicily.

CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. XI.

Stotzas General of the mutiners, besieges Carthage. Belisarius coming from Sicily with 100 men, frights him away, and defeats his Army at Membresa. Then upon a mutiny in Sicily, returns. The Commanders of Numidia are forsaken by their soldiers, and slain by Stotzas.

CHAP. XII.

Germanus, the Emperours nephew, is sent into Africk. He pacifies the Army somewhat. Defeats Stotzas in Numidia; takes the mutiners Camp. Stotzas flies into Mauritania, and so that mutiny ended.

CHAP. XIII.

Maximinus his mutiny, who growing worse, being made one of the Generals life-guard. Is defeated and crucified.

CHAP. XIV.

Solomons second Government of Africk. He beats Jabdas to the top of Aurafium. Takes Zerbule, and besieges Jabdas in Tumar.

CHAP. XV.

Solomon encourages his Army. He assails, and takes the two Castles, and Jabdas flies into Mauritania.

CHAP. XVI.

Sergius, nephew to Solomon, is Governor of Tripolis, and kills 70 Moors who came to treat. Antalas revolts, and with the Leucathian Moors infests Africk. Solomon is slain. Sergius made Governor of Africk. is hated. Antalas grows strong.

CHAP. XVII.

Solomon the younger escapes his imprisonment by a wile. Himerius being taken, gets Adramettus for the Moors. Which is recovered again by the stratagem of Paul a Priest. The Moors and Stotzas do much mischief.

CHAP. XVIII.

Arcobindus is joyned with Sergius, then is sole Governor after the death of John, son of Sistrinolus; who having wist to die after the killing of Stotzas;

The Contents.

Stotzas; and Stotzas having in like sort wisht against John, they both have their wishes in a sort. Gontharis plots against Arcobindus with Antalas; and Arcobindus hath a counterplot with Cutzinas.

CHAP. XIX.

Gontharis perfidiously kills Arcobindus after oath given by Reparatus, the Bishop of Carthage, at the baptism of, &c. and usurps. The pusillanimity of Arcobindus in his death. Artabanes the Armenian plots his ruine.

CHAP. XX.

Gontharis plots a marriage with Projecta. Artabaues willingly omits the beating of Antalas. With Gregorius and Artasiris plots to kill Gontharis, and resolutely does it at a feast. Africk under John, after various successes, gets quietness.

THE



THE HISTORY OF THE WARS Of the Emperour IVSTINIAN:

BOOK I.

Of the War with the Vandals.

CHAP. I.



His end had the Emperour Justinian of the Persian war. And now I come to his actions against the Vandals and Moors: First shewing from whence those Vandals brake in upon the Roman Provinces. After the death of Theodosius, a most just Prince, and a great Souldier, his two Sons succeeded, Arcadius the elder in the Eastern Empire, and Honorius in the West. This Division was formerly made by Constantine and his sons, who first transfer'd the Empire to Constantinople, which City he much enlarged, and dignified, and called it by his own name. And the Emperours divided the two Continents between them, thus. The Ocean encompasses the whole earth, or the most part of it, (we know no certainty therein) But into this part comes an Inlet from the Western Ocean, dividing the two Continents, and making our Seas; which begin from Calix, and reach to the lake of Mauris. The land to the Southward thereof from that pillar of Hercules which is named Septem (by reason of the seven hillocks there appearing) is called Asia, and that over against it Europe: And the Strait which

which parts these Continents, is ten miles and a half over; which then continue parted by main seas to the *Hellepont*; and there they meet at *Sestus* and *Abydos*, and again at *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*, to the anciently named *Cyanean rocks*, whereabout now is that which they call *Hieron*. At both these last Straits, the Lands are a mile and a half distant. From one of *Hercules* pillars to the other, along the Shore, not compassing the *Ionian* gulf, nor *Euxine* sea, but crossing from *Chalcedon* to *Constantinople*, and from *Otranto* to the Land over against it, is 38 days journey. To reckon exactly from *Constantinople* to the Lake of *Mæotis*, along the *Euxine* sea, is impossible; the Barbarians beyond the River *Phasis*, making the Coasts inaccessible to Romans. But to the River *Phasis*, from *Constantinople* is twenty two days journey. And from the Sea, from *Chalcedon* to the River of *Phasis* (which comes out of *Cholchis* into that sea) is forty days journey. So the circuit of all the Roman Empire along the Sea-shore is three hundred forty seven days journey; crossing the *Ionian* gulf from *Otranto* (as I have said) which is an hundred miles over, and the compass of the gulf is four days journey: So great anciently was the Roman Empire. The Emperour of the West had *Africk* under him, which contains ninety days journey from *Caspe* to *Tripolis*: And in *Europe* his share was from the other *Hercules* pillar to the *Ionian* gulf, 75 days journey: To which must be added the compass of the said gulf. But the Emperour of the East had for his share 120 days journey from *Cyrene* in *Africk* to *Epidamnus* upon the *Ionian* gulf, now called *Durazzo*; besides the Roman Provinces upon the *Euxine* Sea, as I have said. A days journey contains 120 furlongs, (which are 25 English miles) the distance from *Athens* to *Megara*. Of the Islands *Sicily*, by much the greatest, fell to the Western Empire, being without *Hercules* pillars: And within them, *Ebusa*, and *Majorica*, and *Minorica*, lying above seven days journey from that Inlet of the Ocean. The other Islands upon the *Mediterranean* belong to each Emperour, as they are situate in the limits of either.

*Leander says, That from *Otranto* to *Venice* is 700. miles, and that is but half of the Gulf. My conceit is, that the Author wrote 54. days journey, which is twice 700. miles.

CHAP. II.

BUT *Honorius* holding the Western Empire, the Barbarians invaded his Country: Who they were, and in what manner, I will tell you. Heretofore were many *Gothick* Nations, and now are; but the greatest, and most famous of them are the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Visigoths*, and *Gepædes*. Anciently they were called *Sarmatians*, and *Melanchlensians*. Some called these, *Getick* Nations. They vary all in names, but in nothing else; being all fair-bodied, with yellow hair; tall, and with good faces: They have the same lawes, customes, and religion (being all *Arrians*) and speak all the *Gothick* language. I suppose them to have been anciently one Nation, and their names to have been distinguished afterward by their several Princes. Formerly this people inhabited about the river *Danubius*; then the *Gepædes* held the places about *Singedon* and *Sirmium*, on both sides the River where now they are: From thence the *Visigoths* rose first, and came to the aid of *Arctadius*; but some time after, (For Barbarians cannot inure themselves to keep faith with Romans) these *Visigoths* under their Prince *Alaricus* rebelled against both the Emperours: They began in *Thrace*, and thence overran all *Europe*. *Honorius* at first sat still in *Rome*, thinking of no enemy, but contented to be suffered quiet in his palace; but hearing how the enemy was not far off, but already in *Taunantia* with a mighty Army, he fled from his Palace to *Ravenna*, a strong City lying upon the bottom of the *Ionian* gulf. Some say (but improbably, by what I can gather by his disposition) that upon some meeting by his subjects he drew in the Barbarians: But they finding no enemy opposing, exceeded all that ever were in cruelty; so destroying the Cities they took, especially on this side the *Ionian* gulf, that they have no mark now remaining save some turret or gate; killing all off in their way, old and young, not sparing women nor children, so that *Italy* remains to this day extremely unpeopled. They robbed all the wealth of *Europe*; and having for their master-piece left nothing in *Rome*, publike nor private, they marched into *France*.

CHAP.

That is, all Italy on this side *Otranto*, in respect of *Constantinople*: which must diligently be observed in this Author, when he says, On this side

CHAP. III.

THE taking of *Rome* by *Alaricus*, was thus. Having spent much time in the Siege, and not taking it by force, nor other means; he chose out 300 beardless Youths, whom he knew well bred, and valorous above their years: These he told secretly, that he would colourably present them for Slaves to some Roman Patricians; and he charged them, being in their houses, to shew all mildness and sobriety; and to serve their masters cheerfully in all their injunctions; but at a day appointed, after noon, while their masters were sleeping after their dinners, to meet all at *Porta Salaria* suddenly to kill the Guards, and to open the gate, *Alaricus* having thus instructed the young men, sent Ambassadors to the Senate to tell them, "That he admired their good affection to their Emperour, and would trouble them now no more, seeing manifestly their singular valour and fidelity: But to have remembrances remaining with such worthy men, he desired to present them with some few Servants." Soon after, he sent the young men, and commanded the *Arbustians* to truss up their baggage for a retreat, that the Romans might perceive it. The Senators gladly entertained this discourse, and the Prefects, and lived merrily, and suspected no design, seeing the young mens obedience, and in the Camp some gone already, some busie to rise, the rest expected to do the like immediately. At the hour assigned, *Alaricus* put his Army in order by *Porta Salaria*, as if to march away, (being there quartered at first.) The young men then also killed the Guards at the said gate; and set them open, receiving in *Alaricus* at pleasure. The houses next the Gate they burnt, and among them that of *Sutius* who wrote the Roman History, whereof the remaining half-burnt stood to my time: Then they sackt the City, slew most of the Romans in it, and went away. Then they say that the Eunuch of *Honorius* then being at *Ravenna*, who kept his Cocks of the game, told him the news how *Rome* was lost: He cried out, Why! even now he eat from mine own hands, (He had an extraordinary great Cock named *Rome*) The Eunuch understanding him, told him, that the City *Rome* was lost by *Alaricus*: The Emperour rousing himself replied, I thought, my friend, it had been my Cock *Rome*. So simple, they say, was that Emperour. Some say that *Alaricus* took not *Rome* thus: But that *Proba* a Roman Lady eminent for wealth and honour, pitying the people perishing with misery, and for famine eating one another, and seeing no hope of better, (the River and Port being blockt up by the Enemy) directed her servants in the night to open the gates. *Alaricus* at his parting from *Rome*, declared *Attilus*, one of the Nobility, Emperour, putting on him the Diadem and Purple robe, and all other ensignes of the Imperial dignity; that by this he might depose *Honorius*, and give *Attilus* the Western Empire. But *Attilus* had neither wit himself, nor could follow good counsel; sending into *Africk*, without *Alaricus*'s consent, Governors without an Army.

Britany then revolted from the Romans, and the Soldiers chose *Constantine* their Emperour, an eminent man, who with a Fleet and a good Army invaded *Spain* and *Gaul*. *Honorius* with ships in readines, expected the *Goths* in *Africk*; to sail thither upon the rejection of those sent from *Attilus*, and so to retain some part of the Empire, if otherwise, to go to *Theodosius* (who being very young, held the Empire after his father *Arctadius*) and to continue with him. But fluctuating in these uncertainties and cares, he had a miraculous blessing, (God, judging in these men not subtle to devise for themselves, so they be not wicked.) For fighting men came sudden news that *Attilus*'s Governours were slain, and unexpectedly came to him a great Navy from *Constantinople* with an Army to his aid: *Alaricus* also offended, took from *Attilus* the Imperial habit, and made him a prisoner, and himself soon after died; and the Army of *Visigoths* were by *Adolphus* led against *Gaul*; *Constantine* also was overthrow in battle, and slain with his sons. But knowing the Romans could never recover, continuing ever since under their own Princes, and

An. Dom. 412.
Gr. Honorii 15.

* B 2

He ever calls
the Ostro-
goths, only
Goths.

The Goths who passed over the river Danubius first held Pannonia; then Towns in Thrace given them by the Emperour, where having not spent much time, they Conquered Italy. But of that in my discourse of the Goths.

CHAP. IV

But the Vandales inhabiting about the Lake of *Meotis*, upon a great famine, went to the *German*, now called *Franks*, and to the river of *Rhine*, associating the *Alans*, a Gothic Nation. From thence they rose under the conduct of *Gundisic*, and planted in *Spain*. And *Honorius* came to conditions with *Gundisic*, to continue there without infesting the Province. And whereas there is a *Roman Law*, That men out of possession the space of thirty years, cannot enter upon the dispossessors; but besides are by prescription barred their action in Court for the same: *Honorius* by his Edict commanded the Vandales continuance in *Roman Land*, not to need that thirty years prescription. In this estate *Honorius* left Italy, and died. With him *Constantinus* was Emperour, who married his sister *Placidia*, but died before *Honorius*; having had in his small time in the Empire no means to act any thing, his son *Valentinian* from his nurse was brought to the Palace of *Theodosius*, and there bred. But the Courtiers in *Rome* chose Emperour one of the Soldiers named *John*; a mild and a prudent man, and valiant. He usurped five years, but ruled moderately, not hearkning to informers, nor unjustly killing nor confiscating any. But against the *Barbarians* he could do nothing, by reason all the *Constantinians* was his enemy. *Theodosius*, the son of *Arcadius*, sent an Army against him under *Aspar* and *Ardaburius* his son, and deposed him; giving the Empire to *Valentinian*, yet a child, who took *John*, cut off one of his hands, brought him into the Circus of *Aquilina* upon an ass; and when he had endured much scorn and indignity from the Stage, there put him to death.

Valentinian being thus Emperour of the West, his mother *Placidia* bred him effeminately; that he became vicious from a child; he frequented Conjurers and Seers-gazers, made love to other mens wives, and was extremely debauched, though he had a wife most beautifull. So that he was so far from recovering the lost pieces of the Empire, that he added the loss of *Africk*; and ruined himself; and after his death, his wife and children had the fortune to be captives. The disaster in *Africk* hapned thus: The two *Roman* Generals, *Arms* and *Bonifacius*, both valiant and expert Soldiers, inferior to none of their time, ever were at difference in the publique affairs; being men so high in worth and spirit, that he shall not err, who calls them the last of the *Romans*. All the *Roman* virtue and valour was so reduced into these two. *Bonifacius* *Placidia* made General of *Africk*, which displeased *Arms*, but he concealed his dislike (their enmity being covered yet under a fair vifout) but *Bonifacius* once out of the way, he accused him of Tyranny, and a desire to deprive her and the Emperour of *Africk*; and that he might easily find the truth; (for if she sent for *Bonifacius* he would not come.) She liked the advice, and did so: But *Arms* wrote privately to him before, that the Emperours mother had a plot upon him, to be rid of him; for proof whereof, he forewarned him, how he should be presently sent for upon no ground. *Bonifacius* not thinking light of the advice, and being summoned to go to the Emperour, refused concealing the advertisement he had from *Arms*. Upon this, *Placidia* thought *Arms* above all men well affected to the Emperour; and consulted about *Bonifacius*: Who unable to withstand the Emperour, and to go to *Rome* holding it not safe; advised by what means he might make a league with the Vandales; who, as I said, were seated in *Spain*, not far from *Africk*. *Gundisic* was dead; but *Gontharik* his legitimate son, and *Genserick* his base son succeeded in his Dominions; the first whereof was a boy, not much active; but *Genserick* very well exercised in Military affairs, and the thirdest man alive. *Bonifacius* sent to *Spain* to these sons of *Gundisic*, to invite them to equal terms with him, for each of the three to have a third part of *Africk*; and if any one of them

be invaded, the rest to defend him. Upon this accord the Vandales passed the straits of *Calize* into *Africk*: and afterward the *Visigoths* planted in *Spain*. But in *Rome* the friends of *Bonifacius*, weighing the disposition of the man, took it for a miracle that *Bonifacius* should turn Usurper; and by *Placidia*'s direction went to him to *Carthage*, and spake with him; where they saw *Arms* Letters, heard the whole business, and returning reported to the Emperess, in what terms he stood. She amazed at this, but not *Arms*, nor reproach the disservice done to the Emperours house, his power being great; and the Emperours affairs in bad terms: But with that advertisement of his, she acquainted *Bonifacius*'s friends, and besought them to draw him (upon her oath for his safety) to return to his Country, and not to endure to see the *Roman* Empire reduced under *Barbarians*. *Bonifacius* hearing this, repented his League with the *Barbarians*; and wooed them with large promises to leave *Africk*. But they thought themselves scorned by such Propositions, so that he was forced to come to blows with them, and being beaten retired to *Hippa* strong City in *Numbidia* upon the Sea. Where the Vandales besieged him under the leading of *Genserick*; *Gontharik* being dead, made away by his brother, some say; but other Vandals say, he was taken prisoner by the *German* in a battail in *Spain*, and crucified, and that *Genserick* was King alone, and lead the Vandales into *Africk*. But *Hippa* they could not get by force nor composition, and they were prest with famine: so that after much time spent they raised their siege. Shortly after a great Army came from *Rome* and *Constantinople* under the General *Aspar* to *Bonifacius*; which in a battel very bravely fought, he had much the worse, and all ran away. *Aspar* returned home, and *Bonifacius* came to *Placidia*, and removed the groundless suspicion against him.

Thus the Vandals got *Africk* from the *Romans*, and the enemies they took alive, they reserved for slaves in restraint. Among whom was *Martianus*, who was Emperour, after the decease of *Theodosius*. But then *Genserick* commanding the captives to be brought into the Palace, that he might examine if any had not a Master fit for his quality; and they being together in the open air about noon in the heat of Summer, troubled with heat and weary, they lay down, and fell asleep, when an Eagle flying that way, hovered with her wings spread out over the head of *Martianus*. *Genserick* markt this strange Omen not to come for nothing, called for him, and askt him what he was. He said he was the Assistant of *Aspar* in his secret affairs, (an Officer the *Romans* call *Domeficus*.) *Genserick* considering the gesture of the Eagle, and *Aspar*'s power in *Constantinople*, would not kill him; not thinking such an Omen fit for a dying man: If he were to reigne, he was not left to him to kill. Gods decrees are not possibly to be prevented: So he bound him by oath to be his friend; and upon no ground ever to make war upon the Vandales. Thus was *Martianus* dismissed; and shortly after succeeded *Theodosius*, and proved a very good Prince: Only he regarded not how things went in *Africk*. But this was afterward.

CHAP. V

Genserick, after the defeat of *Aspar* and *Bonifacius*, weighing upon the variety of fortune, that new Armies might come from *Rome* and *Constantinople*, that his powers would not match with the *Romans*; and that God changes mens fortunes as they grow old; he resolved in his new victories to bear himself moderately, and not too high. So he made a league with *Valentinian*, paid him tribute, and left his son *Honorius* in hostage, whom afterward he received home, when their friendship was more grown. In the meantime *Placidia* died at *Rome*; *Valentinian* having only two daughters by *Eudoxia*, sister to *Theodosius*. But he was ruined; thus *Maximus* a Senator, descended from that *Maximus* the Tyrant, destroyed by *Theodosius* the elder, for which the *Romans* celebrate an annual Festival; had a very sober and fair Lady to his wife. *Valentinian* being

This is supplied
from the La-
tine Translation.

Anno Dom. 455.
By Valentinian
Tert. anno
quarto.

Here the Greek
continues.

in love with her, and desiring to enjoy her, but finding it difficult, used this wicked plot. He sent for *Maximus* to the Palace, and at Dice laid gold against his Ring, and won it; This he sent secretly to the wife in the husbands name, requiring her to come immediately to visit the Empress *Eudoxia*: She obeyed, and some acquainted with the secret waited upon her in the Court into a room far from the Empresses chamber; There *Valentinian* met her, and ravished her. She extremely afflicted with the dishonour, went home, all blubber'd with tears, and reviled *Maximus* for giving the opportunity: Who being infinitely grieved at it, conspired against the Emperour. But seeing the great power of *Actius*, who lately had defeated *Attila* invading the Roman Empire with a mighty Army of *Mas-sageres* and other *Scythians*, and fearing him for an obstacle of his proceedings, he determined first to remove him, not considering that in *Actius* was the whole hope of the Romans. So by the artifices of some Eunuchs about the Emperour, his friends, he infused into the Emperour, that *Actius* was plotting a revolt. And *Valentinian* judging the information by no other argument but by the worth and power of *Actius*, put him to death. When a Roman was famous for a word spoken, being askt by the Emperour, if the killing of *Actius* were not well done? and answering, That he could not tell whether it were well done, or how it was done; but this he knew, that he had cut off his right hand with his left. *Actius* being dead, *Attila* having none to match him, foraged at his ease all *Europe*, and made both the Empires tributary, both the Emperours sending him annual taxes.

Then they say, *Attila* besieging *Aquileia*, a great and populous maritime City within the *Ionian* gulf, and not being able by force nor otherwise to get the town, and wearied with a long Siege, put his Army in readines to rise the next day by sun-rising; and the *Barbarians* were busie in their retreat accordingly: When a Stork having his nest upon one of the turrets, where he had bred his young, suddenly with his young flew from the same, the young ones sometimes flying even with him, sometimes getting upon his back; and thus they fled far from the town. *Attila* seeing it (being a very cunning Diviner) commanded his Army to stand still, telling them that the Bird with his young ones was not fled away for nothing, but prophesied some mischief to the Town. Upon this they say the *Barbarians* renewed their siege, and that the wall by the Storks nest fell down of it self, making the Town open to the enemy, and that so *Aquileia* was taken by assault.

But afterward *Maximus* killed the Emperour, and married *Eudoxia* by force, his wife being newly dead: And in bed he spake a word once, how for her love he had done what he did. *Eudoxia*, before offended with *Maximus*, and desirous to revenge the wrong done to *Valentinian*, by this word was more incensed to plot against him, hearing thus from *Maximus* himself how her husbands disaster came for her sake. So that, no sooner day, but she sent to *Carthage*, entreating *Genferick* to revenge *Valentinian*, ruined by a wicked man, in a manner unworthy of himself and the Empire; and to redeem her, suffering things abominable, from the Tyrant. She urged him as his Friend and Allie; and that it were impious, such a villany should be acted in a Kings house without a revenger; And from *Constantinople* she expected no revenge, *Theodosius* being dead, and *Marianus* in possession of the Empire. *Genferick* for no other respect, but finding he should get wealth by it, sailed into *Italy* with a great Navy, marcht up to *Rome*, and (none resisting) was Master of the Imperial palace. *Maximus* running away, the Romans stoned to death, and cut off his head, and rent his other members in pieces. *Eudoxia* with her two daughters by *Valentinian*, *Eudocia* and *Placidia*, *Genferick* made prisoners; and carried away to *Carthage* infinite wealth of gold and silver, and spared neither Brags nor any thing in the palace: He robbed the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and took away half the covering of it; being of the richest brags, with much gold melted in it; and very admirable and magnificent. They say, the Ship where the Images were was cast away, but with the rest the *Vandals* landed at *Carthage*; *Eudocia* *Genferick* married to his eldest son *Honoricius*; The other daughter was married to *Olybrius* a principal Senator of *Rome*, whom with the mother *Eudoxia*, at the Emperours request, he sent to *Constantinople*. The Em-pire

pire of the East *Leo* then held, *Aspar* placing him therein after the death of *Marianus*.

CHAP. VI.

Genferick afterward took down the wals of all the Cities of *Africk*, save *Carthage*; That the *Africans* siding with the *Romans* might have no strong places to gather head, nor the Emperours forces by taking towns and by garrisons in them, think to trouble the *Vandals*. His counsel seemed a good one then, to secure the *Vandals*: But afterward, when these Towns without wals were so easily taken by *Belisarius*, *Genferick* was laughd at, and his wife counsel judg'd folly. Thus men ever change their opinions of counsels, with the fortunes of them. The rich and eminent men of *Africk* he gave as so many bond-men, with their lands and goods, to his sons, *Honoricius* and *Genfon*, *Theodosius* being dead without issue: From the rest he took their lands, and bestowed them on the other *Vandals*, which are yet called the *Vandal* Heritages. All the Towns he gave his sons, and others he called the Kings land, freeing the same perpetually from tributes: The ancient possessors the while had the fortune to be poor and free men, and had permission to go whither they would. Some held, or claimed their lands to no purpose: Many were banished and put to death upon no cause, specially such as were thought to have hid money in their houses. Thus *Africk* was overwhelmed with miseries. *Genferick* also in convenient places had garrisons under 80 Colonels, whom he called *Chiliarches*, as if his Army were so many thousands, being in truth but 30000. At first he enrolled only *Vandals* and *Alans*; afterward he admitted under the name of *Vandals* all other *Barbarians*, except *Boors*; and at last he received them also into the Army. After the death of *Valentinian*, he made every Spring a voyage to rob *Scilly*, or *Italy*, lacking some Cities, and some laying flat with the ground. When he had made havock in those parts, turning upon the Eastern Empire, he infested *Ilyrium* and *Peloponnesus*, and the Islands adjacent, with the rest of *Greece*: Then to *Italy* and *Scilly* again, if ought were left, to pillage it. Once having sail from the Port of *Carthage*, his Ship-master askt him, whither he would go for pillage? His answer was, Whither God shall drive me. Making war thus at random.

The Emperour *Leo*, to restrain this insolence, prepared an Army of 100000 men to send against the *Vandals*, and a great Navy, collected from all parts of *Greece*. This war, they say, cost him a huge treasure, and to no purpose. His General was *Basiliscus*, brother to his wife *Verina*, the trustiest man he had, and safest for him; friendship continuing yet between him and *Aspar*, who, being an *Arian*, could not get the Empire, but with his power made *Leo*, against whom afterward he conspired. And now fearing lest the victory of the *Vandals* might make him proud, both to his particular, and in the government, he instructed *Basiliscus* at his departure to prolong the war. *Leo* also sent *Anthemius* a Senator, great in blood and estate, to be Emperour of the West, that he might be aiding to him in the *Vandalick* war. And *Genferick* promised the Western Empire to *Olybrius*, *Placidia*'s husband, to joyn with him; upon which confidence he had higher thoughts, and more vexed the *Roman* dominions. * In the mean time *Marcellianus* a friend of *Actius*, (who after the murder of *Actius* infinite wealth of gold and silver, and gained; and then sent him to the Island of *Sardinia* subject to the *Vandals*, whom *Marcellianus* presently drove out and got the Island. From *Constantinople* also was sent *Heraclius* into *Tripolis* in *Africk*, who took all the Towns therein, left his ships there, and led his Army by land to *Carthage*. These were the entrances into this war. But *Basiliscus* arriv'd with his Army at a small Town 35 miles from *Carthage*, called *Mercurium*, from an ancient Temple of *Mercury*. And if he had not treacherously dallied, but marcht instantly to *Carthage*, he had taken the Town instantly, and made the *Vandals* his Captives. So much afraid was *Genferick*

* Lat. vers.

* The Greek again.

of *Leo*, seeing *Tripolis* and *Sardinia* taken; and so brave a Navy as the *Romans* had not set out of a long time. But this the Generals either cowardly, or traitorous delay hindered. But *Genferick* made this good use of *Basiliscus* his negligence. He armed his Subjects, manned most of his ships, and made ready of the rest the swiftest of sail without men in them; then sent Ambassadors to *Basiliscus*, desiring a five days cessation, that he might advise upon the means of doing the Emperours pleasure. They say, he sent him closely a great sum of money, which bought this truce, supposing (which came to pass) that he should get in that time a wind to bring his ships about. And *Basiliscus*, either to comply with his promise to *Aspar*, or selling his opportunity, or whether he thought it so best, lay still, attending the enemies advantage. But the *Vandals* (the wind serving) hoist sail against the enemy, towing after the ships without men. When they came near, they put fire into the empty ships, whose sails spreading to the wind, they let them run upon the *Roman* Navy. They falling in among a multitude of Vessels, suddenly consumed with themselves, those they fell foul with. In the mean time the *Roman* fleet was in confusion, with cries equalling the winds, and the whizzing of the flames, and with the Soldiers and Mariners calling, and thrusting the fire-ships with long poles, from their own pittifully perishing. The *Vandals* also shot, and sunk the rest, taking the flying Soldiers with Arms and all. Some in this over-throw did bravely; specially *John*, Lieutenant General to *Basiliscus*, but not acquainted with his Treason: His ship being boarded, he slew many upon the deck; and when he saw the ship taken by the enemy, he leapt into the sea with all his Arms. *Genfon*, the son of *Genferick* wooed him, and gave him his faith to save his life; but he plunged into the sea, using this word only, That *John* should never come into the hands of dogs.

And this was the end of this war: *Heraclius* returned home; *Marcellianus* perished by the Treason of one of his fellow-Commanders: But *Basiliscus* in *Constantinople* took sanctuary in the great Church dedicated to Christ, (the *Constantinopolitans* call it the Church of *St. Sophia*, holding the attribute of wisdom most becoming God;) and the Empress *Verina* obtained his pardon. But the Empire he could not then get, what he endeavoured: for *Leo* shortly after killed *Aspar* and *Ardaburius* in his Palace, suspecting them to conspire his death. *Anthemius*, also Emperour of the West, was slain by *Recimar* who married his daughter. And *Olybrius* succeeding him, had not long after the same fate. *Leo* deceasing in *Constantinople*, *Leo* the son of *Zeno*, and of *Ariadne* daughter to *Leo*, received the Empire, being very young. And his father being chosen his partner in the Empire, the child was quickly rid out of the way.

CHAP. VII:

Then *Majorinus* had the Western Empire; a man worth the remembrance; as excelling in virtue all the *Roman* Emperours that ever were. He could not with patience endure the disaster of *Africa*, but raised a great Army in *Liguria* to go against the *Vandals* himself, being industrious and very venturous of his person. He thought best first to discover the *Vandals* power, and the humour of *Genferick*; and how the *Moors* and *Africans* stood affected towards them: And resolving to put this in execution himself, he took his journey to *Genferick* with a feigned name, and as an Ambassador from the Emperour. And further to avoid mischief and the overthrow of his business by discovery, he died his hair, (which was as yellow as the finest gold) into a perfect blew for the time. *Genferick* to fright him, took him in a friendly way, into his Armory, where was much good Arms. They say the Arms then of themselves moved, and clashed together; that *Genferick* thought it an Earthquake: but being without, and upon enquiry finding no notice taken of any Earthquake, he thought it a miracle, not guessing the meaning. *Majorinus* dispatcht to his desire, returned into *Liguria*; lead his Army over land, purposing to cross the Straits at *Hercules* Pillars,

Pillars, and so to march to *Carthage*: *Genferick* informed thereof, and how he was deceivably *Majorinus*, was heartily afraid, and made preparation for the war; and the *Romans* from the virtues of *Majorinus* recovered hope of recovering *Africa*. In the mean time *Majorinus* died of a dysentery; a man moderate to his Subjects, and to his enemies terrible; newly come to the Empire, and living in it not short a time. *Glycerius* succeeded him; and had the Empire for some time. Then *Augustinus* received the Empire. Other Emperours reigned in the West, whose names though I know, I omit; they living a very short time in the Government, and so doing nothing worth mentioning. But *Basiliscus* in *Constantinople* passionately in love with the Empire attempted to usurp, and prevailed. *Zeno* with his wife fled into *Sauria* his native Country: And *Basiliscus* usurped a year and eight months; generally hated by all men, and by the very Guards of his Palace for his extreme avarice. *Zeno* thereof advertised, went against him with an Army, to whom *Basiliscus* opposed another under *Armarus* his General. *Zeno* being intempered near *Armarus* delivered his Army to *Zeno*, upon condition, he should make his son *Basiliscus*, *Genfer* (being very young) and make him his successor in *Basiliscus* forsaken by all the world, fled to the Church of *St. Sophia*; but *Armarus* the Bishop of the City put him into *Zeno* hands, objecting against him impiety, in such embroiling and innovating the Christian Doctrine, as inclining to the heresy of *Eutyches*: And so it was ended. *Zeno* refusing the Empire, so to comply somewhat with his oath to *Armarus* adopted his son *Basiliscus*; but soon after deprived him of that honour, and killed *Armarus*. *Basiliscus* with his wife and children he sent into *Capadocia* in the winter season, commanding them to be left without meat or apparel, or any other conveniences: Where, pinched with cold and hunger, and dying to one another for succour, embracing their own dark bodies, they all died. Such punishment had *Basiliscus* for his ill Government. These things hapned afterwards. *Genferick*, having now either with force, or artifice, shaken off his enemies, hated the *Roman* Provinces more than ever; till *Zeno* came to a Treaty with him, and a perpetual peace was concluded; that the *Vandals* should commit no acts of hostility against the *Romans*; nor from them receive any. This Treaty was observed all the time of *Zeno*, and *Anastasi* his successor, and during the reign of *Iustin*, whose sisters son *Iustinian* succeeding; in his time this war was, which I purpose to relate.

CHAP. VIII:

But *Genferick* shortly after died a very old man; charging the *Vandals* by his Testament, that the Kingdom should descend ever to such male descendant of *Genferick*; as was eldest in years. *Genferick* having reigned over the *Vandals* from his taking of *Carthage* 39 years. *Honoricus* his eldest son succeeded, *Genfon* being dead. In the reign of *Honoricus*, the *Vandals* had war only with the *Moors*, who being rid of *Genferick*, who kept them in awe, did the *Vandals* many mischiefs and suffered many. This *Honoricus* was most cruel, and unjust to the Christians of *Africa*; forcing them to turn *Arrians*, or for refusing, burning, and in several sorts destroying them. From many he cut out their tongues by the roots; who to my time lived in *Constantinople*, speaking perfectly, and feeling no manner of inconvenience from that torture. Two of these, meddling with light women after it, lost their speech. He reigned 8 years, and died in his bed. The *Moors* inhabiting the mountain *Aurafium*; being revolted already from the *Vandals*, and not to be reduced, by reason the *Vandals* could not come to fight with them in that steep impassable mountain; which stands in *Nemidia*, 12 days journey to the Southward of *Carthage*. After *Honoricus*, the Dominion of the *Vandals* came to *Genferick* the son of *Genfon*, the son of *Genferick*; having the advantage of years above any of *Genfericks* race, *Genferick* had many battles with the *Moors*; and the Christians more than the other;

An. d. m. 471

* An. d. m. 479.
Genferick's
Septima.

* An. d. m. 488.
Genferick's 16.

An. Dom. 500.
By Anastasi 7.

other; and died in the middle of the 12th year of his reign. His brother *Trafamund* succeeded; a goodly man, wife and magnanimous. But he constrained the Christians to change, not by tortures, as his Predecessors; but courting them with honours and offices, and with large gifts; taking no notice of such as would not submit. If he found a man in a great crime, he offered him impunity to change his religion. His wife being dead without children, and he desirous to establish his government with succession, demanded to wife *Amalafrida*, the sister of *Theodoric* King of the *Goths*, whose husband was lately dead. He sent him his sister with a guard of 1000 selected *Goths*, attended with 5000 more, fighting men; and he gave her *Lilybaum*, one of the Promontories of *Sicily*. So *Trafamund* of all the Princes of the *Vandals* seemed the most powerful. Yet in his reign the *Vandals* had a great overthrow from the *Moors*. *Caban*, Prince of the *Moors* about *Tripoli*; a man experienced in many wars, and very witty, hearing that the *Vandals* would make war upon him, first enjoyed his Subjects to forbear unjust dealings, (delicious foods; and specially the company of women). Then he made two Entrenchments; in the one himself lodged, and his men; in the other he shut up the women, making it death for any man to go into the women's Entrenchment. Then he sent Spies to *Carthage* with this direction, to mark what Corns the *Vandals* upon their march, did to the Christians Churches; and when they were gone from the place, themselves to do the quite contrary. And they say he used this speech: *Thus 'tis true, he was ignorant of the God whom the Christians worship. But it was likely (if he were so powerful as they say he is) that he will punish those that scorn him, and defend those that honour him.*

The Spies having marked the *Vandals* preparations at *Carthage*, followed their Army in a poor disguise toward *Tripoli*. The *Vandals* at their first dayes march lodged in the Christians Churches, put in their horses and other beasts, and spared no kind of scorn. They practised therein all lewdness, and beat and whipt the Priests they found, commanding them services which they imposed on their meanest slaves. So soon as they were gone, the Spies of *Caban*, according to his order, made the Churches clean again, took away the dirt and such like profanely left in them, lighted the Lamps, did lowly reverence to the Priests, and used them courteously, and to many poor about those Churches gave money, and then followed the *Vandals* Army. Thus in all the journey, they mended herein what the *Vandals* offended: And being come neer, went before to *Caban*, and told him how far the enemy was, and what was done to the Christians Churches. He presently put in order to fight. The field where he would entrench, he took in with a circle about, and placed his Camels side-long in a round to fence his Camp, making the Front 12 Camels deep: The women and children, unable men, and baggage he put in the middle, and his fighting men between the legs of those beasts with shields to ward with. The *Vandals* knew not what to do to this kind of battallion, being neither Archers, nor Darters, nor good Infantry, but most Horse-men, using the Lance and the Sword, and not able to hurt an enemy afar off; and their horses not enduring the sight of the Camels, would not approach the enemy, who darting at multitudes from a safe place, killed them and their horses, that they ran away. The *Moors* followed the execution, and killed and took them, so that few came home. This fortune had *Trafamund* with the *Moors*, and after 27 years reign dyed.

CHAP. IX.

Ilderick succeeded him, the son of *Honoricus*, the son of *Genferick*. A Prince mild to his subjects, and not harsh to Christians, nor to any; but faint-hearted, not enduring to hear of war. In such expeditions as the *Vandals* had, *Hoamer* was General, his nephew, a good Souldier, whom they called the *Achilles* of the *Vandals*. In his reign the *Vandals* lost a battel against the *Moors* of *Byzacium*, commanded by *Antalas*; and fell out with *Theodoric* and the *Goths* in Italy.

For

For they kept in prison *Amalafrida*, and put all the *Goths* to death who attended her, charging them with practise against their King and State. Of this *Theodoric* had no revenge, wanting a Navy to make war upon *Africk*; and *Ilderick* was an ancient friend of *Iustinian*, who governed absolutely then, (his Uncle *Iustin* being very old, and not skill'd in affairs of State) and they courted each other with Presents.

There was of the race of *Genferick*, one *Gelimer*, the son of *Galgrin* the son of *Genfon*, of ripe years, and so expected immediately to succeed *Ilderick*. In war he was thought one of the best of his time; but wicked, and skilful in mutinies and rapines. Perceiving his Reign coming slowly, though he had taken the government by the yieldingness of *Ilderick*, he could not keep his thoughts in that condition, but made a party, and periwaded the best men to depose *Ilderick*, as a Coward, beaten by the *Moors*; and betraying the State to the Emperour *Iustin*, to keep the Kingdom from him, who was of the other house, which he said was the intent of the late Ambassage to *Constantinople*. They did so upon these persuasions: * And *Gelimer* getting the Kingdom, kept *Ilderick* in prison, after seven years reign; with *Hoamer*, and his brother *Evages*. *Iustinian* hereof advertised, being now Emperour, sent Ambassadors, and wrote thus to *Gelimer*. You do not religiously, nor as is due to the testament of *Genferick*, to keep in prison an old man of your blood, and your King (if *Genferick's* wife constitutions be worth ought) and to force from him a Kingdom, which shortly you will have by law. Proceed not in evil; nor change the title of a King to that of an Usurper, for a little advantage of time: But let him carry the image of Royalty to his grave (whereinto he is stepping) your self having the execution of it already; and having the substance attend upon the Law of *Genferick* for the name. If you do thus, you will find God propitious and Us your friend. But *Gelimer* sent away the Ambassadors unsatisfied; put out *Hoamer's* eyes, and kept *Ilderick* and *Evages* in straiter prison, accusing them to have attempted an escape to *Constantinople*. Upon this *Iustinian* sent other Ambassadors, and wrote thus. We did not think, you would have done the quite contrary to our advices. But seeing it pleases you to get a Kingdom thus, take what fortune gives you. But send to us *Ilderick*, and blind *Hoamer* and his brother, so get such comfort, whereof men are capable, who have lost Kingdoms and eye-sights. If you refuse this, we will not endure it. The hope they had in our friendship induces us; and the Treaties with *Genferick* cannot stop us, being not to make war upon, but to vindicate his Successor. To this *Gelimer* made this answer. King *Gelimer* to the Emperour *Iustinian*: I have neither taken the Kingdom by force, nor committed impiety against mine own blood. The *Vandals* deposed *Ilderick* for practising against the house of *Genferick*: And me time hath called to the Kingdom, giving me my right of eldership according to the law. 'Tis good for a man to govern the State he hath, and not to encroach upon other mens cares; and 'tis just in you, who have a Kingdom of your own, not to be thus meddling. If you break the Treaties, and invade us, we shall oppose you to our power; calling to witness the oath sworn by *Zeno*, whose successor you are. *Iustinian* was angry before, but these letters more set him upon a revenge: And being an acute deviser, and nimble in execution, he resolved to conclude the *Persian* war speedily, and then to invade *Africk*. *Belisarius* General of the East was, then at Court, sent for; but with no word of leading an Army into *Africk*. It was given out, that he was discharged of his government: And * the *Persian* perpetual Truce was newly made.

Iustinian (all being well at home, and with *Persia*) at a consultation acquainted the great Officers, that he would levy an Army against *Gelimer* and the *Vandals*. The most of them were discontented at it, remembering the overthrow of *Basilius*, and that great Fleet of the Emperour *Leo*, the Souldiers lost, and the huge debt made by the State. Above all, the Prefect of the Palace, (whom the Romans call *Prator*) was nettled at it; and the Lord High-Treasurer, and all Collectors of tributes, both belonging to the Treasury and the Emperour; considering how they must supply the necessities of the war infinitely, and not be admitted to excuse or delay. And every General, doubting the employment apprehended the greatness of the hazard; after escaping the sea, to encamp in an enemies country, and upon their landing to fight with a great and potent Kingdom. The Souldiers

* An. dom. 530.
By Justinian
quarto.

* An. dom. 533.
Justinian sept.
mo.

An. Dom. 527.
By Justin 9.
It was Justinian I. who began to reign with Justin on good Friday of that year, 5 Ap. and alone in August following.

* C 2

now returned from a long and difficult war, scarce having tasted of their home contentments, were troubled to be led now to a Sea-fight (a thing they had never heard of) and to be sent from the East to the West; to hazard against *Vandals* and *Moors*. All others (as is the manner of multitudes) meant to be spectators of new businesses, with other mens danger. None durst cross the voyage save *Iob* the Cappadocian, Prefect of the Palace, being the boldest and smartest man of his time. He (while others mourned in silence) spake thus to the Emperour, 'Sir! The security of conversing with you gives me confidence, to speak things expedient for your service, though not pleasing. Your wisdom hath so tempered power & justice in you, that you judge not him absolutely a friend to your affairs who seconds you, nor are offended with opposing you; weighing things by the sincere meaning: which makes it safe to differ from your counsels. Hereby induced, Sir! I shall advise happily what for the present may offend, but hereafter I shall make my affection apparent, and call you for a witness. If you shall begin war with the *Vandals*, and then find it grow into length, my counsel will then appear good. If your confidence arise from assurance of victory, no marvel you venture men, spend money, and engage the toyls of such combats; for victory gotten covers these afflictions of war. But seeing this is in the hands of God, and that looking upon foregoing presidents, we cannot but fear the event of this war; certainly to content our selves with quietness, is better, then the hazards of battels. You will send an Army against *Carthage*, whither by land it must march 140 dayes journey; or sail the length of the great sea to the utmost bounds of it: So that the news of the occurrents will be a year in coming to you. And if you vanquish your enemies, yet you cannot be master of *Africk*, *Sicily* and *Italy* being in other hands. But if you be overthrown, (the Peace being broken) you will draw the war upon your own country. In a word, it will not be in your power to enjoy the victory; and if fortune be cross, it will ruine the affairs well settled. Before action, consultation is profitable: when the blow is given, it is vain to repent; but before it, one may safely change his mind: It will be most expedient therefore to make due use of the times. The Emperour approved this advice, and let fall his eagerness to the war. But a Bishop out of the East got access to him, and told him, 'That God had charged him in a dream to blame him, having undertaken to deliver the Christians in *Africk* from Tyranny, to grow faint now upon no ground; whereas I will assist him (said he) and make him master of *Africk*. The Emperour upon this could hold no longer; but prepared an Army and a Navy, and provisions, requiring *Belisarius* to be in readiness to goe Generall into *Africk*.

CHAP. X.

TRIPOLIS was already put into rebellion against the *Vandals* by one *Pudens*, a native there, who sent to the Emperour for an Army to subdue the Province unto him: who sent *Tatimund* with some small forces; with whom *Pudens* joyning, and finding no *Vandals* there, he took the Country for the Emperour. *Gelimer* was hindred from chastizing *Pudens*, by *Godas* a Goth and servant of *Gelimer*, a man pragmatical and courageous, and seeming well affected to his Master. To this *Godas* *Gelimer* had committed the Guard of *Sardinia*, and to collect the tributes there; whose mind not digesting such a fortune, he usurped the Island, and denied to send the Tributes, keeping them to himself. And understanding that *Iustinian* sought occasions of a war with *Gelimer*; He wrote thus to him, 'Not out of ingratitude, nor suffering any disavour from my Master, I have thoughts upon a revolt. But seeing his cruelty both to kindred and subjects; I would not willingly be a partaker of the same. It is better to serve a just Emperour, than a Tyrant who commands things unlawful. Consider therefore of assisting my enterprise, and send me forces to defend me from an invasion. The Emperour sent *Eulogius* to him, and wrote him an answer, commending his wisdom

dom and zeal to justice; and promising aides, and a General sufficient to keep the Island, and assistance otherwise, that the *Vandals* should not hurt him. *Eulogius* being come into *Sardinia*, found *Godas* had put on the title and habit of a King, and gotten a Guard about him. And to the Emperours Letters he said, 'That for soldiers he desired them, but had no need of a General. Which he wrote to the Emperour, and dismissed *Eulogius*.

But before, the Emperour had prepared 40000 men, commanded by *Cyrtius*, to guard the Island, for *Godas*. And with them, he had in readiness 10000 *Carthage*, 10000 foot, and 5000 horse levied of the *Legionaries* and *Confederates*. Herebefore such *Barbarians* only were enrolled *Confederates*, as were admitted into the Roman State, not to be slaves (as having not been vanquished by the Romans), but upon equal terms; the Romans calling *foederati*, after Treaties with those they have had war with; but now all take that name, some not desiring to keep names upon the things they were first put, and things being called as men please; not as they were before their times. The Commanders of the *Confederates* were, *Dorsetius* General of *Armenians*, and *Solomon*, who was assistant to the General *Belisarius*; the Romans call such an Officer *Dynasticus*; * (he was an Eunuch, but not purposely cut, but upon an accident in his swathing cloths). *Cyrtius* also, and *Valerianus*, *Martinus*, *Akbas*, *John*, *Marcelus*, and *Cyrtius* afore mentioned. Of the *Legionaries*, *Rufinus* and *Aigian* (who had been of the retinue of *Belisarius*) and *Barbas*, and *Rappus*, were Commanders of horse; and of foot, *Zedus*, *Martianus*, *Sarapis* and *Theodorus*, surnamed *Ctenarus*, and *Terrytius*. *John* who was born at *Durazzo*, commanded in chief all the foot. *Solomon* came from the farthest East, belonging to the Romans, near *Dura*. *Aigian* was a Hunne: all the rest were *Thracians*. *Pharus* also commanded 400 *Herculians*; and *Sinnion* and *Balas*, gallant men, had 600 auxiliary Hunns, all Archers on horseback. This Army was transported by 500 ships, none being of more burden then 5000 *Medimni*, nor of less then 3000. They were manned with 20000 Mariners, most *Egyptians*, *Ionians*, and *Cilicians*. The Admiral of the whole Fleet was *Calonymus* an *Alexandrian*. They had also 92 * *Pinnaces* in case of a sea-fight, with one row of oars, and decks over their heads; not to be subjected to the Enemies shot. They call these *Dromones*, for their swiftness. They had aboard no passengers, but 2000 rowers, *Constantinopolitans*. *Archelaus*, a *Patritian*, who had been Prefect of the Palace in *Constantinople*, and *Illyrium*, went now Prefect of the Camp. So is the Officer called who makes provision for the Army. Over them all, the Emperour placed *Belisarius* (late Commander of the Oriental Legions) his General with absolute authority; whom many *Launciers* and *Targetiers* followed; old tried Souldiers. The Emperour enabled him by his Letters to do whatsoever seemed best unto him; and the same to be firm, as the Emperours own act. *Belisarius* was born in *Germania*, a City which stands in the confines of *Illyrium* and *Thrace*.

Gelimer in the mean time having lost *Tripolis* by *Pudens*, and *Sardinia* by *Godas*. The first lying far off, and having Roman aids already, he gave over; and sent no forces against it. But to prevent the Emperours succours in the Island, he sent under his brother *Traxos* 3000 *Vandals* in 120 good ships. But *Iustinian* having commanded away *Valerianus* and *Martinus* to attend the rest of the Army in *Peloponessus*; and being both a ship-board, he had some further direction to give them, which he had resolved, but it was forgotten upon other business intervening. So he sent for them, to tell it; but again thinking it inconvenient to interrupt their passage; he sent to command them not to return to him any more, nor to come ashore. The Messenger called out aloud to them not to come back again at all. The company took it for a bad Omen, that none of them should return out of *Africk* to *Constantinople*. And they thought the Emperour unwittingly had sent them a kind of a curse; if it be interpreted of *Valerianus* and *Martinus*, the conceit proved not true. But *Storax*, there a *Lancier* of *Martinus*, was to rebel against the Emperour, and usurp, and never to come back to *Constantinople*: upon whom it may be conjectured fortune conferred that curse.

* Calliodorus calls these *Domesticos* *milites*, *quos* *comitibus* *publica* *munera* *obsequantur*. He followed the *Comites* or *Generals* to execute publick services, *Lib. 9* ad *volum*.

* About 1200. tun, accounting a *medimnus* for a bushel.

* Which is among the 500 ships, 40 to a ship, one with another. I wonder how the *Latine Transla.* for thought 5000 *Mariners* could man 500 ships. But he, though a learned man, had not the Greek Edition now extant, and so his Translation is full of errors.

* Not in *Germany*, as some Germans would have it; but in *Germania*, a City of *Thrace* in the confines of *Illyrium*. It was a Metropolis, and resided in the Sanctuaries of the Eastern Bishops, *Jaith*, *Alemannus*, in his Historical notes upon the Secret History.

CHAP. XI.

* Being supplied out of the beginning of the Secret History.

BUT in the seventh year of *Justinian's* reign, about the Summer Tropick, the Army was embark'd; and *Belisarius* the General commanded the Prætorian ship to ride under the Emperours Palace. Thither came *Epiphanius*, Archbishop of the City; and having prayed as was sitting, he put aboard a Souldier newly baptized, * *Whose Godfather and Godmother were Belisarius, and Antonina, being one of their household, and named Theodosius, and much valued by them.* And thus the said General and his wife put to sea. With them was *Procopius*, the Writer of this History; who at the first was afraid of this Voyage; but a dream, he had, encouraged him, and made him eager upon it. He dreamt he was in *Belisarius* his house, whom a servant told that one had brought him presents; that *Belisarius* had himself go look upon them; and he in the inner Court, saw men carrying flowers growing with their earth; which he commanded them to lay down in the Porch. That then *Belisarius* came with his Life-Guard, fate down upon that earth and eat of the flowers, willing the rest to do the like, who fell to, and seemed much pleased with the dainties. Thus was the dream. But the fleet followed the Prætorian ship, and at *Perinthus*, now called *Heraclea*, staid five days; where the Empetour gave the General almost all his horses of his pastures in *Thrace*. From thence they came before *Abydus*, where being becalm'd four days; it fell out that two *Massagetes* in their drink (the *Massagetes* being all great drunkards) killed one of their Countrymen, whom *Belisarius* crucified upon a hillock near *Abydus*. The rest, especially the kinsmen of the men, murmured; That they came not to aid the *Romans* upon terms of subjection to their Laws; and by their own Laws, murders had no such punishments. Some *Roman* Soldiers murmured too; such as would not be punished for their offences. Whereupon *Belisarius* spake thus to the Army. 'To men that never saw wars, I should need a long speech to perswade, how great a preparation for victory it is, to be just. But you by often vanquishing enemies, not inferior in bodies, and very valiant; and by often, having the contrary success, have learnt; that men fight in both the Armies, but God determines the victory, as himself pleases. So that we must make less account of good bodies, of arms, and warlike preparations, then of justice and duty to God. For men in need are to honour that most, which is most able to do them good. Now the principal mark of justice is, the punishment of murderers: For if we must judge of right and wrong, by what men do to one another; certainly to a man nothing is so precious as life. If any *Barbarian* killing his Countryman in drink, upon that pleads impunity; I conceive his excuse aggravates his crime: For a man must not be so drunk as to kill his best friends; specially in an Army; nay drunkenness it self, without murder, deserves punishment. And then to wrong ones own Nation, appears more heinous to any man of understanding, than a stranger. The example and event of such doings you may all yonder behold. And you must not begin quarrels, nor take away ought which is other mens. Neither will I endure that man, or esteem him a souldier of mine, who cannot employ innocent hands against our enemies. No valour will get the victory, which is not rankt with justice. The Army upon this speech, and seeing the crucified men, and expecting the danger of committing unlawfull acts, grew afraid, and resolv'd to live soberly. Then, that the whole Army might sail, and lie at anchor together (in a great fleet many ships necessarily being cast behind, specially if the wind blow high, and the ship-masters know not what leader to follow) he painted the masts of his own ship, and two others where his train was, from the top about a third part, with red, and in their sterns setting up high poles, hung up lanterns, that the Generals ships might be seen both by night and day. And to these he commanded the ship-masters to hold their course; which thus leading the whole fleet, not one ship was cast behind. And at weighing anchor from any harbour, the Trumpets ever sounded the warnings. From *Abydus* a stiff wind brought them

to

to *Siganus*; from whence being becalm'd, they came late to *Malta*. There the calm stood them instead; for the want of sea-room for so great a fleet, and in the night, troubled, and endangered the same. The Mariners did bravely, calling out, and thrusting with their long poles, and skilfully keeping their distances. But if the wind had risen strong, and against them, they had with much ado saved the ships. But getting by, they reach'd *Tenarus*, now called *Cenopolis*. From thence they came before *Methone*; where they found *Valerianus* and *Martinus*, arriv'd a little before; and the wind not serving, *Belisarius* landed the whole Army. There he distributed the Commands, and ordered the Soldiers; and being therein busie, and the wind not serving, many of the Army died of a sickness thus occasioned. *John* the *Cappadocian*, a bad man, was ingenious to find projects for money to the treasury; with the ruin of men; (a man beyond my power to describe; and in my former History I have spoken of him;) but now he destroyed these soldiers thus. The bread for the Army, to make it laste, and not corrupt too soon, is to be twice baked; and so of necessity must weigh less; and the soldiers in the giving it out, must have a fourth part less in weight. *John*, that he might spend less wood, and wages upon bakers, &c. by gain the weight, brought the loaves unbaked to the publick bath; and put the same into the stove there, under which the fire is made; and being thus sordily baked, sent it in bags to the fleet; which being at *Methone*, the basket turn'd to dough, and that mouldy, corrupt, and musty; and the Officers distributed it thus to the soldiers by pecks; and sometimes by bushels. Who feeding upon it in the Summer, and a place of extreme heats, grew sick, and above 500 died; and more had, if *Belisarius* had not provided bread of the Country to help them. He acquainted the Emperour therewith, who commended him for it; but he could not get *John* punished as then.

CHAP. XII.

FROM *Methone*, they came to the Port of *Zante*. Here they took in fresh water, and other necessities, to pass the *Adriaticque* sea; through which, with a scant wind, they came in sixteen days to a desert coast of *Sicily*, near Mount *Etna*. In this lingering passage their waters corrupted, all save what was drank at the table of *Belisarius*, which his wife devised to keep untainted, in six vessels of glasse, covered thick with sand in a little cabin in the hold, where the Sun could not come. *Belisarius* landed there, and was much troubled in his thoughts, not knowing what soldiers the *Vandals* were, nor how, nor from whence to make the war upon them. The soldiers also troubled him, fearfull of a sea-sight, and not ashamed to tell him, that on land they will do their best, but if the enemies ships come, they will fly, not able to fight with them and waters too. In this perplexity he sent *Procopius*, his Aflessor, to *Syracuse*, to enquire if the enemy way-laid their passage in the Island, or main Land: what part of *Africa* was best to land in, and from whence to make the war, and this done, to meet him at *Caucana*; about 27 miles from *Syracuse*, where the fleet should ride at anchor. It was given out, he was sent to buy victual of the *Goths*. For *Amalasuntha*, the mother of *Attiliricus*, had agreed with *Justinian* to give his Army free market. *Attiliricus* was under years bred by his mother, and was King of the *Goths* and *Italians*; upon whom after the death of *Theodoricus*, the Kingdom descended, being son to his daughter *Amalasuntha*, by a man deceased also. *Amalasuntha*, to make *Justinian* her friend, had yielded to this free market, among other his commands; and now performed it. But *Procopius* found at *Syracuse*, a Countryman and friend of his from a boy, residing there, about his Traffique at Sea; of whom he learnt all his demands. For a servant of his who had returned within three days from *Carthage*, told him, that there was no fear of the *Vandals* way-laying the fleet; there being there no news of an Army coming; and their valiantest men being newly sent against *Godas*; and that *Gelimur* having no thought

Thus the Author calls constantly that sea which others call *Mare Ionium*.

of

of an enemy, neglected *Carthage*, and the sea-towns, and made his abode at *Hermione*, near *Byzacium*, 4 days journey from any sea; so that they might sail on securely, and put in where the wind and weather should invite. *Procopius* hearing this, took the servant by the hand to the Port, and was inquisitive of many particulars; till being aboard, he commanded to hoist sail for *Caucana*. The Master of the fellow stood upon the shore wondering at his mans not returning. But *Procopius* called out to him not to take it unkindly, for his servant must speak with the General, and guide the Army into *Africk*, and then should be returned to him to *Syracuse* with a rich reward. But arrived in the Army, he found them all mourning the death of *Dorotheus*, General of *Armenia*, a man much desired by the Army. *Belisarius*, when he heard the news from the man, rejoiced extremely, and much commending *Procopius*, commanded the Trumpets to give warning for weighing anchor. And so they came to the Isles of *Gaulus* and *Malta*, dividing the *Adriaticque* and *Tyrrhenus* seas; and thence with an Easterly wind, they came the second day upon the coast of *Africk*, five dayes journey from *Carthage*.

Being near the shore, *Belisarius* commanded to cast anchor; and assembling the Commanders, consulted of their landing. After some diversity of opinions, *Archelus* spake thus, 'Our General is to be commended highly, who having the advantage of wisdom, experience and power, yet consults, and commands us to speak our opinions of landing, though knowing by his own observation, what must and may be done. And I cannot but admire you the Commanders for so readily perswading our landing; who know that to exhort men to an imminent danger, brings no advantage to the adviser, but laies him open to an accusation. For men, when things succeed to their desire, are pleased, and that's all; but when otherwise, they accuse the author of the advice, though it be unjust that a man for his counsel in publick deliberations should be questioned. But resolving thus to land in an enemies Country, in what Port will you leave your ships? What fortification, or walled Town expect you? The coast from *Leccon* to *Carthage*, you hear is nine dayes journey open to all winds, and without any harbour: And in all *Africk*, by *Genseric* his command, no walled Towns are standing but *Carthage*: And the Country, I am told, is destitute of waters. And if in the midst of these incommodities we meet with an enemy, what shall we resolve then? Shall we not think such counsels infused rather by some unlucky *Demon*, then humane reason? Our ships also, when we are landed, and a storm comes, must either be scattered infinitely, or else perish upon this shore. Then for your necessary support, what supply expect you? Let no man look upon me the Commissary for Provisions. Then there are no servants for you, the soldiers must supply that Office. To conclude, where will you put your spare arms and baggage? and when you need such, whence will you be furnished? My opinion is, to sail directly for *Carthage*, where there is a haven four miles and a half from it, called the *Pool*, unguarded and capable of a great fleet, from whence you may make the war, and easily take *Carthage*. And then having vanquish't the enemy far from thence, nothing will be difficult nor dangerous to Conquerours. For naturally, the head once gon, the rest falls of it self. These things you are to consider, and chuse the best.

After this speech, *Belisarius* began thus. 'Let none, fellow Commanders, think me to fit here a judge of what hath been spoken, nor to speak last, supposing my sentence necessarily to be followed. I have heard your opinions, and my part is to propound what I conceive, and together with you to chuse the best. One thing you must remember, that the soldiers even profess to fear a sea-fight, and if the enemy come, to turn their backs to them. And in that case it is foolish to pray to God for success, being afraid, and our selves procuring the contrary event. If then we sail to *Carthage*, and encounter an enemies Navy, and our men fly from them, our counsel will be followed with repentance and complaints. A fatal error admits some excuse, but this none. And if a Tempest happen (which is most urged to fright us, and not well) and our ships be scattered (as they say) or perish upon this coast: I pray which is less hurt, to have our ships cast away alone, or with them, all the rest of us to fall by the enemy? Besides, sailing upon the enemy unprovided, and not looking for us,

we may subdue him; but when he is armed and prepared, we shall hazard a war upon equal terms. Concerning the provision of necessities, and how we shall put ashore, it is not now time to consult, nor enquire. Shall we stay for a tempest to fall upon our Navy in a fight (as often happens) and then begin to learn what to do? I think we ought forthwith to land, taking with us our horses, arms, and other needfull things; and presently to entrench our selves within a good Rampire (which will defend us as the strongest wall) and from thence make the war. And think not to want any thing, if we fight valiantly. Who vanquish their enemies, all they have is theirs; Victory brings all to that side it encloses to. In your swords therefore consists your safety, and abundance.

All the Counsel easily consented to this, and rose; forthwith landing the Army, three months after their departure from *Constantinople*. The General chose by the sea-side, a place which both soldiers and mariners fortified with trench and rampire; and by multitude of hands concurring, and the General urging, it was finished the same day. Digging the earth, they came to much water (a thing never before seen in *Byzacium*, a dry Country) which supplied men and beasts. *Procopius* congratulated with the General, not so much (as he said) for the water, as for the preface of an easie victory, which proved so indeed. That night the Army lodged in the Camp, set their watches, and did all as is usual. Only aboard every ship *Belisarius* appointed five Archers, and the light Gallies to lie round about them to prevent sodain mischief.

CHAP. XIII.

The next day some soldiers went up into the Country, and stole their ripe fruits, whom the General severely chastised; and calling the Army together, spake thus. 'To feed upon other mens goods by violence, is at all times wicked, because unjust; But now, setting the consideration of justice aside (though that were hard) it is so abundantly inconvenient, that we must fear the danger: we are here put ashore with this only confidence, that the *Africans* being anciently *Romans*, are unsure, and ill affected to the *Vandals*. From this I did hope for supply of necessities, and to avoid mischief from the enemy. But now your intemperance hath changed all to the contrary. You have reconciled the *Africans* to the *Vandals*, and turn'd their hatred upon your selves, (for wrong'd men naturally hate them that do them the present violence;) and so you have for a little gain now sold your future safety, and plenty. By buying what you needed, you might have avoided the imputation of injustice, and made the owners your friends. Now you must have the war with *Africans* and *Vandals* too; nay with God himself; whose assistance no man can invoke, doing wrong. But give over this sharking, and quit your hands of a gain so full of hazard: The proper time now being, when sobriety must preserve us, and disorder will bring certain death. If you be carefull of these things, God will be propitious, the people of *Africk* well affected, and the *Vandals* easie to be dealt with.

After this speech, *Belisarius* sent *Borades*, one of his life-guard, with some of his Targetiers, to *Syllecius* a sea-town in the way to *Carthage*, and a days journey from the Camp; whose Inhabitants, he heard, instead of their demolished walls, to have fortified each man his own house, to keep off the *Moors*, and so to have made a kind of Town wall. *Borades* he instructed to attempt the Town, and taking it, to do no hurt, but with representing many conveniences, and how they come to set them at liberty, to get entrance for the Army. They about candles lighting getting near the Town, past the night in a deep bottom there; and the next morning overtaking some Peasants, they slept into the Town with them, and possessed it; then without tumult, called the Bishop, and principal of the Town; told them their Generals instructions, and immediately receiving the keys from them, sent the same to the General. The same day the Master of the Kings Posts revolted, and gave up all his horses. The General also took one of those

those that ride with the Kings Packets, which they call *Veredaris*, and did him no hurt, but took his oath to deliver *Justinians* Letters, written to the *Vandals*, into the hands of the Governours. Which signified thus. *We make no War upon the Vandals, nor infringe the Treaty with Genserick. But we end avow to free you from an usurper; who, disrespecting the Testament of Genserick, keeps your King in prison, and hath begun to destroy such of his blood, whom he hated; and of the rest, hath put out their eyes, and imprisoned them, not suffering them to end their sorrows by death. Assist us therefore to free you from so wicked Tyranny, that you may enjoy peace and liberty: which to observe to you, we make oath here to God.* The man that took these Letters from *Belisarius*, durst not shew them, but to some private friends, and did nothing material.

CHAP. XIV.

BUT *Belisarius* marcht in order for a battel towards *Carthage*. He gave 300 of his Targetiers to *John*, who was the Steward of his household, whom the Romans call *Optio*; being an *Armenian*, and eminent for valour and discretion. Him he directed to march some two miles and a half before the Army, and to give warning, if they see an enemy, that the Army may prepare for fight. And to the left hand of the Army, he directed the *Massagetes* to march. And himself was in the rear with his best men, looking for *Gelimer* to come shortly from *Hermione*. To the right hand was no fear, being to march by the sea-shore; and the seamen he commanded to keep them company, by letting down all their sails, but their sprit sail, in case of a strong gale; and in a calm, to force their way with oars. When they came to *Syllistis*, *Belisarius* had his soldiers most sober, not striking, nor using any disorder. And the *Africans* he so gained with his gentleness, that he marcht as in his own Country; the people not withdrawing themselves nor goods, but giving free market, and being very serviceable to the soldier. They marcht ten miles a day, till they came to *Carthage*, lodging still in a Town, or safely in their Camp. We came by *Lepta* and *Adrymetum* to *Grassa*, about 43 miles from *Carthage*; where was a Palace of the *Vandal* Governour, and the fairest Gardens we ever saw; abundantly watered with fountains; and with a large grove of trees loaded with ripe fruit, whereof the soldiers took their fill without any mifs, every man setting his cabbin under a fruit-tree.

But *Gelimer* hearing the enemies arrival, wrote from *Hermione* to *Carthage*, to his brother *Ammatus*, to kill *Ilderick*, and the other prisoners of his blood, and otherwise appertaining to him; and himself to arm the *Vandals*, and such forces as he had in the City; and at the narrow passage near a town called *Decimum*, to charge the enemy on both sides, and so to catch him as in a net. *Ammatus* accordingly killed *Ilderick*, and his cousin *Evagees*: *Hoamer* was dead before. He armed also the *Vandals*, to sally in the due time. *Gelimer* followed us close; and one night only, as we lodged in *Grassa*, he gave us an alarm; upon some skirmishing of our scouts with theirs; by whose returning to the Camp, we understood the enemy to be near. From hence marching, we lost sight of our ships, being put to go about some high rocks there, and a Promontory under which stands *Mercurium*. *Belisarius* sent word to *Archelans* the Commissary, not to put in at *Carthage*, but to stay 25 miles short, till he send for them. From *Grassa* the fourth day we came to *Decimum*, about 8 miles from *Carthage*. This day *Gelimer* sent his Nephew, *Gibamundus*, before with 2000 *Vandals*, to march to our left hand; that so *Ammatus* from *Carthage*, himself in our rear, and *Gibamundus* at our left hand, charging together, might compass us.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

FOR my part, I could not but wonder in this battel to see, how God knowing the event, draws out the model thereof to his own will; and how men are ignorant whether they mistake; or whether they be upon a right counsel; that a way so may be made to the success before determined. If *Belisarius* had not commanded *John* to advance before the Army, and the *Massagetes* to march at our left hand, we could not have escaped the *Vandals*. And for all this, the *Vandals* could not have been so ruined, if *Ammatus* had not come to *Decimum* about noon, three hours sooner then his time, we being then farr short of it, and the *Vandals* Army also. And this was not all his fault. He came with a few, and those not of his best, to encounter *John*, leaving the main body in *Carthage*, with direction to come after to *Decimum*. He killed 12 good men of ours in the head of *Johns* troops, but himself fell, having shewn much valour; and being fallen, the rest were routed, and running away, turned the whole body marching from *Carthage*; who being in no order to fight, but in small parties of thirty and twenty together, and seeing *Ammatus* troops running, and imagining multitudes pursuing, ran back for company. Whom *Johns* Troops killed up to the gates of *Carthage*. And so great was the execution of that 8 miles, that one would have guest it the work of 20000 men at least. *Gibamundus* at the same time, and his 2000 men, came to the *Sale* plains, five miles from *Decimum*, on the left hand of the way to *Carthage*, a place without men or trees, or ought else (the saltness of the water hindring the growth of any thing but salt); here falling upon the *Massagetes*, they perisht every man. Among the *Massagetes* was a man valiant and strong, but Captain of a few; who had a priviledge from his ancestors, in all encounters to charge first; and no *Massagete* to shoot or strike till he began the fight.

This man rode up close to the *Vandals* Army; who either amazed with his daring, or suspecting some plot of the enemy, stirred not so much as to shoot at him; fearing (it may be) to venture, hearing the *Massagetes* to be a warlick Nation, and having never seen their manner of fighting. But he returning, told his Countrymen, that God had sent them those strangers ready dress; So they gave on furiously, and the *Vandals* breaking their ranks, and not resisting, basely perisht every man. We without hearing these accidents, marcht towards *Decimum*. And *Belisarius*, in a convenient place, some four miles from *Decimum*, fortified an entrenchment, and placed his foot in it; and then made this speech to the Army. 'Now, fellow Soldiers! is come the time of our tryal: Our enemies, I hear, are marching towards us; and our ships, by the situation of the place, are severed from us; and now our only hope of safety is in our swords; having neither Town nor Fortrefs to be bold upon. If we now do valiantly, we shall in likelihood subdue our enemies; but if we faint, nothing remains, but to be beaten, and perish by the enemy: Advantages for victory we have: First, We fight for the possession of that which in right is ours; then do the *Vandals* hate their own usurping Tyrant. and commonly God assists the rightfull cause; and the soldier ill affected to his Prince, never fights valiantly for him. Besides, we have spent our time against *Persians* and *Scythians*; but the *Vandals*, since their Conquest of *Africa*, have seen no enemy but naked *Moors*. Now, in every Trade practise breeds skill, and disusage ignorance. Our Entrenchment from whence we are to make the war, is finished; where leaving our arms which we cannot carry, and baggage, we may sallie, and retiring, find what we need. I entreat therefore every man to think upon his reputation, and the pledges he hath left at home, and so undant to encounter the enemy.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Belisarius having thus spoken, and said a prayer, leaving the guard of his wife and the Camp to the foot, he sallied with his horse. He thought not good to hazard with the whole Army, but first to skirmish with his horse, and try the enemy, then to give battel with the main; so he sent the Confederates before, and followed with the rest, and with his own Lancers and Targetiers. The Confederates being come to *Decimum*, found the bodies of the 12 companions of *John*; and close by them the body of *Ammatus*, and some other *Vandals*. Being in doubt, and not knowing whether to go further; and from a hill discovering round, they saw a dust, and soon after a great troop of *Vandals*. They sent to *Belisarius* to come speedily, the enemy being upon them; and the Commanders, some urged to charge the enemy, others alledged their forces not sufficient. While they were disputing, the *Barbarians* came up close, with *Gelimer* in the head of them; having passed between the way where *Belisarius* went, and that where the *Massagers*, who had fought with *Gibamundus*; but the hilly ground between, hindered their sight of *Belisarius* or his entrenchment, and of the defeat of *Gibamundus*. Being near, each contended to possess the highest down, which seemed apt for an entrenchment. The *Vandals* running hard, gained the down, and grown terrible, routed the enemy. The *Romans* ran away to a Town less than a mile from *Decimum*, where was *Uliaris*, one of *Belisarius* his life-guard, and 800 of his Targetiers. The *Vandals* said their course, thinking that *Uliaris* would stand them; but his troops, so soon as the other began to charge, fled again to *Belisarius*. It was strange, that *Gelimer* having thus the victory in his hands, should voluntarily quit it. But God, when he will have a mischief befall a man, infects his reason, not suffering the most expedient things to come into his mind. If he had followed the execution, *Belisarius* himself had not stood him, but we had all been absolutely ruined; so great seemed the number of the *Vandals*, and the *Romans* fear. Or if he had rode on to *Carthage*, he had killed the troops of *John*, every man, (who were carelessly scattered, and rising the dead bodies) and had saved the City, and been Master of our ships, and cut off all our hope, either of victory or return home. But he did neither; but riding softly down the hill, and in the plain, finding his brothers dead body, he spent the time in lamentations, and about the funeral, and thus lost his opportunity, which he could never recover. *Belisarius* stopt his flying men, chiding them; and hearing of the death of *Ammatus*, and the brave execution of *John*; and informed sufficiently of the place and the enemy, he marched against *Gelimer* and the *Vandals*: who being in disorder, and unprepared, ran away again, with the loss of many, (the execution lasting till night) and fled not to *Carthage*, nor *Byzacium*, from whence they came, but toward the plains of *Bule*, and the way to *Numidia*. About evening, *John*, and the *Massagers* also came to us; and relating, and hearing the several adventures, lodged with us that night in *Decimum*.

CHAP. XVII.

The next day our foot coming up, with *Belisarius* his wife, we marcht toward *Carthage*; and arriving within night, lodged abroad near the City. No man would have opposed our entrance; the *Carthaginians* opening their gates, and the City shining all night with lights and bonfires; and the *Vandals* remaining, were fled into the Churches. But *Belisarius* feared in the night some ambush, and the soldiers disorder, lest in the dark they might fall to pillage. The same day also the fleet came up to the Promontory, and the *Carthaginians* had opened the iron Chain

Chain of *Mandracium* their haven, to let it in. In the Palace is a dark prison, called *Ancon*, (or the Elbow) for such as the Tyrant was offended with. Here at that time were many Eastern Merchants, whom the Tyrant accused to sollicite the Emperour to invade him; and the same day that *Ammatus* was slain in *Decimum*, he had given order for their execution.

The keeper of the prison hearing the accident at *Decimum*, and seeing the fleet within the Promontory, went to the men (who had heard nothing, but fate in the dark expecting death) and askt them what they would give to be saved from thence. They promising to pay any thing, he said, he would none of their money, but prayed them to swear, if they escaped, and he came into danger, to assist him to their power; they did so. And he taking out a board, shewed them the fleet sailing in, and then set them loose, and went along with them.

The fleet first doubted, hearing nothing; then sending to *Mercurium*, they were advertised of all, and with great joy sailed on with a strong gale. Which bringing them within 18 miles of *Carthage*, *Archelau*; and the land-men, commanded to cast anchor, according to the Generals instructions. But the Mariners alledged the coast to be without harbour, and that there was likelihood of a storm, which kind of storms the natives call *Cyprian*; which falling in that place, they should not be able to save a ship. And so it was indeed: Wherefore striking sail, and consulting, they thought not fit to attempt the haven of *Mandracium*, fearing to break *Belisarius*'s direction, and suspecting *Mandracium* to be chained up, and besides, not able to hold the whole fleet; but they thought the Pool to be for their purpose (being but five miles from *Carthage*, and capable of the whole fleet) and to find there no stop. So coming thither about evening, they cast anchor, all save *Calonymus*, with some mariners; who not regarding the General, put into *Mandracium*, and there robbed some Merchants, strangers, and *Carthaginians*, dwelling upon the sea-side.

The next day *Belisarius* commanded the men a ship-board to land, and with the Army, in order of battel, rode towards *Carthage*, fearing the enemies ambushes. Here he put the soldiers in mind of their good fortunes since their moderation to the *Africans*; admonishing them to continue their good order, especially in *Carthage*; That the *Africans* were formerly *Roman* subjects, and unwillingly brought under the *Vandals*, from whom they had suffered abominable things; That for this, the Emperour made war with the *Vandals*; and that it were impious now to abuse them, whose liberty was the cause of this expedition. Then he entred *Carthage*, none opposing; went to the Palace, and sat down in *Gelimer*'s Throne. Here the Merchants, and the other *Carthaginians*, who dwelt upon the sea, came in a multitude, and with clamour to *Belisarius*, complaining that Mariners the last night had robbed them of all they had. He made *Calonymus* swear to produce the goods; but he neglecting his oath, went away with the goods then; but afterward at *Constantinople*, by a terrible judgement, he fell mad, bit out his own tongue, and died. *Belisarius* then commanded his dinner to be, where *Gelimer* used to feast his great men. The *Romans* from the *Greeks*, call the place *Delphica*, from a three-footed Table standing in the Palace at *Rome*, upon which the Emperours Cup-bearers set the cups; which they call *Delphica* (a three-footed table, and first used at *Delphos*) and so in *Constantinople*; and wheresoever the Emperours Table stands, they call the room *Delphica*. The Emperours house also they call *Palatium*, of one *Pallas* a *Grecian*, who dwelt in that place before the sack of *Troy*, and built in it a good handsome house; where *Augustus*, having got the Empire, first lodged, and thence they called the Emperours house the Palace. Thus *Belisarius* dined in the *Delphica*, and with him the Commanders of the Army. The day before, a dinner was provided for *Gelimer*, and we feasted upon the meats. *Gelimer*'s servants brought in our dinner, filled our wine, and in all things else attended us. Here a man might see fortune in her bravery; shewing all things to be hers, and that none can call any thing his own. And that day *Belisarius* attained a glory, which never happened in his own time, nor to any of the ancients. For the soldiers using not to enter, no not into any *Roman* City, and but 500 together, without some disorder, specially upon the sodain: This General had his men in such order,

der, that there was not the least insolence or menace used. There was no interruption of Trade; but in a City newly taken, in a State changed, and upon the alteration of their King, not an Officer of Justice had his house shut up. The publick notaries dispatcht their writings at the Courts, and took the soldiers home with them, as is the manner; and the soldiers bought what they liked in the market place, using no unquietness.

CHAP. XVIII.

Then *Belisarius* gave assurances to the *Vandals* fled into the Churches; and took care of the walls of *Carthage*, which had been so neglected, that in many places they were easily to be mounted, and a great part was quite fallen down, which, the *Carthaginians* told us, caused *Gelimer* not to stay in the City, as not able in so short a time to secure the walls. We heard also of an old Prophecy, that had been among the boys in *Carthage*. That *Gamma* should expell *Beta*; and again *Beta* should expell *Gamma*. It was then accounted as an idle riddle among sporting boys; but now it was clear; for *Genferick*, expelled *Bonifacius*, and now *Belisarius* *Gelimer*. Then also the meaning of a dream was manifested, which many had dreamt, and often; not guessing at the event. The *Carthaginians*, above all, reverence *St. Cyprian* and by the sea-side have dedicated a Church to him close to the City, where they use many devotions, and yearly celebrate a feast which they call *Cyprian*; and from thence those storms I mentioned, are named, which happened about that festival. This Church, in the reign of *Honoricus*, the *Vandals* got, forcing out the Christians and their Priests with much indignity; and officiating there themselves, as now appertaining to the *Arrians*. The *Africans* being much grieved at this, they say *St. Cyprian* often appeared to many in their dreams, and bad the Christians not be carefull for him; he would be his own revenger. Which saying being divulged; the *Africans* expected the time of punishment upon the *Vandals* for these devotions; but guest not at the event. But now, the Feast being to be the next day, and the *Arrian* Priests having made clean the Church, hung out their fairest reliques, prepared the lamps, brought out their treasures, and fitted every thing for the proper use. When they heard of the overthrow of *Amatus* at *Devinum*, away they all ran. And the Orthodox Christians came to the Church, lighted the lamps, and officiated according to their own rites. And so the prediction of that vision was known also. The *Vandals* likewise remembered an ancient story, and wondring acknowledged, that to man no expectation is impossible, nor no possession firm. The story was this. That when the *Vandals* were forced by a famine, to forsake their ancient native Country, yet some staid, having no mind to follow *Godigifelmus*. They in time came to have plenty, and *Genferick* with his followers got *Africk*. Which they were glad to hear, who followed not *Godigifelmus*, finding their Country now able to feed them. And they feared lest their *African* Plantators or their posterity, might in time come home upon them again, expelled by the *Romans*, who (they doubted) would not always neglect that Province. So they sent Ambassadors to *Genferick*, who said unto him, 'That they congratulated their Countrymens great prosperity, but were no more able to guard their own Country; which they despising, had planted themselves in *Africk*. Wherefore they prayed them, if they make no account of their native soil, to bestow on them a possession to themselves uselesse. That so being absolute proprietaries of the Country, they might cheerfully spend their lives for it against any invader.' *Genferick* and the *Vandals*, thought this just, and yielded to the Ambassadors desire. But an old man among them, esteemed very wise, said, 'He would never consent to it; for among men is nothing settled upon a sure foundation; there is no firm and perpetual estate in what they have; nor in what they have not, impossibility. *Genferick* approved his saying, and sent away the Ambassadors with a demur: and was then laugh't at, and his old Counsellor, for foreseeing things impossible.

But

But upon these accidents I have related, the *Vandals* were better instructed in humane affairs, and found it the speech of a wise man. Of those *Vandals* that staid in their own Countrey, there is no memorial left. They were few, and either forced under some bordering *Barbarians*, or wilingly mingled, and their names drowned in the other. And these subdued by *Belisarius*, had no thought of going to their ancient Country, having no means sodainly to pass into *Europe*, specially their ships being gone. But in *Africk* they were punished for the mischiefs done the *Romans*; chiefly the *Zacynthians*: For *Genferick* infesting formerly *Peloponessus*, and attempting *Tenarus*, but repulled with loss of many men, and put to a shamefull retreat; being angry, set upon *Zacynthus*, killed many, made captives of 500 principal men, and then sailed away; and in the middle of the *Adriatique* sea, cut those 500 men in pieces, and scattered their pieces in the Sea. This was formerly.

CHAP. XIX.

But now *Gelimer* by money and courteous usage, gained many *African* peasants to undertake the killing of such *Romans* as they found stragling; and he proclaimed a sum of gold upon every killing to the actor. Many slaves and attendants upon the Army were slain, piliring in the Villages, and their heads were brought to *Gelimer*, for which the peasants were well paid by him, supposing to have been rid of so many soldiers. About this time *Diogenes*, one of *Belisarius* his life-guard, did very bravely; who sent him out with 22 of his Targetiers to discover the enemy. These men, at a Town two days journey from *Carthage*, the peasants being not able of themselves to kill them, advertised *Gelimer*. Who sent against them 300 horse, with direction to bring them alive; he thought it a great matter to have one of *Belisarius* his life-guard, and 22 of his Targetiers his prisoners. *Diogenes* and his company entered one of the houses, and in an upper chamber went to bed, hearing the enemy to be far enough off. The *Vandals* came after midnight, and thought it not good to force into the dores in the night, tearing in the dark they might kill one another, and open a passage out for the enemy. Cowardise dul'd their wits; for by using fire, or without it, they might have with ease taken them, being naked in their beds. So they put themselves in rank round about the house, and chiefly at the dore. In the mean time a *Roman* soldier waked, and hearing the noise (some *Vandals* murmuring to one another, and stirring their arms) he guest the matter, waked his companions, and softly told them the accident. They, by *Diogenes* direction, quietly put on their cloaths, took their arms, went down, and bridling their horses, got up unespied. And after a short stay in the Court, suddenly they open the dores and sally. The *Vandals* charged them, but the *Romans* warding with their shields, and with their javelins keeping off the assailants, rode away clear; with loss only of two men. *Diogenes* himself had three wounds, one in the neck, into the face another, of which he was within a litle of dying; and one upon his left hand, by which he lost the use of his litle finger. But in *Carthage*, *Belisarius* with money got artificers, and labourers, and made a Trench, and strong Palisadoes round about the walls; and in short time repaired also the decays thereof; a work much admired by the *Carthaginians*, and afterward by *Gelimer*, being brought thither prisoner. Who wondring at the walls, said, that his negligence therein had been the cause of his present condition.

In the mean time *Trazon*, the brother of *Gelimer*, arrived with his fleet in *Sardinia*, at the Port of *Carnalis*; took the Town at the first charge, and slew *Godas* and his soldiers, and hearing that the Emperours fleet was upon the coast of *Africk*; but not what was done, he wrote this Letter to *Gelimer*. Know O King of *Vandals* and *Alans*, that *Godas* the Usurper is slain by us, and the Island again under your Empire. Keep therefore a festival of Victory; And hope that the enemy who presumes now to invade our Country, shall find the same fortune, which they had formerly, when

when they invaded our Ancestors. The bearers of these Letters sailed into the haven of *Carthage* without thought of an enemy, and by the watch being brought to the General, delivered the Letters, and revealed their negotiation; amazed to see the sudden change. But from *Belisarius* they had no hard usage.

About the same time this happened also. Before the coming of our fleet, *Gelimer* had sent *Gotham*, and *Fuscias*, and other Ambassadors to *Thendis*, Prince of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, for a league. Who being past the straits, found that *Thendis* was at a Town far from the sea. When they came to him, he feasted them with much courtesie, and asked them at the feast, how things were with *Gelimer* and the *Vandals*. He had heard all before, the Ambassadors coming slowly from a Merchants ship which parted from *Carthage* the same day the *Romans* entered it, and with a fair wind arrived in *Spain*. And he had forbidden the Merchants to divulge it. But now when *Gotham* and his fellows answered him, that all was well, he demanded about what they came? They propounding a League, *Thendis* bad them go to the sea-side; and there you shall know certainly your affairs at home. The Ambassadors taking it for the idle speech of a man in drink, replied not. But the next day again propounding the League, and again *Thendis* using the same words, they thought there was some alteration in *Africk*; but not imagining any thing of *Carthage*, they sailed thither, and landing near it, fell among the soldiers, and yielded; and were brought to the General, and told him their business, and had no hurt from him.

CHAP. XX.

CYRILLUS also came to *Sardinia*; but hearing what was become of *Godas*, he sailed to *Carthage*; where he found *Belisarius* and the *Roman* Army victorious. *Solomon* was sent to the Emperour to relate the successes.

Gelimer in the Plains of *Bule*, near the Frontier of *Numidia*, four days journey from *Carthage*, gathered together the *Vandals*, and such *Moors* as were his friends; being few, and without Government. For the Rulers of the *Moors* of *Mauritania*, *Numidia* and *Byzacium*, sent Ambassadors to *Belisarius*, to profess their service to the Emperour, and to promise to joyn with him. Some of them sent their sons for hostages, and desired him to send them their Ensignes of Principality, according to the ancient custom; which was, that none might rule *Moors*, before he had those Ensignes sent by the Emperour, though he were an enemy to the *Romans*; And having them now from the *Vandals*, they thought not their Government firm. The Ensignes are, a silver Rod gilt, a silver Cap, not covering the whole head, but like a Garland, and kept upright with silver wire round about: A white Mantle also, fastened with a golden clasp over the right shoulder, in the manner of a *Thessalian* Mantle: A white Robe embroidered, and a gilt shoe. *Belisarius* sent all these unto them, and money also, but they did not joyn with him, nor yet durst stand for the *Vandals*, but kept aloof, watching the event of the war.

Gelimer also sent a *Vandal* into *Sardinia*, with a Letter to his brother *Trazon*, containing this *It was not Godas surely, but some mischief from heaven upon us, that put that Island into rebellion; which thereby deprived us of you, and our best Vandals, and in sum, sweeps away the prosperity of Genesericks house: You went not from hence to recover that Island, but that Justinian might be Lord of Africk. We understand by the events, what Fortune then determined. Belisarius came upon us but with a small Army: But the Vandals valour presently ran away, with our good fortune Ammatas and Cidamundus are lost by the Vandals cowardise. Our horses, ships, all Africk, nay Carthage is self are in our enemies hands; while the Vandals sit down with the Iles of their wives and children, and estates, having fought poorly. We have nothing left but the Plains of Bule: where the hope we have in you hath put us, and still keeps us. So that leaving any farther to us, and quitting Sardinia, and those cares, come speedily unto us with your whole fleet. It is inconvenient for*

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men in hazard for the main, to quillet about the rest. And combating our enemies together, We shall either recover our former fortune, or gain this, not to suffer without one another.

Trazon, when he had perused this Letter, and imparted it to the *Vandals*, they howled and lamented, concealing it from the Islanders; but between themselves bewailing in silence their present estate. And forthwith disposing the businesses at random, they went all to sea; with the whole fleet, and the third day landed in *Africk*, upon the Frontiers of *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. Thence they marched a foot to the Plains of *Bule*, and joyned to the rest of the Army. There were many sad rencontres then among the *Vandals*, not to be expressed, and such as an enemy would have pittied to look on, and see the condition of mankind. *Gelimer* and *Trazon* fallen on each others neck, could not let go. They said nothing, but grasping each others hand, howled. The like did the others, embracing those who came from *Sardinia*; and a long time they enjoyed that contentment: And were so amazed at the present fortune, that what was important before, was not now thought upon; *Gelimer* not enquiring concerning *Godas*, nor *Trazon* of the passages in *Africk*, Which he might conjecture by the place they were now in. Neither was there speech of wives or children; they perceiving well, that what was not here, was certainly dead, or a prisoner with the enemy.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WARS
Of the Emperour
IVSTINIAN:

BOOK II.

Of the War with the Vandals.

CHAP. I.



UT Gelimer conducted the Army of *Vandals*, being now all come together against *Carthage*: where he cut off the Cities *Aqueduct* encamped a while, and no enemy sallying, retired. They quartered themselves in the neighbouring Towns, and thought to block up the City so, setting guards upon the high-ways. They used no spoil nor pillage, assuming the Country as their own: and expecting some Treason by the *Carthaginians*, and such Roman Soldiers as were *Arrians*. With large promises also, they invited the Commanders of the *Huns* to be their friends and confederates: They, who were distressed to the *Romans*, alledging that *Peter*, the *Roman* General, had brought them to *Constantinople* against their wills, and contrary to his express oath. So they entertained the motion, and agreed in the battel to turn their powers against the *Romans*. Of all this *Belisarius* had some suspicion, by relation of some fugitives;

gitives: and the walls being not wholly finished, he would not sally, but accommodated all things within. He crucified one *Lanrus* a *Carthaginian*, for Treason, upon a hillock before the City, convinced by his own Secretary: which frightened the rest from the like attempts. The *Massagetes* courting with gifts, and invitations to his table, and other complements, at last he got out of them what *Gelimor* had promised them, to turn cowards in the battle; and indeed that they had no mind to fight, fearing that, the *Vandals* being overthrown, the *Romans* would not dismiss them to their own Country, but wear them out in *Africk*; and besides, take their booty from them. *Belisarius* swore to them, that they should be sent home so soon as the *Vandals* were absolutely overthrown, with all their booty; and bound them by oath to aid us with all alacrity. Then, all things being well prepared he spake thus to the Army. 'To use exhortations of courage to you, may seem needless fellow-soldiers! who have already so vanquished the enemy, that *Carthage* and all *Africk* is the purchase of your valour: and *Victors* never have faint hearts. But it is not unseasonable to put you in mind, that fighting bravely now the *Vandals* will have an end of their hopes, and we of fighting. You ought then cheerfully and with pleasure to enter into this combat, being to be the period of your labours: And let none speak of the *Vandals* multitude; which uses not to determine wars, but mens valour. Let the most powerful thing among men, a sense of reputation upon your former actions affect you: it being a shame for men in their wits, to grow worse, and to lessen their own virtue. The enemy their fear, and remembrance of misfortunes will make cowards; the one fighting with things past, the other expelling hope of victory; ill fortune ever instantly dejecting mens spirits. Besides, our combat is for greater things. If the former fight had succeeded ill, our danger had been, not to conquer another Country: But now we lose that which is our own, if we be not victorious. So that our fear is so much the greater, as it is less to purchase nothing, than to lose what one hath. Formerly we got a victory without our Foot; but now with our whole Army I hope we shall get the enemies Camp, men, and all they have. You have in your hands the conclusion of this war; if you neglect it, and put off opportunity, you will seek it when 'tis gone. Fortune despised, stops; especially if the judgements be improved of those she favoured not before. That Goddess hates such as squander away their prosperity. And if any man imagine that the sight of the enemies wives and children, and most precious things, will make them dare even beyond power, he errs. Anger about things so dear, weakens minds excessively affected, and suffers them not to make due use of occasions. All which taxing into our consideration, let us undaunted march against the enemy.

Having thus encouraged them, he sent out all his horse that day, save 500. and to *John* the *Armenian* he gave his own Targetiers and Ensigne, (which the *Romans* call *Bandum*) commanding him to skirmish upon occasion. Himself with the foot, and 100 horse followed. The *Huns* were determined to keep their records with *Gelimor* and *Belisarius* too, and to begin no fight for the *Romans*, nor before it to turn to the *Vandals*; but upon the victory of either, to follow the execution upon the vanquished. The *Roman* Army found the *Vandals* encamped at *Tricamazus*, about 17 miles from *Carthage*, and lodged not far from them. Where about midnight, fires were seen upon the *Romans* spears, and the heads thereof red hot; and the few who saw this Prodigie were amazed, not knowing what the event would be. But the same happening long afterward in *Italy*, they took it upon experience for a sign of victory. But then it happening first, they were troubled, and past the night in fear.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THE next day *Gelimor* placed the *Vandals* wives and children, and all their wealth, in the midst of the Trench, though unfortified; and calling them together, spake thus. 'We strive not now, dear Countrymen! about loss of honor, or Empire; as if by cowardly abandoning these, we might live quietly at home, and hold our estates. Fortune hath turn'd us now to this point, either to conquer our enemies, or to leave them masters of our wives, and children, Country, and all our wealth; and the only advantage of our escaping will be to be slaves, and beholders of these things. But if we vanquish we shall live in prosperity, and after an honorable death, leave our Families happy, and preserve the *Vandals* name and Empire. If ever men fought a battle for all they have, and for the hopes of all men, we are they. Our fear and danger now, is not to die; but not to vanquish our enemies: which failing, only death is good for us. Let none of you therefore faint, but courageously abandon his person; affecting death rather, than the base miseries of a defeat. He that is ashamed to be slain, fears no dangers. Think not upon the former fight, wherein not our cowardice, but some cross fortune tript us; whose stream holds not always the same course, but changes every day. In valour we presume to have the advantage; and in numbers we exceed our enemies by ten times as many men. Then have we many, and great provocations to valour. The glory of our ancestors, ashamed of our degenerating and the Empire they left us, protesting to forsake us, if unworthy. Then to see the howlings of these women, and their weeping children, even stops my speech, with the extreme grief: so that I will only say this: That since our nearest pledges we shall never more see, if we vanquish not our enemies. Consider it, and be valiant, and do not deface the glory of *Genseric*.

Having thus said, he commanded his brother *Tazon* particularly to animate his soldiers, that came from *Sardinia*; who assembling them some space from the camp, spake thus. 'Fellow soldiers! The generality of *Vandals* are to combat for what you have heard from the King; but you are moreover to strive with your own selves. Lately fighting for dominion, and to recover the Island, you overcame. Now you hazard in the greatest things you have, and must use your greatest courage. Who fight for dominion, and are vanquished, are not ruined in the main: But fighting for all, their lives depend upon the conclusion of the battle. And if you be valiant to day, the deposition of *Godas* will clearly appear an effect of your valour; but if now you faint, you will lose the reputation also of that action. And we have the advantage over the rest; terrified with their former defeat; we being unvanquished, and fighting with a courage untainted. Then will the greatest part of the garland of victory be yours, you will be called the Preservers of the *Vandal* Nation: for by winning in company of men formerly unfortunate, you will appropriate to your selves the better fortune. Upon these considerations you may do well to stint the howling of your women and children, and calling God to your assistance, to march boldly against the enemy in the head of your Countrymen.

Gelimor and *Tazon*, after these exhortations, drew them out; and about noon came on (the *Romans* being preparing their dinners) and stood in order upon the banks of the brook there. On the other bank the *Romans* put also in order thus: The left wing *Martinus*, *Valerianus*, *John*, *Cyprian*, *Althius*, and *Marcellus* had, and the other Commanders of Confederates: The right wing *Pappus*, *Barbatus*, and *Aigan*, and the Captains of the *Legionary* horse. In the midst stood *John*, with the Generals *Lanciers*, and Ensigne; and thither in the due season came *Belisarius* himself, leaving the foot behind, marching fair and softly. The *Huns* who used before not to mingle their ranks with the *Roman* Army, then stood aloof, with the intention I have said. The *Vandals* order was,

to distribute each wing among the Colonels of thousands, every one leading his proper Regiment: And in the middle stood *Trazon*; and in the rear the *Moors*. *Gelimer* himself rode about from place to place, to encourage his soldiers: Whom he warned in this fight, not to use Javelins, nor any weapons but their swords. It was long ere they began. Then *John*, by *Belisarius* his direction, with a few chosen men, passed the brook, and charged those in the middle; where *Trazon* repulsed him back towards the main Army, pursuing him to the brooks side, but not going over. Again *John* drawing out more Targetiers of *Belisarius*, rode against *Trazon*; and being again repulsed, retired. He renewed the charge the third time, with almost all *Belisarius* his Targetiers and Lancers, and the Generals Ensigne, shouting and clashing their arms. The *Barbarians* valiantly received them, using their swords only; and the fight grew stiff, where many *Vandals*, and of the best, were slain, and *Trazon* himself. Then came on the whole *Roman* Cavalry, and passing the brook, charged the enemy. And the defeat, beginning in the middle, appeared clearly; each one routing their opposites with ease. Which the *Massagetes* perceiving, according to their resolution they followed the execution with the *Roman* Army, which lasted not long; the *Vandals* recovering their Camp; and the *Romans* not holding themselves able to fight with them in their entrenchment, stripped such dead bodies as had any gold upon them, and retired to their Camp. In this fight were slain of *Romans* 500. and of *Vandals* 800. But *Belisarius* about the evening (his foot being come up) marched with his whole Army to the *Vandals* Camp. *Gelimer* seeing *Belisarius* with his foot, and all marching, without one word speaking, or giving any direction, leapt on horseback and fled the way into *Numidia*; his kinsmen, and some few household servants following him, amazed, and concealing what it was for. Some time the *Vandals* knew not of *Gelimer's* flight; but when they found it, and saw the enemy, the men were in a tumult; the women howled, the children cried; none sought to save their goods, nor regarded the lamentations of their dearest friends; But every man in confusion ran away. The *Romans* took the Camp, with all the wealth in it, and destitute of men: And following the chase all night, killed the men they overtook, and made slaves of the women and children. They found in the Camp so great a mass of wealth, as was never together in a place. For the *Vandals* had long ravished the *Roman* Provinces, and brought much wealth into *Africk*; which being also good land, and most plentiful of all commodities; the revenues in money were not spent in other Countreys, but put up by the owners for the space of 95 years, in which the *Vandals* had the dominion of *Africk*. From whence their wealth now grown into a great bulk, was that day restored to the *Romans*. This overthrow, and taking the *Vandals* Camp, happened three months after the coming of the *Roman* Army to *Carthage*, in the middle of *December*.

An. D. m. 533.
Juli. 70.

CHAP. III.

BUT *Belisarius* was troubled to see the *Romans* disorder, and all night was afraid, lest the *Vandals* making head again, might ruin them. If they had come, not one *Roman* had escaped to enjoy their booty. For the soldiers, being of a sudden become masters of so great wealth, and of personages extremely beautiful, could not contain, nor find any satiety in their booty. They were drunk with their prosperity, and would have every man returned to *Carthage*, carrying all along with them. And they straggled by one and by two, as their hope of gain led them, searching in woods and fastnesses, and in caves and such places, subject to danger, and ambushes, fearing no enemy, nor respecting *Belisarius*; being affected with nothing but the desire of booty. Which *Belisarius* seeing, he knew not what order to take. And so soon as it was day, he stood upon a hillock by the high way, calling upon them for order, and chiding the soldiers and commanders. Such as came that way, sent their booty and captives with their Comrades to *Carthage*; and themselves repaired to the General, and obeyed his directions. He com-

commanded *John* the *Armenian*, to follow *Gelimer* without intermission, and to take him alive or dead. And he wrote to his friends in *Carthage*, to take the *Vandals* out of the Churches in Towns thereabout; giving them assurances. And to disarm them that they might not stir, and to keep them safe in the City till his coming. With the troops he had, he went about recollecting the Army, and giving assurances to such *Vandals* as he found, there being none but in Churches; whom he disarmed, and sent under guards to *Carthage*, giving them no time to make head. All being settled, he marched with the rest of his Army against *Gelimer*. *John* following the chase five days together, came very near to *Gelimer*; who being not ordained to be taken by *John*, this cross chance happened. Among the pursuers with *John*, was one *Vliaris*, a Lancier of *Belisarius*; valiant, and of an able body; but not serious, his greatest delight being wine, and jests. The sixth day of their pursuit, being in drink, he spied about Sun-rising a bird upon a tree, and let fly an arrow at it. He mist the bird; but shot *John* behind in the neck; who soon after dyed of the wound; leaving a great mis both to the General and Emperour, and all, both *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. He was a valiant, and a virtuous man, and bore himself mildly and moderately to all men. Thus *John* the *Armenian* died. But *Vliaris* coming to himself, fled into the Church of a Village near hand; And the soldiers pursued no further, but attended the cure of *John*; and being dead, performed his funeral rites, and acquainted *Belisarius* with the accident, staying in the place: Who came immediately to the Sepulchre, mourning the misfortune, and honoured the same with a yearly Revenue, and many other things. To *Vliaris* he did no harm, hearing from the soldiers that *John* had made them swear that he should not be punished for the fact, being unwittingly done. Thus *Gelimer* escaped his enemies hands that day. *Belisarius* still pursued him; and at *Hippo Regia*, a City upon the sea in *Numidia*, ten days journey from *Carthage*, he learnt how he was gone up to the mountain of *Pappua*, and not possible to be taken. This mountain is steep, and very ill way; high rocks standing round about it. In it inhabit *Barbarian* *Moors*, friends and confederates of *Gelimer*; and on the utmost border of it, stands an ancient City, named *Medenos*. Here *Gelimer* with his company rested. But *Belisarius* being not able to attempt the mountain in the winter; and holding it unsafe to be absent from *Carthage*, the state being unsettled, he left *Pharax* with some forces to besiege the mountain. This *Pharax* was a valiant, prudent, and virtuous man, though an *Herulian*. And for an *Herulian* not to be false, and a drunkard, but to pretend to virtue, is rare, and much to be commended. But he was both himself an affecter of discipline, and all the *Herulians* that followed him. *Belisarius* commanded him to lie all the winter at the foot of the hill, exactly guarding, that neither *Gelimer* get down, nor have provisions brought to him.

Then taking the *Vandals* out of the Churches in *Hippo*, upon his faith given them (being of the best) he sent them with a guard to *Carthage*: and he had this fortune here. One *Bonifacius* an *African* of *Byzacium*, Secretary to *Gelimer*, was by *Gelimer* furnished with a good ship, having in it all the royal treasures; and he was commanded to lie at anchor in the Port of *Hippo*; and if he saw the affairs go ill, to sail with the money to *Thendis*, Prince of the *Viggoths* in *Spain*; where himself, upon the ruine of the *Vandals*, intended to save himself. *Bonifacius* staid, while there was any hope; but hearing of the battle of *Tricamarum*, and the rest formerly related, he hoists sail according to *Gelimer's* appointment: But a contrary wind brought him back into the Port of *Hippo*: and understanding the enemy to be near, he wooed the Mariners with large promises, to get to some other Land. But they could not, a storm coming, and the *Tyrrhene* sea being grown high; so they resolved, that God certainly meant to give the *Romans* that treasure, not suffering them to put to sea: and with much ado getting clear of the harbour, they lay off at sea in some danger. *Bonifacius* sent to *Belisarius*, being come to *Hippo*, some whom he directed to get into a Church; saying that they were sent by *Bonifacius*, who had *Gelimer's* Treasures; but concealing where he was, before oath given; that delivering the Treasures, he shall have no hurt done him, but keep such moneys as are his own. They performed these

these directions. And Belisarius glad of the news, made no scruple to swear: But sent some who received the Treasures, and dismissed Bonifacius with his own moneys, having stollen a mass of wealth from Gelimer.

CHAP. IV.

Being returned to Carthage, he made the Vandal prisoners ready to send to Constantinople with the first of the spring; and sent forces to take in what had been under the Vandals: and to Sardinia Cyrillus, with the head of Tzazon; the Islanders not yet yielding nor believing the report of the Vandals' fortune at Tricamarus. And he directed him to send part of his forces to take in Corsica (antiently called Cyrrus) not far from Sardinia, which had been under the Vandals also. Cyrillus accordingly shewed the head of Tzazon to the Islanders of Sardinia, and made both the Islands tributary.

Belisarius sent also John with the foot company under his leading, unto Casarea in Mauritania, being 30 days journey from Carthage, in the way to Calix and Hercules Pillars; and apopoluz maritime City. Another John, one of his targetiers, he sent to the Straits of Calix, to possess the Castle of Septum, one of the Pillars. To the Isles of Ebusa, Majorica, and Minorica, he sent Apollinaris, an Italian, who went young into Africk; and there being grown rich by the bounty of Ilderick, after his deposing and imprisonment, he went a sutor for Ilderick to Justinian, with some other Africans. And in this voyage with the Romans he did valiantly, and at Tricamarus the best of any. For which service Belisarius gave him the command of those Islands. Here-enforced also the Romans under Pudentius and Tatimuth in Tripoli, the Moors pressing fore upon them. He sent some likewise to receive the Castle at Lilybaeum in Sicily, as belonging to the Vandals' dominion, but was repulsed by the Goths, refusing to yield any part of Sicily, and denying the Castle to have been the Vandals.

Whereupon he wrote thus to the Governours there: You deprive us of Lilybaeum, a Castle of the Vandals, the Emperours slaves; wherein you deal both unjustly and unwisely, without your Princes mind and privy, to put the Emperour into a war with him, whose favour he hath so laboured to purchase. How strange a proceeding is it, to suffer Gelimer to hold the Castle, and from the Emperour, Gelimers Master, to take away his slaves possessions? Take heed: consider how friendship covers many grievances: but an enemy endures not the least injury, but looks back, and will not wink at his foe grown rich, whence he should not; But then he alleadges the wrongs done to his Ancestors; then he fights; wherein though he fail, yet he loses no possession; but prospering, makes the vanquished ask forgiveness. Do you therefore do us no farther ill, nor suffer any. Make not the Emperour an enemy to the Goths, whom you wish propitious. For know, that if you dispute this Castle, you will have a war, not only for Lilybaeum; but for all you hold without just title.

The Goths imparted these Letters to Asalaricus his mother, and by her direction made this answer. Excellent Belisarius! your exhortation may be pertinent to some other men, but not Goths. We are not so mad as to detain any thing from the Emperour: Sicily we challenge all to be ours; whereof that Castle is one of the head Lands. If Theodorick gave his sister, married to a Vandal King, the use of a Mart Town in Sicily, this can give no pretence of title. But noble General! do us right; and decide this controversy not as an enemy, by a battel, but as a friend at an Arbitrament. We refer it to the Emperour himself, to do as to him shall seem legal and just. And we wish you to be advised, and to attend the determination of your Emperour.

Belisarius herewith acquainted the Emperour, and staid till he should further direct him.

In the mean time Pharas being weary of a winter-siege, and supposing the Moors unable to oppose him, he undertook the ascent unto Pappua, with his troops well armed. But the Moors defended it so, that those who went up the Hill being steep, and bad way, were easily ruined; and Pharas being obstinate lost

110 men, and with the residue was beaten back. But he set very diligent guards, that they might be put to yield for hunger, permitting none to scape away, nor any thing to be brought them from without. Where the sufferings of Gelimer and his kindred and others with him, delicately bred, no relation can equal. The Vandals being of all the known Nations the most effeminate, and these Moors the hardiest. They first since their possession of Africk have used their daily baths, and plentiful tables of the best and pleafantest things the earth and sea afford; most of them wore gold and silk, and past their times in Theaters, horse-races, and other delights, and principally huntings: They had their Masques and Playes, Musiques and gallant fights; many had gardens furnished with waters and trees, used much feasting, and were as much addicted to venerie. But those Moors are choaked up in close cabins, never removing for heat of summer, or any inconvenience; and lying upon the ground, or happily with a sheeps-skin under them: They never change apparel, but all the year wear a thick coarse mantle, and a Freece-coat: They have no bread nor wine, eating their wheat, barley, and Olyra (as other animals) without reducing it to flour. With these Moors Gelimers company having long sojourned, in this strange change of diet, and now necessities failing too; they could hold out no longer, but thought it the most pleasant to die, and to serve not base.

CHAP. V.

Which Pharas understanding, wrote thus to Gelimer. 'I also am a Barbarian, not used to discouries; but do write now what I cannot but learn 'from the course of things. Why have you cast your self, dear Gelimer! and your whole kindred into this depth of misery? Is it to avoid being a slave? is that it 'you stomach, as conceiving all miseries good cheap for liberty? And doe you 'not now serve, having your best hopes of safety upon the most wretched of all 'the Moors? 'Tis better for a man to be a slave among Romans begging, then to 'reign over the Moors of Pappua. And can it be so extreme a scorn to be a fellow-servant of Belisarius? Fie! noble Gelimer. We glory (being not both of noble parentage) to be the Emperours slaves. But you (they say) the Emperour intends to receive into the Senate, and to the highest honour called the *Parriclate*, and to bestow on you a large fertile country, and much wealth; and Belisarius will undertake these conditions upon his oath. Can you bear what fortune brings generously? and when she mingles her distastes with some good, will you peevishly reject it? Are not good things from fortune as needfull for us as bad? But these things the most senseless will not think. It seems being plunged in distress, you lose your wits; For griefes to amaze, and turn the mind upon bad counsels. But if you can manage your thoughts, without repining against fortune; you have it in your power, to chuse what's good for you, and to rid your self of these miseries.

Gelimer lamented bitterly at the reading this Letter, and wrote back thus. 'I thank you much for your counsel; but to serve an Enemy wronging me, I hold intolerable; Of whom I would get right, if God were propitious. He hath set Belisarius upon me, I know not why; found a reasonless pretext of a war, and brought me to this, having never offended him in word nor deed. It is not impossible, but that something he wishes not may happen to him, though an Emperour, yet but a man. I can adde no more; my misfortune hath taken away my invention. Farewell gentle Pharas; and at my request send me a Harp, a Loaf of bread, and a Sponge. Pharas doubted long how to construe the last clause of the Letter; till the bearer told him, That Gelimer askt him a Loaf of bread, longing to see and taste a baked loaf, which he had not seen since his coming to Pappua: That he needed a Sponge for his eye, swell'd with a rheume, for want of sweating and bathing: And being skilful upon the Harp, he desired one to sing to it a sad Ditty he had composd upon his present calamity. Pharas con-

dolling with him, and at the condition of mankind, sent him the things according to his letter, but brought him up faster then before. And three winter-months were spent in this siege. And *Gelimer* feared that ere long they would get up to him. He saw the children of his kin even starve with 'llce; full of sorrow he was, weary of the thought of any thing but dying; yet he endured all beyond imagination. He saw this sight. A *Moody* woman had pounded some wheat, and thereof made a little cake, which she threw in the hot ashes upon the hearth, as the *Moors* use to bake their bread. Two hungry boyes, (one the said womans son, and the other *Gelimer*'s sisters son) watcht at the hearth to catch the cake when it was baked. The *Vandal* boy caught it first, and hungerly thrust it hot into his mouth, with the ashes on; the other boy took him by the hair, and with beating forced him to put out the cake again. *Gelimer*, who observed all this accident, could not beate it, but relented, and presently wrote thus to *Pharas*. 'If ever man endured misery with a success quite contrary to his counsels, such am I. Excellent *Pharas*! I mean not to neglect your good advice; being no longer able to strive with fortune, nor struggle under the yoke of destiny, which I will follow as it pleases the same to lead me. Let me have assurance of *Belisarius* undertaking the performance of that by the Emperour, which you lately intimated, and I will immediately render my self to you, and all my kindred, and *Vandals* here with me.

Pharas acquainted *Belisarius* with this, and the former Letters; desiring to know his pleasure. Who much desiring to bring *Gelimer* alive to the Emperour, and overjoyed with the news, instantly sent to *Pappus*, *Cyprian* Commander of the Confederates, with some others, to give oath to *Gelimer* for the safety of himself and company, and that he should have an honourable rank with the Emperour, and want nothing. And they with *Pharas* went to the foot of the mountain, whither came *Gelimer*, received the assurances as he desired, and went with them to *Carthage*. *Belisarius* was in a suburb thereof, named *Acle*: where *Gelimer* being presented, fell a laughing openly, that some imagined him to be distracted through the extremity of his misery: But his friends alledged the man to be of sudden apprehension; He was royally born, and a King; and now from a continued power and wealth, fallen into bondage and fear; And after his enduring so much in *Pappus*, he must now be ranked amongst slaves; And thus having had experience of Fortunes smiles and frowns, he thought Humane condition to deserve only laughter. Thus they conceived of it. But *Belisarius* acquainted the Emperour how *Gelimer* was a Captive at *Carthage*, and prayed leave to come along with him to *Constantinople*; keeping him in the mean time in an honorable restraint, and preparing his Fleet. Many experiments the world hath seen beyond hope, and many it will, while Fortune continues the same. Many things seeming to Reason impossible, have come to pass, and been wondrous at: But I know not whether ever the like of these things hath happened. For a fourth Successor of *Genferick* (his Kingdom flourishing with wealth and men of war) to be ruined in so short a time, by 5000 new comers without a place to anchor in, (so many only were the Horse, who by their valour or fortune debated the whole war) is justly to be wondrous at. But I return from whence I digressed; This being the conclusion of the *Vandal* wars.

CHAP. VI.

But some Commanders being envious of *Belisarius* (as is usual in great felicities) introduced him without any colour of truth, to the Emperour, of usurpation. The Emperour made no show of it, either despising the accusation, or thinking it his best way; and sent thither *Solomon*, and gave *Belisarius* his choice, either to come to *Constantinople* with *Gelimer* and the *Vandals*, or to stay and fend them. But he, who was not ignorant how the Commanders charged him with usurpation, urged to go to *Constantinople* to clear the imputation, and to be revenged of his

his accusers. He came to discover the plot against him thus. His accusers fearing the miscarriage of their letters to the Emperour, and so to spoil their design, wrote of the usurpation in two letters, by several messengers in several ships; one whereof sailed away unespied; but the other upon some suspicion was taken in *Mandracium*, and his letter intercepted, and the plot discovered to *Belisarius*, who thereupon made haste to get to the Emperours presence. But the *Moors* of *Byzacium* and *Numidia*, breaking their truce, revolted, and suddenly made war upon the *Romans*, without any occasion at all: An action agreeable to their dispositions; for with *Moors* is no care of oaths, nor hostages, (though of their children, brethren, or Rulers) neither any assured peace, but by their feare of the enemy. They made truce with *Belisarius*, and broke it, as I shall tell you. The Emperours Fleet being expected in *Africk*, the *Moors* afraid, resorted to their footsaying women, it being not lawfull for their men to footsday. These women after being possessed with a Spirit, as was usual for them, according to the manner of the ancient Oracles; foretold an Army from the waters, the ruine of the *Vandals*, and destruction of the *Moors*, when a Generall of *Romans* should come without a beard. Upon this answer the *Moors*, seeing the Fleet at sea, were afraid, and would not assist the *Vandals*; but sent to *Belisarius*, and made a peace, watching for the success. And the business of the *Vandals* being dispatcht, they sent to spe in the Roman Army if there were any Commander without a beard; And finding all well stored with beards, they thought (as they would have it) the Oracle to concern some after-ages, and not them. So they long'd to break the truce, but were afraid of *Belisarius*, despairing of overcoming the *Romans*, he being with them. And hearing him to be ready to go, and his Lancers, Targetiers, and *Vandal* Captives to be already on ship-board, they took arms suddenly, and did the *Africans* much mischief: For the Souldiers being dispersed in small garisons upon the borders, and unprepared, could not every where oppose, nor hinder the *Barbarians* inroads, which were often, and secret. And so men in confusion were slain, women and children made slaves, goods every where carried away, and all the Country full of flights. *Belisarius* was at sea when he heard of this, and could not come back now; but he appointed *Solomon* to govern *Africk*, and to take the most part of his Targetiers and Lancers, and to chastise the *Moors* for this wrong to the *Romans*. Another Army the Emperour sent to *Solomon*, with *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian*, and *Ideger*, who married the daughter of *Antonina*, *Belisarius* his wife. And the ancient *African* tributes being not to be found upon the ancient Roman records there, which *Genferick* had destroyed; *Tryphon* and *Enfratius* were sent with commission from the Emperour to make a tax; Men whom the *Africans* found harsh and intolerable.

But *Belisarius* being arrived at *Constantinople* with *Gelimer* and the *Vandals*, was thought worthy of those ancient honours given to Generals for the greatest victories. It is about 600 years since any had the same, unless it were *Titus*, *Trajanus*, and such Emperours, as led the Army in person, and got victory of some *Barbarian* nation. He led the spoils, and prisoners of war, in pomp through the City, which the *Romans* call a Triumph; but it was not in the ancient manner: He went afoot from his own house to the *Circus*, and there from his Pavillion to the Emperours throne. The spoils were things belonging to the service of the King, and Gold-chains, and the Chariots for his Queen, with many Jewels & Cups of gold, and all things useful at a Kings feast. Silver also weighing many thousand talents, and a huge mass of Royal furniture, (*Genferick* having sackt, as I said, the Palace at *Rome*) among which were some monuments of the Jewes, brought to *Rome* by *Titus*, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. A Jew there espying the same, standing by one of the Emperours familiar friends, It is not so good (quoth he) to bring these monuments into the Palace of *Constantinople*; for they cannot continue but where *Solomon* first placed them: Hence it is that *Genferick* sackt the Palace in *Rome*, and now *Belisarius* that of the *Vandals*. The Emperour hearing this, sent them to the Christian Churches in *Jerusalem*. The Captives were, *Gelimer*, bearing a Purple robe, and all his kindred, and the tallest and beautifullest of the *Vandals*. *Gelimer* seeing the Emperour sitting upon a high throne, and the people on both sides in the *Circus*, and himself in that calamity, used no lamentation,

lamentation, but still repeated that in the Scripture, *Vanities of vanities, all is vanity.* Being at the Emperours throne, they took from him the Purple robe, and caused him to fall upon his face and adore the Emperour. The same did *Belisarius*, sup-
plicating for him to the Emperour: who, with his Empress *Theodora*, gave large means to *Ilderich's* children, and the descendants of *Valentinian*; and to *Gelimer* they gave towns in *Galatia* of good value, where they suffered him to dwell. He would not change his *Arrian* Religion; so he was not admitted a *Patrician*. *Belisarius* not long after had a Triumph according to the ancient custom. Going to be installed *Consul*, he was born by Captives in a chariot, from whence he threw of the *Vandal* spoils among the people, silver-vessels, and gold-belts, and much more of the *Vandals* wealth. And then men saw things forgotten, thus renewed by time.

CHAP. VII.

But *Solomon* taking the charge of the Army in *Africk*, the *Moors* being up, and the State tottering, was uncertain what to do; Hearing how the *Barbarians* had killed the *Garrisons* in *Byzacium*, and foraged the Country; but the misfortune in *Byzacium* of *Aigan* the *Hunn*, and *Rufinus* the *Thracian*, troubled him most, and all *Carthage*, being men of great reputation in *Belisarius* his retinue, and the whole Army. *Aigan* was one of *Belisarius* his life-guard; and the other, as the valiantest of the rest, was the Generals Standard-bearer, whom the *Romans* call *Bandophorus*: These commanding then Troops of horse, and seeing the *Moors* make booty, and slaves of the *Africans*, laid wait for them in a narrow passage, killed them, and rescued all their captives. Which the *Barbarian* Princes, *Curzinas*, *Esdilafas*, *Juphrishes*, and *Medisfinissas* hearing, set upon them about evening; whom the *Romans*, being few, and surprised in the narrow passage, in the midst of thousands, were not able to resist; which way soever they turned the enemy having their backs. *Rufinus* and *Aigan* ran to a rock, and thence kept off the enemy with their arrows; who durst not come up, but darted their javelins. Their arrows being spent, the *Moors* came to handy blows, and they awhile defended themselves with their swords; but numbers overpressing, cut *Aigan* in pieces, and carried away *Rufinus*. But *Medisfinissas*, fearing he might escape, and trouble them again, took off his head, and shewed it at home to his wives; being for bigness, and abundance of hair, a goodly sight.

It is not amiss to say something here, how, and from whence the *Moors* came originally to inhabit *Africk*. When the *Hebrews* came out of *Egypt*, and *Moses* was dead, and *Josua* his successor, with more than humane valour, had brought the people into *Palestine*, possess'd the Country, overthrown the Nations, conquered their Cities, and was thought invincible: The *Gergesites* and *Jebusites*, and other Nations, mentioned in the Scripture (being populous, and inhabiting the sea-coast, from *Sidon* to *Egypt*, called *Phœnicia*, and under one King, as is confessed by all Writers of Antiquities) seeing this new Captain irresistible, they removed from their own Country into *Egypt*. Where finding no room, (*Egypt* being antiently populous) they went on into *Africk*: and building many Cities, possess'd it all, unto *Hercules* Pillars, and to this day continue there, using the *Phœnician* language. In *Nymidia* they built a Castle, where now is the City of *Tigisi*. In which stand two Pillars, near the great Conduit, with these words engraven in the *Phœnician* language. *We are they who fled from before Josua the chief, the son of Nun*. Other people antiently inhabited *Africk*, and therefore were said to be born of the earth. Whereupon their King, *Antæus*, (who wrangled with *Hercules* in *Clypea*) was called the son of the earth. Afterward the *Phœnicians* came with *Dido* into *Africk*, to those of the same race, who received them and permitted them to build *Carthage*. But in time, the *Carthaginians* grown great and populous, overcame these *Moors* in battel, who came thus

thus out of *Palestine*, and forced them to inhabit far from *Carthage*. And the *Romans* afterward being Masters of the world, planted the *Moors* upon the uttermost borders of the inhabited Countreys of *Africk*, and made the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans* Tributary. But lately the *Moors* got many victories of the *Vandals*, and held *Mauritania*, extending from *Caliz* to *Casarea*, and the most part of *Africk* beside.

But *Solomon* understanding the accident of *Aigan*, and *Rufinus*, prepared for a War, and wrote this Letter to the Princes of the *Moors*. 'Others heretofore have ventured foolishly, and perisht, not divining the event of their presumption: But you, seeing a president of your neighbours the *Vandals*, upon what madnes have you drawn your swords against the great Emperour? and do thus abandon your safeties, after solemn oaths, and your sons given for pledges? Is it to shew that you regard neither God, faith, kindred, nor safety? Being such, in what God can you trust for help, provoking a *Roman* Emperour? You have lost your sons; for what is it you mean to hazard? If you repent for what is past, write that you will give over; If not, expect a *Roman* war to come upon you, with your violated oaths, and the undoing your own sons.

The *Moors* made this answer to *Solomon*. '*Belisarius* perlwaded us with large promises, to obey the Emperour. But now affording us no share of your prosperity, you would have us friends and aids still, starving with hunger. It is you are the faith-breakers, not the *Moors*: Not they, who fly off from their associates upon wrongs, violate Truces, but they who demand Truce, and then oppress men: Not they, who fight for their own, make God their enemy; but who usurping other mens right, dare hazard a war. Concerning sons, you may be troubled, who must have but one wife: We who may have 50 wives at once, can never want a generation.

Upon this, *Solomon* resolv'd to lead his Army against them; and having disposed of things in *Carthage*, marcht into *Byzacium*, and encamped at *Mamme*, near the aforesaid *Moors* Princes,

CHAP. VIII.

At the foot of high mountains there, upon a plain piece of ground, the *Barbarians* put their battel in order to fight, thus. They put their Camels in a round (as *Cabao* did formerly) made their front 12 Camels deep, and placed their women and children in the middle, save some few, who made their entrenchments, and cabbins; drest their horses and Camels, and their own diet, and did many services in their fights. Themselves stood between the Camels legs, having shields, swords, and javelins; and some horse upon the mountains. Half the Round next the mountain, *Solomon* omitted; fearing lest the enemy from thence, and from the Round might charge his men at once, and so get their backs, opposing the Army to the rest, and finding them dejected with the accident of *Aigan* and *Rufinus*, he made them this speech to encourage them. You that are fellow soldiers of *Belisarius*, are not to fear, nor make it an example, if 50000 *Moors* have vanquish'd 500 *Romans*. Call to mind your own valour: Think how the *Vandals* vanquish'd the *Moors*, and with what ease you are now Masters of the *Vandals*; and having beaten the better men, will you fear the weaker? The *Moors* are the poorest Nation to fight in the world, coming naked, or with short shields only, ill made, and unable to keep out a blow, and such men, as when they have thrown out their two javellins, if they do no effect, run instantly away: So that we may by warding their first fury, have the better with ease, your advantage in your arms, valour, strength of body, experience in battels, and confidence, for having been already victorious over every enemy, you are to consider. All which the *Moors* wanting trust only to their multitude, who being no soldiers, are the more easily beaten by a few well prepared. The soldier hath his confidence in himself: but the coward is commonly distressed by his

his croud of assistants. And these Camels deserve your contempt, which cannot resist us, and being wounded by us (as they shall) will put these men in disorder. Their presumption upon their former good fortune, will fight for you. For boldness measured by ones power, may be an advantage: but exceeding that, it runs him into danger. Which considering, and not valuing the enemy, you shall silently, and with ease vanquish him.

The Princes of the *Moors* also, seeing their men amazed at the *Romans* order, used this encouragement. 'You have found, fellow soldiers! that these *Romans* have but the bodies of men, having killed some of their best men, overwhelmed with our Javelins, and taken many of them prisoners. Then have we a great advantage in numbers: And our strife is about the greatest things, either to be Masters of *Africa*, or slaves of these braggarts. So that now hazarding for all, if we be not more then ordinarily valiant, we shall do no good. And let us not regard their arming, which combers their foot, then whom the *Moors* will be much the swifter. And their horse will be disordered by the sight of our Camels, and by their cries, louder then the noise of the battel. To think the enemy unresistible because of his victory of the *Vandals*, is an error. The Generals vertue ever poises the battel: and *Belisarius*, the greatest cause of that victory, fortune hath removed: Besides, the *Vandals* we had weakened before, and made them an easie conquest to the *Romans*: And if we do valiantly now, we shall be Masters of these men also.

This exhortation ended, the battel begun. At first the *Romans* were put into confusion by their horses skittishness at the sight and cry of the Camels, throwing their riders, and running away, and by the *Moors* incursions, darting the Javelins they had: so that being frightened and in tumult, they neither defended, nor kept their ranks. Which *Solomon* seeing, leapt from his horse, and commanded the rest to do the like, and to stand still, warding with their shields, against the enemies Javelins, and to keep their orders. Himself with 500 men gave on upon the Round; directing to kill the Camels. The *Moors* there ran away, and some 200 Camels were killed. Which being done, the Round was to be entered, and the *Romans* pierced into the midst of it, where the *Moors* wives were. The *Barbarians* all amazed, ran up the mountain, whom the *Romans* pursuing, killed some 10000 of them, flying in confusion. The Camels surviving were taken: and the *Romans* marched to *Carthage*, to keep their Feast of Victory.

The *Barbarians* grown angry, made an universal invasion, leaving none behind. First they overran *Byzacium*, sparing no age they could catch. *Solomon* was newly come to *Carthage*, when this news was told him. So that he marched against them with the whole Army; and at the mountain of *Burgaon*, upon which the *Moors* encamped, he fate down, expecting the *Moors* descent, that he might give them battel upon plain ground. But seeing them not come down, he put the Army in a fair order to fight. But they watched their occasions in the mountain, being heartily afraid of the *Romans*, and having no mind to fight in a champion. *Burgaon* is most of it very ragged; and to the East inaccessible; but to the West passable; and rising gently; and between two rocks is a deep woody Valley. The top of the mountain, where they expected no enemy, they left without men; and they quitted the foot of it, which was easie of access; and encamped in the middle, to have the shooting of the enemies heads from above. And they had horses, either to run away with, or to chase, if they got the day. *Solomon* seeing the *Moors* would not yet come to the even ground, and the *Roman* Army weary in that desert place, made haste to fight. But finding the soldiers dismayed at their enemies multitude, much greater then in the former battel; he spake thus to them.

'The enemies fear of you needs no accuser nor witness; it convinces itself. So many thousands not daring to encounter you upon even ground; and having no confidence in themselves, but making this fastness their refuge: So that exhortations in words are needles to you, whom the things themselves, and your enemies weakness animates: Only let me put you in mind, that by the prosperous conclusion of this day, you will instantly enjoy all the wealth of *Africa*; the *Vandals* being overcome, and the *Moors* reduced, and no enemy

'left

'left to think of. And that the enemy may not shoot down upon our heads, nor we suffer harm from the nature of the place, shall be my care.

Solomon having thus said, commanded *Theodorus* the Scout-Master, to draw out 1000 foot, with their Ensignes, about the evening; and closely to get up at the East side of *Burgaon*, where the mountain is most difficult, and being come to the top, to pass the night without noise; and with Sun rising to show themselves to the enemy, displaying their Ensignes, and to shoot at them. He did accordingly, and at mid-night, passing up a ragged way near the rock, was neither discerned by *Moors* nor *Romans*; being said to be sent to fly abroad, to prevent mischief to the Camp. Before break of day, *Solomon* went to the skirt of the hill, toward the enemy; and the soldiers, when the day grew bright, seeing the top of the mountain, full of men displaying *Roman* Ensignes, were amazed. When they on the top, began the fight, the *Romans* perceived them to be their own; and the *Barbarians* finding themselves shot on both sides, and without means to drive off the enemy, they despaired and ran away. But daring to fly neither to the top nor bottom of the hill, being both possessed by the enemy, they ran amain to the woody Valley; some on horse-back, some afoot. And being a multitude, and in fear, and tumult, they killed one another, and falling into the Valley very deep, the foremost were slain, and not discerned by whom that followed. But when the Valley was full of horses and dead bodies, the residue were saved, passing over the bodies from *Burgaon* to the other rock. The survivors attimied 50 thousand *Moors* to have been slain in this overthrow. The *Romans* lost not a man, nor so much as received a wound from the enemy, nor other accident, but all enjoyed the victory untouched. The *Barbarians* Princes escaped all, save *Idiliasus*, who upon promise of life, yielded himself prisoner. Their booty of women and children was so great, that they sold a *Moorish* boy for the price of a sheep. The *Moors* remaining, then remembered the womers Prophecie, That their Nation should perish by a man without a beard.

CHAP. IX.

The *Roman* Army with their booty and *Idiliasus* returned to *Carthage*. But the *Barbarians* surviving, would not continue in *Byzacium*, being few, and fearing to be oppressed by the neighbouring *Africans*, but fled to *Jabdas*, Prince of the *Moors* of *Aurasium* in *Numidia*. In *Byzacium* such of them only remained, as were subject to *Antalus*, who kept his faith to the *Romans*, and had no harm done to his Subjects. In the mean time the said *Jabdas* foraged *Numidia* with 3000 men, and made slaves of many *Africans*. *Althias* then had the command of a Castle thereabout, who having a mind to rescue some of those captives, drew out 700 *Hunns* of his Garison; but not conceiving it possible with such a number to stand the multitude of the *Moors*, he would have possessed some narrow passage, where the enemy marching, he might have seized upon the captives. But finding all open champion about the Towns there, he resolved to possess a great well standing in *Tigistis*, an unwall'd City, but in a great fastness; thinking that the enemy being thirsty, would certainly come thither, no other water being near. The great odds in numbers caused his conceit herein to favour of madness. The *Moors* having toiled in the summer heats, and being extreme thirsty, ran to the well, imagining no opposition: But finding the place possessed by the enemy, they stood amazed, being faint, and longing for water. *Jabdas* therefore came to a parly with *Althias*, and offered the third part of his booty, that his *Moors* might drink, which he refused, but offered to fight a single combat with him. Which *Jabdas* accepted; and it was agreed, that if he vanquish *Althias*, the *Moors* should drink. Who were glad, and confident, seeing *Althias* a lean man, not tall; whereas *Jabdas* was the goodliest and valiantest of all the *Moors*. They were on horseback; and *Jabdas* threw first his javelin, which *Althias* caught flying at him in his right hand (which amazed his enemy) and with his left hand bent

An. Dom. 535.
Jul. 9.

bent his bow (being both-handed) and killed *Jabdas* horse. The *Moors* brought their Prince another horse, upon which he leaped up, and ran away; the *Moors* following in disorder. *Althias* recovered the captives and booty, and got a great name in *Africk* for this act.

But *Solomon*, after a short stay in *Carthage*, led the Army against *Jabdas* to mount *Aurafium*, for sacking the Towns of *Numidia*, while the Roman Army was busie in *Byzacium*. The other *Moors*'s Princes also incited *Solomon* against him; as *Masson*, being enemy to *Jabdas*, who killed *Mephanias* his father treacherously, though he had married his daughter: And *Ortheus*, because he had plotted with *Massinas*, Prince of the *Barbarians* in *Mauritania*, to expell him, and the *Moors* his subjects, from their ancient habitation. So the Army under *Solomon*, and their *Moors*'s aides, encamped by the river of *Amigas*, which runs by *Aurafium*. *Jabdas* thought the champion disadvantageous for him to fight in; so he made *Aurafium* as difficult as he could in the fit places for an assault.

This mountain is 13 days journey from *Carthage*, and the greatest we know; the circuit being three days journey. It is difficult to get up, but being up, and on even ground, are fields, fountains, rivers, and many admirable gardens; the wheat there, and all that grows, is twice as big as in any other part of *Africk*. Some neglected Castles also there are, the Inhabitants finding no use of them: who never were put into any fear since the *Moors* took *Aurafium* from the *Vandals*. Nay they demolished *Tamugadis*, a populous City to the Eastward of the mountain, upon the very entrance of the plain, that enemies might not lodge there, and for the Cities sake approach the mountain. The Country to the west of *Aurafium* being large and good, the *Moors* had likewise; beyond whom are other *Moors* subject to *Ortheus*, who aided *Solomon*. I have heard that man say, that beyond his Country is a Wilderness, and beyond that, men not black, like *Moors*, but with white bodies, and yellow hair.

Solomon distributed monies amongst his Auxiliaries, encouraged them, and with his whole Army ascended mount *Aurafium*, in order of battel, thinking that day to try his fortune against the enemy, so that the souldier had brought but little fodder for their horses. They went six miles and a quarter in very bad way, and lay all that night in the fields. And the seventh day (going every day as much) they came to an old Castle by a river, called by the *Latins*, *Mont-canti*. Here they had been told the enemy was encamped; but none encountering, themselves encamped there, preparing to fight: they spent there three days. But seeing the enemy absolutely gone, and necessities failing, *Solomon* and the whole Army doubted some plot of their Auxiliary *Moors*. Who knowing perfectly the ways of *Aurafium*, and in likelihood the enemies designs, by riding to them secretly, and often being sent by the *Romans* to discover, yet they never spake a true word. So they thought it best to be gone before some blow, and to return with greater provisions, and better furnished in other things. Now they were afraid, and suspected treason from their Auxiliaries, whom they knew naturally false, and especially when they aid the *Romans*, or any against the *Moors*. Upon all these considerations, and the famine pinching, they went down immediately, and made an entrenchment in the champion.

But the winter being come, *Solomon* march to *Carthage*, where he prepared for another journey in the beginning of the spring to *Aurafium*, without any auxiliary *Moors*, if it might be; and he appointed forces and a fleet against the *Moors* in *Sardinia*; being a rich Island, and as big as two third parts of *Sicily*; the circumference of it is twenty days journey; and is in the mid-way between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and much vexed with *Moors*, who were confined and planted there with their wives and children, by the *Vandals*. These posselt the mountains near *Carnalis*, and at first committed petty stealths upon the natives; but being grown to a number of 3000 men, they made open inroads, and ranlacked all the places near them, being by the natives called *Barbaracini*. Against these *Moors* *Solomon* prepared a fleet this winter.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

BUT at the same time, *Belisarius* being sent into *Italy* by the Emperour, against *Theodatus* and the *Goths*, landed first in *Sicily*, and took the Island; the manner whereof I refer to my ensuing History of the affairs of *Italy*. When I have written the occurrences of *Africk*, I will come to the Relation of *Italy* and the *Goths*. This winter *Belisarius* spent in *Syracuse*, and *Solomon* in *Carthage*. And all this year the Sun had a fearful and prodigious light, without beams, like that of the Moon, and for the most part it was as eclipsed, without the clear and usual lustre. And during the same, famine, war, and all kind of mortality did infest mankind. It was in the tenth year of *Justinian*'s reign.

In the beginning of the spring, the Christians celebrating their *Easter*, the soldiers mutinied in *Africk* upon this occasion. The Roman soldiers having vanquished the *Vandals*, married their wives and daughters. Who drew their husbands to challenge the possessions formerly theirs, as being unjust (having enjoyed the same by the *Vandals*) to be deprived of them now, being married to their Conquerors. The soldiers having this put into their heads, thought they ought not to yield those possessions to *Solomon*, who intended to annex the same to the Treasury, and the Emperours house; not refusing the slaves and moveables for spoils to the soldier; but the Lands he alleadged to belong to the Emperour, and State, which fed them, and gave them the quality of soldiers, not to conquer for themselves the Lands taken by *Barbarians* from the Empire; but to recover them to the Treasury, from whence they and the other Armies had their entertainments. Another party also there was which troubled *Africk* as much, or more. In the Army were some thousand *Arrian* soldiers, most *Herulians*. These were provoked by the *Vandal* Priests, being not allowed their accustomed divine service, but barred from all, both Sacraments and Churches: For *Justinian* permitted not any Christian not Orthodoxal, to have the benefit of Baptism, or any other Sacrament: Especially they were troubled, the Feast of *Easter* approaching, wherein they might not baptize their children in the holy Laver, nor do what belong'd to the Feast. And Fortune heaped to this, another mischief upon the *Romans*, by adding a supply to these Mutiners. The Emperour had made five horse troops of the *Vandals*, brought to *Constantinople* by *Belisarius*, to lye perpetually in Cities of the East, under the title of *Vandalici*. The most of these went by sea into the East, and made up the appointed troops, till this day serving against the *Persians*. But 400 of them from *Lesbos*, forcing the Mariners, came upon the coast of *Peloponessus*, and from thence sailed into *Africk*, landing in a desert coast; where leaving the ships, they went into *Mauritania* to mount *Aurafium*. This encouraged and more combined the mutinying soldiers, who had many conferences and oaths about it.

The Feast being at hand, the discontented *Arrians*, who were interdicted the Church, eagerly urged it. And the ring-leaders of them had resolved to kill *Solomon*, the first day of the Feast, called the great day. The plot was undiscerned by any: For though many were engaged in it, yet none disliked, nor revealed it; many of *Solomon*'s Lancers, and Targetiers, and most of his household-servants coveting those possessions, were in the mutiny. At the day, *Solomon* sat in the Church, apprehending no mischief: The men appointed to kill him, made signes to one another, and had their hands on their swords; but did nothing: either reverencing the Church-service, or abashed at the state of their General, or by something divine restrained: But divine service being ended, and every man come home, the soldiers blamed each other for fainting, and appointed the plot the next day: When they likewise came from Church without doing any thing; and meeting in the market-place, railed upon one another, each man terming his fellow false, and faint-hearted, and reproaching his awe of *Solomon*. And their plot being divulged, they thought it unsafe to stay in *Carthage*. So the most of them went out, and pillaged the Villages, and siled the *Africans* as enemies.

An. Dom. 536.
Juss. 10.

enemies. The rest remained in the City unsuspected, and seeming ignorant of the conspiracy.

Solomon hearing what the soldiers did in the Country, and exhorting them in the City to good affection to the Emperour, at first they seemed to entertain his discourse. But hearing how those abroad did what they listed in the Country, securely; the fifth day of their mutiny, they impudently railed upon Solomon, and the other Commanders in the *Circus*. Solomon sent *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian* to appease them, a man that loved him not, and was suspected to practise against him. Whereupon the mutiners with cries chose him their General, and with him went to the Palace, where they killed another *Theodorus* the *Scout-Master*, a worthy man, and a good soldier. Being blounded, they killed all they met, whether *Africans* or *Romans*, if *Solomon's* friends, or with money about them. Then they pillaged the houses, where no soldiers defended, taking away all of any value, till the night, and drink after their toil quieted them. Solomon fled to the great Church of the Palace; whither about the evening came *Martinus*; and when the mutiners were asleep, they went to the Lodging of *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian*, who constrained them to sup, though they had little mind to it, and brought them to a ship in the harbour, provided for them by *Valerianus*. *Procopius*, the writer of this History, was in company, and five of *Solomon's* retinue. After 37 miles sailing, they came to *Messua*, a road for *Carthage* shipping, and a safe place. From hence *Solomon* sent *Martinus* to *Valerianus*, and the other commanders in *Nymidia*, to attempt to reduce such mutiners as any of them knew, by money, and all means. And he wrote to *Theodorus* to take care of *Carthage*, and to do what he could. Himself with *Procopius* went to *Bellisarius* to *Syracuse*, relating the accident, and praying him to repair to *Carthage*, and vindicate the Emperour from this affront of his own soldiers.

CHAP. XI.

IN the mean time the mutiners having sacked *Carthage*, made their rendezvous in the Plains of *Bule*, and chose *Storax*, one of *Martinus* his life-guard, their General; a man courageous and active, hoping to get *Africk* thus, by expelling the Emperours commanders. He arming his forces, being 8000, led them to *Carthage*, expecting instantly to take the City. He sent for the *Vandals* who escaped from *Lecher*, and others who went not with *Bellisarius*, being either concealed, or neglected by the Officers. In all they were 1000 men, who went readily to *Storax's* Camp, and a multitude of slaves came also. *Storax* being near, sent to *Carthage* to yield without further hurt. But *Theodorus* and the rest professed to guard the City for the Emperour, and required them to forbear force; sending to them *Iosaphus*, who had been of the Emperours guard, and now was one of *Bellisarius* retinue, and lately sent to *Carthage* about business: whom *Storax* put to death for his message, and fell to the siege. And the Citizens afraid, were thinking to yield upon composition. When *Bellisarius* with 100 of his Lancers and Targetiers, and *Solomon* with one ship arrived at *Carthage* toward the evening: the besiegers expecting the rendering the City on the next day, and with that hope lying still that night; and when it was day, hearing of *Bellisarius* arrival, shamefully rose, and ran away. *Bellisarius* got together 10000 of the Army, and with fair words and money, exhorting them to a good affection to the Emperour, he pursued the *Ayers* and overtook them at *Membres*, about 43 miles from *Carthage*. Here they both encamped, and prepared to fight; *Bellisarius* by the river of *Bagradas*; the other upon a high ragged ground: Neither would enter the City, being unwall'd. The next day they drew out to fight, the mutiners trusting in their numbers, whom *Bellisarius* his men despised, for foolish fellows, undisciplined.

And to imprint this the more firmly, *Bellisarius* spake thus unto them. 'Fellow soldiers! This happens to the Emperour against our hopes and wishes, to come to a battle with our kinsmen and companions, whom we cannot conquer without

without grief. But our comfort is, that we began not; we only defend ourselves. He who by his treasons renounces his kindred, is not killed by his friends; but in the quality of an enemy is punished for his injury done them. These men have proclaimed themselves enemies, *Barbarians*, any thing, by their spoyling *Africk*, and killing both natives, and many *Roman* soldiers, for no offence, but their good affection to the State. For this we come to chastise them, now enemies, though some time friends. No men are friends or enemies by nature; but in their actions are either united in a joint assistance by a similitude of manners and opinions, or disunited by a dissimilitude. And as they are unjust men and enemies, we are to fight with them: So are they to be despised, being a multitude not assembled by Law, but upon wrong: And such never fight valiantly: valour not vouchsafing to keep company with outlaws, and men unjust: neither will they keep their orders, nor obey the directions of their new General, who wanting power to be confident, must necessarily be contemned by them. For rebellion is naturally hated, never honoured; and being timorous it self, cannot govern the subject, and keep him in awe. So that the enemy wanting both valour and government, their defeat will be easie; and you must march against them with contempt, not estimating the power of a battel by numbers, but by order and valour.

Storax also used this exhortation. 'You have with me, shaken off the *Roman* servitude; and grudg not now to die for the liberty gotten by your valour. It is not so grievous to grow old and die in slavery, as after freedom to return to it again; the interim of ease making the calamity taste more sowre. You may consider therefore, how in the overthrow of the *Vandals*, you had your part in the toil, and others now possess the spoils; and how being soldiers, you are engaged to a life of hazarding, either for the Emperour, if you serve him again, or for your selves, if you keep your liberty. And the better of these two you may now chuse, by resolving in this action to fight without fainting. Consider also that you have taken arms; and if you now be subdued, you will not find the *Romans* gentle masters; but shall suffer extremities, with the addition of being justly ruined: So you see our death will be honorable if we die, and if we be victorious, our life will be free and happy; but bitter, if we be beaten, when our only hope must be in our enemies mercy. And in the battel the enemy hath much the disadvantage in numbers, and hath no great mind to charge us, wishing, it seems, their part in our liberty.

Thus spake *Storax*, and the Armies came to the encounter. But a strong wind blew in the mutiners faces, who fearing the disadvantage of fighting, where the wind would carry the enemies arrows violently on them, and abate the force of theirs; they wheeled about, thinking the enemy, not to have their backs open, would turn about too; and so have the wind in their faces. But *Bellisarius* seeing their open their ranks, and straggle disorderly, had begin the fight; which *Storax's* men not looking for, fell into confusion, and ran away into *Nymidia*, where they rallied again. *Bellisarius* followed no execution, thinking it enough with so small an Army to beat the enemy, and send him going.

To the soldiers he gave the enemies camp to pillage, who found not a man in it, but much wealth, and many *Vandal* women, for whose sake this war was. Then *Bellisarius* marcht back to *Carthage*, where hearing that his Army in *Sicily* mutinied too, and would undoe all, if himself in person did not prevent; he took order for *Africk*, and committing *Carthage* to *Idiger* and *Theodorus*, he went into *Sicily*.

The Commanders in *Nymidia*, hearing of *Storax* being there, and gathering head, prepared to fight with him. *Marcellus* and *Cyrellus* commanded the Confederates; *Barbatus* the horse, and *Terentius* and *Sarapis* the foot; *Marcellus* commanded in chief; being Governor of *Nymidia*. Who hearing of *Storax* being with a few at *Onkophyll*, a Towne two dayes journey from *Constantinus*; marcht with speed to prevent the coming of the other mutiners. The Armies being near, and the fight ready to begin, *Storax* came alone into the midst, and spake thus to the enemy. 'Fellow soldiers! It is unjust in you to take arms against

'gainst your kinsmen and companions, who have undertaken this war with the Emperour, being grieved to see your miseries and wrongs. Do you not remember how long your pay hath been due, and still is detained from you? how the spoils of the enemy, your prizes appointed by the law of arms, are taken from you? The fruits of your victory others must riot upon, while you follow as their servants. If I offend you, use your anger against this body presently; for I hate to fly to others for refuge. If you have no exception to me, come and use your arms for your selves.

The soldiers embraced this motion of *Stotzas*, and affectionately saluted him; and their Commanders seeing it, retired into a Church in *Garaphysi*. *Stotzas* joyned the Armies against them, gave them his faith for their coming out, and then killed them all.

CHAP. XII.

The Emperour hearing these things, sent *Germanus* his brothers son, a *Patrician*, accompanied with *Symmachus*, as *Præfect* of the Camp, to manage the expence of the Army, and *Dominicus*, to be Commanders of the foot, upon the decease of *John* his predecessor. *Germanus* being landed at *Carthage*, mustered the forces, and by the Check Roll of the soldiers names, he found a third part of them to be in *Carthage* and other Cities, and the rest joyned with the Rebels. Wherefore he would begin no fight, but took care of the Army; and finding the soldiers in *Carthage* to be kinsmen and comrades of the enemies; he courted them: and said the Emperour had sent him expressly into *Africk* to vindicate the soldiers, and to chastise such as had wrong'd them. Which the mutiners hearing, came in by few at a time; whom *Germanus* received courteously, gave them his faith, and held them in good account, paying them their full dues for the time they had been in rebellion. The report whereof drew them in troops from the enemy. And then *Germanus* hoping to match the Rebels in numbers, prepared for a battel.

Stotzas also perceiving the mischief, and fearing more defection of his men, made haste to try his fortune. He had some hope too, if he could get near the soldiers in *Carthage*, to get them to run away to him. And with this hope he chiefly confirmed his Army, and speedily marcht to *Carthage*, and encamped near the sea, about four miles from the City.

Germanus armed and put in order his soldiers, and having heard what hopes *Stotzas* had, he spake thus. 'Fellow soldiers! you have no just complaint against the Emperours usage of you: Who in *Constantinople* took you to him newly come out of the Country with a knap-sack, and one poor coat; and hath now made you so great, that the *Roman* State is committed to you. But how he hath been scorned by you, and suffered the greatest extremities, you cannot be ignorant. Whereof the remembrance indeed he would have you retain, but the prosecution he clearly remits, expecting this only satisfaction from you, to be ashamed of what you have done, and thereupon to learn a new lesson of fidelity, and to repair your former ingratitude. The timely repentance of erring men obtains their pardon; and a seasonable service done, may take the name of ungratefull men from you. Nay if at this time you appear well affected to the Emperour, know this, that no memory will remain of what is past. The actions of men have their names from the conclusion: and errors done, no ages can undo; but being repaired by better deeds, they get a handsome silence, and commonly are forgotten. If now you neglect your duties against these rogues; your many battels hereafter for the *Romans*, and victories of your enemies, will not by the Emperour be thought a recompence. The bravest apology is, to get honour in the very things men have erred in. Thus you are to think concerning the Emperour. And I, who never wrong'd you, but to my power have shewed my affection to you, entreat this only of you in this danger, 'That

'That no man will march against the enemy contrary to his mind; but if he desire to joyn with their Army, to pass over to them immediately; doing us this only favour, not to abuse us secretly, but in an open way: Which is the reason I move this here between the Armies, and not in *Carthage*; not to hinder any that will run away; but to leave it in every mans power, to shew his affection to the State.

Every man upon this speech, bustled to shew himself to his General, and to swear the good affection he had to the Emperour. And some days they were thus encamped against each other. At length the mutiners seeing none come to them, whom *Stotzas* told them of, being afraid, as failing in their hope, they disbanded, and went into *Nymidia*, where were their wives and booty. *Germanus* shortly after, with his Army well prepared, and with store of waggons for it, came thither also; and overtaking the enemy at a Town called *Scala Veteres*, he prepared to fight, setting the waggons in front, and the foot by them (commanded by *Dominicus*) to securing their backs. The best horsemen, and such as came from *Constantinople*, himself had at the left hand of the foot. The rest he set at the right wing in three Troops, commanded by *Ildiger*, and *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian*; and the biggest by *John* the brother of *Pappus*: the fourth by himself. The Mutiners stood opposite to them, not in much order, but scatter'd like *Barbarians*. Not far behind came many thousand *Moors*, led by *Jabdas* and *Orthas*, not all true to *Stotzas*; many having feat to *Germanus*, and promised in the fight to turn against the enemy. *Germanus* could not much trust them, being a people so false to all men. And they joyned not with the mutiners, but kept aloof behind, waiting the event, and with the conquerours to pursue the vanquished. *Stotzas* approaching the enemy, and seeing the Generals Ensigne, call'd to his men, and marcht towards him. But the *Hephalian* mutiners stopp'd him, saying, that the powers of *Germanus* they knew not; but they knew that the enemy in the right wing would not stand. So that charging them, and they running away, they are likely to put the enemies whole Army in disorder; whereas if *Germanus* beat them, all will be lost. *Stotzas* approving the advice, left the rest to fight with *Germanus*, and himself with his best men, gave on upon *John*, and his troops, who not abiding them, ran away in confusion. The mutiners took their Ensignes, and pursued them. Some turn'd upon the foot, who began to disband; When *Germanus* drawing his sword, and calling upon his troop to do the like, with much ado he routed the enemy on his side; and gallopt up to *Stotzas*, with the troops of *Ildiger* and *Theodorus*. And all was so mingled, that the mutiners chasing some of their enemies, fell among others, and were slain. The confusion grew great, and *Germanus* his troops coming on nearer behind them, they were afraid, and thought no more of fighting. Both sides using the same language, and arms, and differing not in shape, habit, nor any thing, could not be distinguished; till *Germanus* directed the Emperours Army to ask any they took, what he was; if he said he was a soldier of *Germanus*, to bid him give the watch-word, which if he could not, to kill him. *Germanus* had his horse killed in the fight, and himself being down and in danger, his life-guard rescued and remounted him. *Stotzas* in the tumult with some few escaped; and *Germanus* marcht against the enemies camp; where the mutiners who had the guard of the Trenches, opposed him; and there was a stiff fight, the mutiners being very near beating them back. But some sent by *Germanus* to attempt the camp in another place, got into the entrenchment with ease, which the mutiners seeing, ran away; and *Germanus* with the Army, entred the camp. The soldiers fell to pillage, neither thinking of the enemy, nor hearkning to their Generals directions; Who fearing the enemy might rally, and charge them, stood in the camp gate, crying and complaining for discipline to men that heard him not. The *Moors* followed the execution upon the mutiners, and pillaged the camp with the Army. *Stotzas* at first trusting to the *Moors*, rode up to them, to renew the fight. But finding what they were doing, he made a shift to escape with 100 men. Many made head with him; and tryed to fight again, but being repulsed, they all submitted to *Germanus*; only *Stotzas*, with a few *Vandals*, retired into *Mauritania*, and there marrying a daughter of one of their Princes, remained. And to ended this mutiny.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

BUT *Maximinus*, a Lancer of *Theodorus* the Cappadocian, had gotten many of those mutiners with a design to usurp, and drew still more, revealing his intent, among others, to one *Asclepiades*, a *Palestinian*, a great favorite of *Theodorus*; who discovered the plot to *Theodorus*, and he to *Germanus*. *Germanus* would not stir new business in a state unsettled, but thought to gain the man by fair usage, rather than to punish him. The life-guard of any great Roman officer use at their admittance, to swear fidelity to him and the Emperor: He sent therefore for *Maximinus*, and extolling his valour, took him for one of his own guard, and he, glad of the honour, and means hereby to facilitate his designe, took the Oath, but neglected the same, and persisted more than ever in his Treason. The City keeping a publick festival, many of *Maximinus* mutiners came at dinner time to the Palace, as *Germanus* was feasting his friends, with *Maximinus* behind him. One whispered *Germanus*, that many soldiers stood tumultuously at the Court gate, complaining of their pay for a long time unsatisfied. *Germanus* commanded some of the trustiest of his life-guard to make sure of *Maximinus*, without letting him perceive any thing. Those mutiners with threatnings and tumult, ran to the *Circus*; and such other conspirators as knew their intent, ran thither by one and one. If they had been all assembled, it had been hard to suppress them: But most of them being yet behind, *Germanus* sent instantly such as affected the Emperor and himself, and they came to a fight with the mutiners, who expected not such a thing from the soldiers; but missing *Maximinus* to conduct them, and wanting the numbers they lookt for, gave it over, and disorderly ran away; many of them were killed, and many taken, and brought to *Germanus*. Such as came not to the *Circus*, shewed as if they had not been in the conspiracy; and *Germanus* would not make any search after them. He examined if *Maximinus* had, since his Oath, proceeded in his Treason; and being convicted to have been more forward in it since his being of the life-guard, he caused him to be crucified under the walls of *Carthage*: And so absolutely dispersed the mutiny.

CHAP. XIV.

An. D. m. 537.
Jul. 13.

BUT the Emperor called home *Germanus*, with *Dominicus* and *Symmachus*, and again made *Solomon* Governor of *Africk*, being now in the thirteenth year of his reign; giving him another Army, and Commanders in it, *Rufinus*, and *Leonius* the son of *Zannas*, the son of *Pharmanes*, and *John* the son of *Sisinnius*; *Martianus* and *Valerianus* being formerly sent for to *Constantinople*. *Solomon* being come to *Carthage*, and free from the mutiny, governed *Africk* moderately, and kept it safe, disciplining the Army, and sending the suspicious men to *Constantinople*, and to *Belisarius*, supplying their rooms with new, and banishing the remains of the *Vandals*, and all their women: He compassed the Cities with walls, and observing the Laws exactly, preserved the State; that *Africk* in his Government was rich and happy.

Things being settled, he made war upon *Jabdas*, and the *Moors* of *Aurasium*: and sent out before with forces, *Gontharis*, one of his life-guard, a good soldier; who encamped by *Bagais*, a desert Town upon the River of *Abigas*; and there he was overthrow in a fight by the enemy, and retiring to his camp, was traitly besieged. *Solomon* afterward encamped with the whole Army, seven miles and a half from *Gontharis* entrenchment; and hearing how he had sped, he sent him part of his Army, and had him be of good courage and fight again. The River *Abigas* comes from *Aurasium*; and being in the plain below, waters the land as the Inhabitants will, by drawing the stream to their uses. For it enters through several

several breaches under ground into the plain, where it rises again, gathering a stream: And the Inhabitants, by damming up the breaches, or opening them, make what use they please of the waters. The *Moors* then opened the breaches, and let in all the River about the *Romans* camp, which made a marsh not to be pass for deepness. The *Romans* were distracted at it; but *Solomon* bearing thereof, marcht thither; whom the *Barbarians* bearing, retired, and in *Babys*, at the foot of the mountain encamped. *Solomon* came thither too, and in fight beat them, and made them run away. The *Moors* thought it disadvantageous to have fights upon equal terms, thus being not able to stand them; but trusting to the fastnesses of *Aurasium*, and hoping that the *Romans* would be weary of the toil, as formerly, and be gone, many of them went away into *Adauritania*: and to the *Barbarians* to the southward of mount *Aurasium*. But *Jabdas* with 20000 *Moors*, went to *Zerbule*, a Castle built by him in *Aurasium*, and there lay still. *Solomon* went to spend time in besieging; and hearing how the Country of *Tamugadam* had store of ripe wheat, he conducted his Army thither, took the spoil, and burnt the rest, and then returned to *Zerbule*. In the mean time *Jabdas* leaving a sufficient guard for the Castle was gone up to the top of *Aurasium*, fearing to be blockt up in the Castle, and reduced to wants. And at *Tumaz*, a place rising with cliffs round about, and fenced with broken rocks, he rested. The *Romans* three days assaulted *Zerbule*, and the walls being low, shot many *Moors*, and chanced to kill all their Commanders. The third day at night, the *Romans* hearing nothing of those Commanders death, consulted to rise; *Solomon* thinking it best to go against *Jabdas* and the main body of the *Moors*, who being subdued, *Zerbule* would quickly yield. But the *Barbarians* (their Leaders being slain) would hold no longer; but silently ran away, and abandoned the Castle, undiscovered by the enemy. The *Romans* at day break were trussing baggage; but wondred to see no enemy upon the wall. And doubting what it should mean, and compassing the Castle, they find the gate open, where the *Moors* ran away. I he entry and took the booty, but would not pursue the enemy, being men apparelled lightly and skilfull in all the passages. Having sackt the Castle, and left a Garrison in it, they went on, all afoot. And at *Tumaz*, where the enemy was, they encamped in a fastness, having water and other necessities very scarcely. A long time was spent, and the *Moors* sallied not, so that being more besieged then the enemy, they fretted, chiefly for the want of water, which *Solomon* put a guard upon, giving out but a cup full to a man every day. But seeing them impatient, and unable to endure longer this hard diet, he resolved to stay no longer, but to draw the men to fight near this Castle, and thus exhorted his men.

Here the
Latin Transla-
tion.

CHAP. XV.

HAVING by Gods favour beaten the *Moors* out of *Zerbule*, a thing seeming difficult, and incredible to such as have not seen our former actions; we must not now neglect the gift of God, but with our accustomed valour, boldly undergoe this hazard, and from our former good fortune preface a future victory. And the advantages of all actions standing in the due use of occasions; if any man now slothfully neglect the offer of fortune, let him not accuse her, but himself, being abandoned through his own default. You see the *Moors* weakness, and this Castle wherein they shelter themselves, destitute of provisions. And you must with a patient siege expect the enemies surrender, or by neglecting that, neglect with danger, a victory ready for us. How much better, and less dangerous is it to try your fortune against men, not likely to fight with you; being wasted with famine. Consider these things seriously, and obey directions.

Solomon spake thus, and then studying how, and where to assault (all being round about a rock) fortune shewed him his way. One *Geson*, a Lieutenant of foot,

foot, (whom the Romans call *Optis*.) either in sport, or earnest, or by divine impulsion mounted alone, and presently other souldiers admiring his courage followed him. Three Moors ran to oppose him, and the place being narrow, came single. The first by chance falling, the Roman used his advantage, and killed him. The souldier who followed him seeing it, ran up with a shout; and the whole Army neither expecting leader, nor sound of trumpet, nor observing order, but crying and encouraging one another, gave on: where *Rafinus*, and *Leontius*, the son of *Zannus*, did so bravely upon the enemy, that terrified at it, and seeing their guards cut in pieces, they all ran away, and the most overtaken in narrow passages were slain.

Jabdas, though wounded by a dart in his thigh, escaped and fled into *Mauritania*. The Romans pillaged the enemies camp, and *Solomon* caused them to stay in *Aurafium*, and repair the Castle, and left a garrison to hinder the Moors recourse thither in their rebellions. In *Aurafium* is an ancient Tower, standing upon a rock called *Geminians* Rock, safe, and difficult of access. Here *Jabdas* had lately put his wealth, with his women; and never thinking that an enemy could get thither, or force the Tower, he left one old Moore only to take charge of his treasure. But the Romans through all the difficulties got thither, and one of the souldiers as in sport, began to climb up to the Tower; whom the old man and the women laugh at for a mad man. But he scrambled up with his hands and feet, and being got up drew his sword, and cut off the old mans head. The rest of the souldiers boldly and with alacrity helpt one another up, took the women and a great treasure, with which *Solomon* re-edified the walls of many cities in *Africk*. The Moors being beaten out of *Nimidia*, fled into *Zebe*, a Country of *Mauritania* beyond mount *Aurafium*: whose metropolis is *Sitiphis*, tributary to the Empire. *Casarea* is head of the other *Mauritania*, tributary likewise, except the City itself, exempted by *Belisarius* for a landing place for Romans; there being no good passage to it by land. So in *Zebe* the Moors fate down, whereby the *Africans* continued in obedience, and a settled peace, without thought of hostility, and were very happy under *Solomon*, a prudent and moderate Governour.

CHAP. XVI.

IN the fourth year after, all this prosperity changed into miseries. It was *Justinians* fourteenth year of his reigo, when *Cyrus* and *Sergius* the sons of *Bacchus*, *Solomons* brother, were sent to govern in *Africk*; the elder *Pentapolis*, and the younger *Tripolis*. To these the *Leucathian* Moors came with an Army as farre as *Lepcis Magna*, giving out it was to give them presents, and to establish a peace. *Sergius* by the perswasions of *Pudentius* the *Tripolitan* (who made the first war against the Vandals for the Emperour) received into the City 70. Moors, whom he invited courteously to a feast, promising to grant their demands, and the rest he willed to stay in the suburbs. They say they came with a treacherous intent to kill *Sergius*; and that one of them in speech with him expostulated the Romans unjust spoiling their corns and Towns, and other wrongs; which *Sergius* slighting, and rising from his seat, and going away; one of them caught him by the mantle, and would have staid him, Hereupon the rest rose, and tumultuously stood about *Sergius*: and one of his Lifeguard drew his sword, and killed the Moore that held him by the mantle: whereupon all being in an uproar, the Lifeguard of *Sergius* kill'd all the Moores, save one; who seeing his fellows slain, stole out of the roome, and got to his countrymen, telling them what happened: who ran to their camp, and with the rest came in Armes against the Romans. Next *Lepcis Magna* *Sergius* and *Pudentius*, with their whole forces, met them. The fight came presently to handy blowes, and the Romans were victorious and slew many, sack't their camp, and got a great booty, and abundance of women and children. Afterward *Pudentius* was slain by his own rash adventuring, and *Sergius* retired with the Army into *Lepcis Magna*, it being grown dark. Shortly after the *Leucathians* came with a greater preparation against the Romans; *Sergius* went to *Solomon* his Uncle, to desire that he would come back against

An. Dom. 540.
Just. 14.

Here again the
Greek begins.

against these with a great Army; where he found *Cyrus* his brother. The Moors the while overran *Bizacium*, and sack't most of the towns. *Antalus* also formerly ever faithfull to the Romans, and therefore having the Government of the Moors in *Bizacium*, was now turned enemy to *Solomon*, who had taken from him those allowances the Emperour had assigned him, and killed his brother, for making a commotion in *Beracium*. So he willingly joyned in a league with these *Barbarians*, and led them to *Carthage* against *Solomon*: who advertized thereof, marcht towards them; and finding them at *Tebeffe*, a City six dayes journey from *Carthage*, he encamped his Army, together with *Cyrus*, and *Sergius*, and *Solomon* the yonger, all sons of *Bacchus*. He sent to the chieftes of the *Leucathians* (being afraid of their multitude) complaining of their taking arms, and invading, being yet in league with the Romans; demanding a ratification of the peace; and promising to take the strongest oathes, to abolish the memory of what they had done. They laugh at these overtures, and said; 'That doubtlesse they would swear the Christians oath, which they call, the *Gospels*: which *Sergius* having sworn, and then killed those who trusted him; they meant now to try by a battle, what power those oracles have against men that forswear them; that so being confident in them, they may come to a treaty.

Solomon, hearing this, prepared to fight; and the next day, meeting some enemies driving a great prey, he defeated them, and took it from them. The souldiers murmured because he kept it to himself, not giving them the spoiles of War: But he bad them stay till the War was ended, and then every man should have his share according to his desert. The *Barbarians* again urged to give battel. But of the Romans, some were absent, others went on with no heart: yet at first the fight was equal; afterward, the Moors surmounting much in numbers, the Romans ran away. *Solomon* with his company endured their shot a while, then being over prest, fled; and at a torrent his horse stumbling he fell. His Lifeguard set him up again, but being in pain not able to hold his bridle, the *Barbarians* overtook and killed him, and many of his guard. *Solomon* being dead thus the Emperour gave the Government of *Africk* to *Sergius*, who proved the destruction of the Province. All were discontented; the commander at his youth, indiscretion, and insolence, and the impertinent affronts he did them, wherein he employed his power, wealth, and the authority of his place; The souldiers, because he was a coward; And the provincials, for all this, and moreover for his unsatiable love of their wives and Estates.

Above all, *John*, the son of *Sisinnius*, being an able souldier, and of great reputation, was offended with his greatness, and extreme ingratitude to himself. So that neither he nor a man among them would draw their swords against the enemy. Almost all the Moors followed *Antalus*, who had sent for *Stezas* out of *Mauritania*. And *Antalus* then wrote this letter to the Emperour. 'That I am the servant of your Empire I deny not; But the Moors have been forced to take arms upon the base injuries done by *Solomon*, not to rise up in arms against you, but to resist an enemy; especially I from whom he was not contented only to take away my allowances, designed by *Belisarius*, and by you given me, but he hath killed my brother guiltlesse; we have now righted our selves upon him that wrong'd us; and if you will have the Moors obsequious servants of your Empire, as formerly, command *Sergius* the Nephew of *Solomon* to leave *Africk*, and send some other Generall: you cannot want men far worthier then *Sergius*. So long as he commands your Army, there can be no peace between the Romans and Moors. The Emperour notwithstanding this letter, and though he knew the Generall hatred of *Sergius*; yet in respect of *Solomons* worth, and manner of death, he would not remove him.

CHAP. XVII.

THE brother of *Sergius*, yong *Solomon*, was thought to have perisht with his Uncle, and was not lookt after, so much as by his brother. But he was taken prisoner by the Moors; and being askt who he was; he said he was a

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Vandale

381. 15.

Vandal, and slave to *Solomon*, and that he had a friend at *Laribum*, a Town thereabout, named *Pegasus*, a Phylitian, who would pay his ranfome. The *Moors* under the Town-walls called for *Pegasus*, and shewing him *Solomon*, askt if he would redeem him; and for 50 gold staters they delivered him to him. Being within, he flouted the *Moors* for being colened by a boy; and told them how he was the brothers son of *Solomon*. The *Moors* angry for having so easily let goe such a pawn, besieged *Laribum* to take *Solomon*. The besieged were afraid, wanting provisions, and offered the *Moors* money to raise their siege: which they accepted, finding they should not force the Town, being not used to assaults; and not knowing the wants within: So the *Lencashians* went home; But *Antalas* made head again in *Byzacium*; having besides his *Moors*, *Storzas* with some few *Romans*, and *Vandals*. *John* the son of *Sisinnius*, at the *Africans* opportunity, raised Forces and went against them; and he appointed *Himerius* the *Thracian*, Commander of the forces in *Byzacium*, to draw out his troops, and to joyn with him at *Menephesis* in *Byzacium*. But hearing the enemy to be there encamped, he wrote of it to *Himerius*, and to joyn with him in another place, that they might with joyn't forces encounter the enemy. The bearers of the Letters going another way, met not *Himerius*; who with his troops fell into the enemies hands; only *Severianus* a young man, the son of *Astaneus* a *Phanician*, with his troop of horse, being 50. fought with the enemy, and held out, till pressed with multitude, they ran to a Castle upon a hill, which was of no strength, and there yielded upon composition to the enemy, who killed him not, nor any of the soldiers, but they took *Himerius* prisoner, and bestowed all the soldiers on *Storzas*, upon their promise to serve against the *Romans*. *Himerius* they threatened to kill if he performed not his promise: which was to deliver to them the City of *Adramettus*; and upon the protestation of his true meaning, they went thither with him, being not far off. Him they sent before with some soldiers of *Storzas*, dragging after them *Moors* bound: Themselves followed. They directed *Himerius* to tell the guards that *John* was victorious, and would forthwith come with a multitude of *Moors* his prisoners; and that the gates being open, he should get in with his company. They did thus, and the *Adramettians* were deceived, and let them in, not mistrusting one who commanded the whole forces in *Byzacium*. They that entred with him, staid the guards from shutting the gates, and received all the *Moors* into the City; which they sackt, and leaving a small Garrison, departed. Some prisoners afterward escaped to *Carthage*, among whom was *Himerius*, and *Severianus*; it being no hard matter to run from *Moors*. Many staid willingly with *Storzas*.

Shortly after one *Paul*, a Priest, (such as oversee the sick) told some principal men of *Adramettus*, that he would go to *Carthage*, and hoped to return with an Army shortly, which he bad them be ready to receive in. They let him down the wall by cords; and he finding at sea-side a fishing Bussle, perswaded the owners with money, and failed to *Carthage*. Where he acquainted *Sergius* with the matter, and desired some forces to recover *Adramettus*. *Sergius* liked it not, having not many soldiers in *Carthage*; He desired him to give him some few; and getting but 80. he put them aboard a number of ships and boats, with many *Martiners* and *Africans*, wearing soldiers coats; and with this fleet failed to *Adramettus*; and being near it, sent word secretly to some chief Citizens, that *Germanus*, the Emperours Nephew, was newly come to *Carthage*, and had sent a good Army to the *Adramettians*, in the confidence of which, he bad them open one of their gates. They did so, and *Paul* with his company got in, killed the enemy, and recovered thus *Adramettus*. The report of *Germanus* spread as far as *Carthage*; and the *Moors*, and *Storzas* followers at first ran to the utmost marches of *Africk*; but hearing the truth, it vexed them to be used thus by the *Adramettians*, whom they had spared; so that every where they committed cruelties upon the *Africans*, sparing no age; the Country became waste; the Provincials that were left flying, some to the Citics, some into *Sicily*, and other Islands, and the chief of them to *Constantinople*; among whom was *Paul* who recovered *Adramettus*. The *Moors* in the mean time (none opposing) ranfackt all without controll, and with them was *Storzas*, grown powerfull; and many *Roman* soldiers

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ers followed him, some voluntaries, some taken prisoners at first, but now staying willingly: *John* also, whom the *Moors* did somewhat respect, being in disgrace with *Sergius*, lay still.

CHAP. XVIII.

IN the mean time the Emperour sent into *Africk* with some soldiers another General, *Areobindus*, a Senator, and a gallant man, but no soldier. With him for Prefect of the Camp, he sent *Athanasius*, lately come out of *Italy*, and some *Armenians* commanded by *Artabanes* and *John*, the sons of *John*, of the race of the *Arfacides*: These, with the *Armenians* with them, lately revolted from the *Persians* to the *Romans*. With *Areobindus* was his sister, and his wife *Projetta*, daughter to *Vigilantia*, the Emperours sister. *Iustinian* did not call home *Sergius*, but divided the Generalship, the Province, and the Cohorts between *Areobindus* and him. And him he directed to make the war in *Numidia*, and *Areobindus* in *Byzacium*; who arriving at *Carthage*, *Sergius* with his Army went into *Numidia*. And *Areobindus* hearing that *Antalas*, and *Storzas* were encamped at *Sicavenerea*, three days journey from *Carthage*, sent *John* the son of *Sisinnius* against them, with the choice of his Army, and wrote to *Sergius* to joyn with *John*, and in one body to encounter the enemy. *Sergius* slighted the direction, and the business; so that *John* with a small power was forced to combat with innumerable enemies. Between him and *Storzas* was an everlasting hatred; Their wish had been to kill one another, and so die. This battle being ready to joyn, they both rode out against each other. *John* shot *Storzas* in the groin on the right side, who having his deaths wound, fell upon the place, but died not instantly; His own men and the *Moors* set him against a tree ready to expire, and then they furiously charged the *Romans*, and exceeding them so much in numbers, easily routed them. They say, *John* then said, that he should die a pleasant death, seeing his wish upon *Storzas* accomplished: and then his horse stumbling down a hill, threw him; and the enemy killed him striving to get up again. A man great in reputation and valor *Storzas* being told of it, said this only word and died, that now he died with delight. *John* the *Armenian* was also slain, having done very bravely. The Emperour advertised of the death of *John*, and troubled for the great worth of the man, finding it also inconvenient to have two Generals, recalled *Sergius*, and sent him with forces into *Italy*, and committed *Africk* wholly to *Areobindus*. Two months after *Sergius* departure, *Gontharis* attempted to usurp, being Commander of the Cohorts in *Numidia*, and there residing. He dealt secretly with the *Moors* that they should invade *Carthage*; and they suddenly with an Army levied out of *Numidia* and *Byzacium*, marcht thitherward; the *Numidians* led by *Cutzinas* and *Jabdas*, and the *Byzacians* by *Antalas*: With them was *John*, who was made General in the room of *Storzas*, by the *Roman* mutiners. *Areobindus* informed hereof, sent for *Gontharis* and other Captains to *Carthage*: *Artabanes* also came to him with his *Armenians*. *Gontharis* being commanded by *Areobindus* to march in the van, and promising much forwardness, sent to the enemies camp a *Moor*, his cook, to pretend himself a runaway, but to *Antalas* privately to say, that *Gontharis* would share with him in the domination of *Africk*. The cook performed accordingly; and *Antalas*, though glad at the motion, yet answered him, That men do not execute great matters by cooks. *Gontharis* hearing this, sent to him *Ulihus*, one of his guard, whom he most trusted, to entreat him to come as near *Carthage* as he could, and promising to kill *Areobindus*. And *Ulihus* (without the knowledge of the rest of the *Moors*) agrees that *Antalas* shall have the dominion of *Byzacium*, and half *Areobindus* wealth, and 1500 *Roman* soldiers; and that *Gontharis* shall retain the title of Emperour, *Carthage*, and the rest of *Africk*. Having negotiated this, *Gontharis* returned to the camp; the *Romans* being quartered before the walls, to guard the several gates of *Carthage*. The *Barbarians* made haste thither, encamped at *Decimum*, and the next day marcht forward. Some *Romans* fought

with them unlookt for, and killed many; whom *Gontharis* called in, rating them for putting the State into evident danger by unadvised adventuring. In the mean time *Areobindus* practised also on that side with *Chrizinus*, who promised him in the battel to turn against *Antalas*, and the *Moors* of *Byzacium*; thus the *Moors* observe no faith to others, nor among themselves. *Areobindus* revealed the plot to *Gontharis*, who desirous to dash it, advised him not to trust *Chrizinus* without his sons for hostages. But *Areobindus* and *Chrizinus* proceeded closely in their designe; and *Gontharis* secretly sending *Ulishens*, acquainted *Antalas* with the designe; who neither charged *Chrizinus*, nor made shew to have heard of his Treason, nor yet revealed the plot between him and *Gontharis*. They both hated one another, yet with these bad intents fought in company together, each against his own friend.

CHAP. XIX.

BUT *Gontharis* his intent was to kill *Areobindus* secretly in the battel, that he might not seem to intrude into the Empire; but rather that the soldiers, thinking the treason to be acted by others, might constrain him to usurp the dominion of *Africk*. To circumvent *Areobindus*, he counsels him to lead the whole Army the next day by sun-rising against the enemy, who was now come near to *Carthage*. But *Areobindus* being backward and raw in such businesses, delayed, and spent most of the day in fitting his arms about him, and other things for the fight; which he thus put off till the next day. *Gontharis* suspected him purposely to dally, as sending the plot; and resolved openly to murder him, and so to make himself King of *Africk*. His plot was, to set open the gate whereof he had the guard, and to hinder the shutting of it again by great stones put between; and then to place armed men upon the battlements; himself standing in the gate with his corseler on; This he invented, not for the *Moors* reception into the City (who being false themselves, suspect all men else; and good reason, that a faithless man should trust none, weighing others disposition by his own) So that he did not hope that the *Moors* would trust him, and come within the walls; but that *Areobindus* being frightened, might run away to *Constantinople*: and he lighted upon a right conceit, if a sudden storm had not slain *Areobindus*; who being informed of the plot, sent for *Athanasius*, and other principal men. *Artabanes*, with two others, came to him, and advised him not to shrink at this presumption of *Gontharis*, but instantly to sally, and fall to work before further mischief: But *Areobindus* first sent *Phredas*, one of his favorites, to *Gontharis*, to feel his resolution. Who brought him back word, that *Gontharis* avowed the usurpation. Then he resolved to go out and fight with him. *Gontharis* in the mean time accused *Areobindus* to the soldiers for a coward, and that to detain their pay from them, his intent was to sail away out at the Port of *Mendracium* with *Athanasius*, and to leave the soldiers to perish by famine and the *Moors*. He therefore demanded, if it were their pleasure to seize upon them both. His hope herein was, that either *Areobindus* would run away at the tumult, or be taken and killed by the soldiers; and himself undertook to satisfy their arrears. They embraced the counsel: And *Areobindus*, with *Artabanes*, and their troops coming up to them, there was a fight at the battlements, and the gate where *Gontharis* stood. The soldiers well affected to the Emperour, making head from several quarters, (the most part continuing sound, and not corrupted by *Gontharis*) had absolutely routed the mutiners; but *Areobindus* astonished to see men killed (a sight he was not used to) cowardly ran away. Within the walls of *Carthage*, by the sea-side, is a Church of Monks, men who precisely exercise duties to God. This Church *Salomon* lately had repaired, walled, and made a strong Castle of it: And hither *Areobindus* fled, and sent for his wife and sister. *Artabanes* retired also, and the rest; and *Gontharis* having an absolute victory, seized upon the Palace with his soldiers, and put guards upon the City gates, and the Haven. He sent first for

Athanasius,

Athanasius; who soothed him, and seemed to like the action wondrous well: Then he sent the Bishop of the City, to will *Areobindus* to come to the Palace upon assurances of safety; threatening, if he refused, to pull him out, and kill him. The Bishop, named *Reparatus*, went, and by *Gontharis* his direction offered to swear that he should have no hurt, and told him what he threatened upon his refusal. *Areobindus* was afraid, and promised, if the Bishop at the celebration of the holy Baptisme would in *Gontharis* his name by oath assure his security, that he would go with him. This the Bishop did; and *Areobindus* without more scruple went with him, having on a garment called in Latine *Casula* not fit for a Generall, nor a common soldier, but for a slave rather. At the Palace he took the Bible from the Bishop; and being brought to *Gontharis*, he fell upon his face, and lay so a long time, holding out his supplication, and the Bible, and his little son, newly made partaker of the holy Baptisme, at which the Bishop had sworn his safety. *Gontharis* raised him with much ado; he conjuring him by all that is holy, to tell him if his life were safe. *Gontharis* had him be of courage; for the next day he should go from *Carthage* safe, with his wife and goods. Then he dismissed the Bishop, and invited *Areobindus* and *Athanasius* to sup with him in the Palace. At supper he honoured *Areobindus*, placing him on his right hand upon the couch. After supper he would not let him go, forcing him to lie in a Chamber alone whither he sent *Ulishens* and some others, who after his much crying and wailing, and words to move pity, killed him. *Athanasius* they spared, despising his age. The next day *Gontharis* sent *Areobindus* his head to *Antalas*, but kept his goods, and the 1500 soldiers. At which *Antalas* chafed; and it troubled him to see how *Gontharis* had forswore himself to *Areobindus* his friend, so that he could not think he should ever keep faith to himself, or any. After much debate, he resolved to submit to the Emperour, and so marcht away. He then sent to *Marcentius*, Commander of the Horse in *Byzacium* (who was fled into an Island) acquainted him with the business, and upon assurances got him to come to him. So *Marcentius* was with *Antalas*; and the soldiers of *Byzacium*, true to the Emperour, guarded *Adramettus*. The mutiners of *Sotzas* about 1000 men, were led by *John* to *Gontharis*, who gladly received them. Of them were 500 *Romans*, and 80 *Hunnes*; the rest were *Vandals*.

Artabanes, upon assurances came to the Palace with his *Armenians*, professing his service to the usurper. But closely he plotted his death, consulting with *Gregorius*, his Nephew, and *Artasiris*, one of his guard. *Gregorius*, to egge him on, told him, 'That he had now the means to gain the glory of *Belisarius*, nay to exceed it. He, with a gallant Army, a huge treasure, with many Commanders and Counsellors; with a Fleet of ships (the like whereof this age had not heard of) with store of horse and arms, and with a preparation fitting the *Roman* Empire, had recovered *Africk*. All which was now so cast away, as if none of it had ever been; and that the *Romans* from *Belisarius* his victory were fallen to be abused in their persons, and robbed of their goods. But that it was onely in his spirit, wit, and sword now, to recover all this to the Emperour. He bad him consider, how he was of the race of the *Asfacides*. and think how men nobly born must be every where valiant. Being a youth, he slew *Acacius*, Governour of *Armenia*, and *Sittas* the Generall; and thereby was made known to King *Chosroes*, and made war for him against the *Romans*: that being such a person, he ought not now to abandon the *Roman* Empire thus to a drunken dog, but to make it appear, that his former actions proceeded from true nobleness and valour: that himself, and *Artasiris* would serve his commands therein. Thus *Gregorius* incensed *Artabanes* against the Tyrant.

CHAP. XX.

WHO in the mean time removed the wife and sister of *Areobindus* from the Castle, to a house where they had competent provisions, and had no dishonour

honour nor constraint used to them, save onely that *Projetta* was made to write to the Emperour her Uncle; That *Gontharis* used her with all due respect, and was clear of her husbands murder, committed by *Uliheus* without his allowance. *Gontharis* did this upon the advice of *Pasiphilus*, a chief mutiner in *Byzacium*, and his principall assistant in this usurpation; who alleaged, that by thus doing, the Emperour might give him the Lady to wife, which would bring him much wealth. *Gontharis* also commanded *Artabanes* to lead the Army against *Antalas*, and the *Moors* of *Byzacium*: *Curzinas* was fallen from *Antalas*, and joyned with *Gontharis*, and had given him his mother and children for hostages. *Artabanes* marched directly against *Antalas*, with *John* Captain of *Storzas* mutiners; and *Uliheus* with the *Moors* under *Curzinas*. They past by *Adramettus*, whereabout they found the enemy, and encamped a litle distant. The next day *John* and *Uliheus* staid with part of the Army; and *Artabanes* and *Curzinas* with the rest drew out against the enemy. But *Antalas* and his *Moors* stood them not, but ran away; And *Artabanes* with a willing cowardize turned about his ensign suddenly, and rode back: whom *Uliheus* would have killed at his coming; but he excused it upon his fear, lest *Mavcentius* with aids from *Adramettus* might distresse them, and that it were fit that *Gontharis* should oppose the enemy with his whole Army. *Artabanes* hereupon thought fitt to joyn with the Emperours Army at *Adramettus*; but upon better advice he resolved to kill *Gontharis*, and so rid the Emperour and *Africk* from trouble. Returning therefore to *Carthage*, he told the Tyrant the necessity of a greater Army; who after consulting with *Pasiphilus*, armed the whole forces, and purposed to lead them himself, leaving a garrison in *Carthage*. And every day he killed some upon causelesse jealousies. He instructed *Pasiphilus* (to whom he left the guard of *Carthage*) to murder all the *Greeks*; and having set all in order, he thought good to feast his friends, being the next day to depart. His feast was in a room where three couches stood ever ready: upon the uppermost himself sate, with *Athanasius*, and *Artabanes*, and some of *Gontharis* favourites, and *Peter* a *Thracian*, formerly of the guard to *Solomon*. At both the other couches were the best men of the *Vandals*: *John*, the captain of *Storzas* mutiners, was seated by *Pasiphilus*, and the rest severally by *Gontharis* friends: *Artabanes* when he was invited, resolved it for a fit opportunity to kill the Tyrant, and to execute his designe. He acquainted *Gregorius* and *Artasiris* therewith, and three other of his guard; these he directed to get in with their swords (the fashion being, while the Commanders feast, for their guard to stand behind them) and when they see their time, to fall to work suddenly, and *Artasiris* to begin. *Gregorius* he instructed to bring many of their valiantest *Armenians* to the Palace onely with swords (it not being lawfull to attend their Commanders in a City with other weapons,) and leaving them in the utter Court, to go in with the guard. And they to pretend themselves jealous, lest *Gontharis* had invited *Artabanes* for no good, and to desire to stand among *Gontharis* guards to guard their Captain. And then in sport, to catch the others shields, and to toss them, and play with them, and when they heard the cry within, to put on the shields and run in. This direction of *Artabanes* *Gregorius* put in execution, and *Artasiris* had this devise also. He cut arrowes in two, and the pieces he thrust in round about his left arm to his elbow: tying them with whip-cord, and covering all with the sleeve of his coat; that he might take any blow made at him upon his arme, and so cause it to glauce down the wood of the arrowes from off the body. To *Artabanes* also he spake thus, 'I will undertake this without the least fear, and I hope with this sword to pierce *Gontharis*. The successe I know not, whither God offended with the Tyrant will assist me, or, to punish my sins, crosse me. If you see him not mortally wounded, kill me with this sword instantly; lest by torture I should discover you, and so basely perish my self, and be forced to ruine you too. Having thus said, he went with *Gregorius* and one of the guard, and stood behind *Artabanes*. The rest staid with the guards without, and did as they were directed. *Artasiris* at the beginning of the feast would have done it, and had his hand upon his cimiter. But *Gregorius* stopt him, saying in the *Armenian* tongue; that *Gontharis* was yet himself, not having drunk much wine. 'O the brave spirit in me you suppress now!

quoth

quoth *Artasiris*. The drink proceeding, and *Gontharis* being well drencht, and grown bountifull, gave of his meats to the guard, which they went out to eat, leaving *Uliheus*, and two other of the guard by *Gontharis*. *Artasiris* went out for company; and having a conceit that something might hinder the drawing his Cimiter, being without, he slipped off his scabbard; and with his sword naked under his mantle, he slept suddenly to *Gontharis*, as to say something in private. *Artabanes* seeing him, his heart boyled, and falling into a deep muling, he shook his head, and changed his colour, seeming wrapt with the greatnes of the action. *Peter* markt it, and perceived the busines: but loving the Emperour, he liked it well, and so made no discovery.

Artasiris being come near to *Gontharis*, one of the waiters thrust him off, and perceiving his naked sword, cried out, what's this my friends? *Gontharis* crossing his hand over his own right shoulder, turned about to look at him. In the doing whereof *Artasiris* struck him with his sword, and cut off part of his head, and his fingers. *Peter* cried out to *Artasiris* to kill the wickedest of all men. *Artabanes* seeing the Tyrant down, and sitting next him, with a broad knife he had hanging at his side, thrust him into the left side up to the hilt, and there left it: *Gontharis* strove to rise; but fell, the wound being mortal. *Uliheus* made a blow to have cleit *Artasiris* head: but he held up his left arm, and had the benefit of his own wit at his most need: For the sword losing the vigour upon those arrowes about his arm, he had no hurt, but he killed *Uliheus*. *Peter* and *Artabanes* took up the swords of *Gontharis* and *Uliheus*, and killed the other two of the guard. The *Armenians* who stood without with the guards, hearing the cry and tumult, snatched up the shields according to their plot, and ran to the other couches, where they slew the *Vandals*, and *Gontharis* favorites. *Artabanes* charged *Athanasius* openly, to look to the treasures of the Palace, all being there which *Aereobindus* left. The guards without hearing of the Tyrants death, joyned presently with the *Armenians*, having been most of *Aereobindus* retinue. And with one voice, they all cried, Emperour *Iustinian* victorious! which growing very loud from such a multitude, reacht to most parts of the City. Such as were well affected to the Emperour, brake into the mutiners lodgings, and killed them, being asleep or eating, or amazed with the terror of it; and among them, *Pasiphilus*. *John* the mutiner, and some *Vandals*, fled to the Church; whom *Artabanes* took out upon assurances, and sent them to *Constantinople*; and having recovered the City for the Emperour, he made it safe. This killing of the Tyrant, was the 35 day of his usurpation. in the 19 year of *Iustinians* reign. And for this service *Artabanes* got a great renown: *Projetta*, *Aereobindus* widow, gave him a great present; and the Emperour made him General of *Africk*. Not long after, at the entreaty of *Artabanes*, he sent for him home, and made *John*, the brother of *Pappus*, General. Who immediately fought with *Antalas*, and the *Moors* of *Byzacium*, and defeated them, killing many, and recovering all the Ensignes taken at the killing of *Solomon*, which he sent to the Emperour. All other *Moors* he drave as far as he could from the *Roman* dominion. But afterward the *Leucathians* coming from *Tripolis* into *Byzacium*, with a great Army, and joyning with *Antalas*; *John* met them, and was beaten, with the loss of many, and fled to *Laribum*. The enemy then over-ran *Africk*, and did much mischief, even to the gates of *Carthage*. *John* quickly rallied the soldiers remaining, and drew *Curzinas*, and other *Moors* to his aid; and in a batel with the enemy, overthrew them beyond expectation, and killed numbers of them in the execution, as they fled in confusion. The rest escaped to the uttermost marches of *Africk*. And so at length the *Africans* who were left, being few, and very poor, with much adoe obtained some quietness.

An.d.m. 555.
Juli. 19.

THE



THE
CONTENTS OF THE FIRST BOOK

Of the GOTHICK Warre.

Chap. I.

OF Augustulus, and his Father Orestes Odoacer, Tyrant of Italy: whom Theodorick overthrew; and besieges Ravenna three years, and is King of Italy.

II.

Theodoricks strange death; after killing Symmachus, and Boetius by a false head. Amalasuntha for her Sonne Atalarick governess; the Goths mislike their Kings civill breeding: conspire against her. Shee seemes to flye to Constantinople. Theodatus plots revolt to Justinian.

III.

Justinian quarrells with Amalasuntha in shew: Hath offers from her, and Theodatus of Italy. Atalarick dyes. She unwisely invites Theodatus to the Kingdome.

IV.

Amalasuntha is imprisoned. Justinian would ayde her, but before, shee is murdered. He enters into war with the Goths, Anno 9. of his Raigne. Belisarius is sent with 7000 men: who finishes the subduing of Sicily on the last day of his Consulship. Theodatus agrees to share Italy with the Emperour.

V.

Theodatus agrees to resigne Italy to Justinian, for Lands worth 12 Centenaries per annum. Mundus and his Sonne are killed by the Goths in Dalmatia, which causes Theodatus to refuse the agreement. Discourse concerning Ambassadors.

VI.

Constantianus subdues Dalmatia, and Liburnia. Belisarius besieges Naples, and tries to get it by Composition.

VII.

Pastor and Asclepiodotus hinder the surrendring of Naples. The Augury of Hogs frights Theodatus. Belisarius is rising from Naples, but

VIII.

He takes the City the great Aqueduct, and restores to the Neapolitans their women, children, and other Prisoners after much slaughter.

IX.

The deaths of Pastor and Asclepiodotus. Theodatus deposed. Vitigis is chosen King. Theodatus is slaine by Optaris, whose Love he had taken from him, and married to another.

X.

Vitigis leaves Rome: his reasons; he marryes Amalasunth's Daughter. A digression of the Franks coming into Gaule with the Arborychi; and a remnant of Romane souldiers. Theodorick allies himselfe with them.

XI.

The Franks and Theodorick share the Burgundians countrey. They beat the Visigoths

A a

Visigoths. Theudis a Goth usurper Spaine: The Francks conquer Thuringia, utterly expel the Visigoths (who fled into Spaine) and divide all Gaule with the Goths.

XII.

The Goths give the French their part of Gaule, and 20. Centenaries of gold to joine with them. Via Appia. Belisarius enters Rome, repairs the walls, and prepares against a siege.

XIII.

Salfe Samnium, Calabria, and Apulia submit to the Emperour. Diomedes, and the Boares teeth. The Palladium. A description of Italy, and the countreyes about it. Tuscany taken: war in Dalmatia.

XIV.

Vitigis marches towards Rome, passes the Tiber, where Belisarius, with a few, hazards his person in the first ranks.

XV.

Belisarius enters Rome with difficulty. Visandus found among the dead bodies. A false alarm. Vagis is sent to raise. Belisarius is confident of victory.

XVI.

The manner of the Goths in trenchments; and of the Romans quartering at the severall Gates. Belisarius invention of mills with Boats: a presage of his Victory by Samnite boyes.

XVII.

Vitigis sends Ambassadors to terrifie the Romans, already fainting. Of the form of the Ramme, Balista, Wolfe. Belisarius laughs at the Enemy, shoots two of their men dead, and by killing their Oxen, prevents their assault.

XVIII.

Moles Adriana, or Adrians Tombe is assaulted and well defended: the broken wall in the guard of St. Peter. A Goth stuck into a tree with an arrow from a Balista.

XIX.

The Goths defeated in the Parke. Belisarius sallies and routs their whole army, and kills 20000 men. More forces demanded by Belisarius of the Emperour, and sent. The Romans victory presaged by Theodoricks Image at Naples in Musaique worke. Sibylla's oracles obscure.

XX.

Belisarius rid's Rome of the unnecessary monthes. The Commons are entertained to serve upon the guards. Silverius Bishop of Rome is sent into Greece, and Vigilius by Belisarius made Bishop. The Temple of Janus. Vitigis causeth the Roman Senators his Prisoners to be slain.

XXI.

Portus surprized by the Goths. The description thereof, and of Ostia. Belisarius with three sallies kills 4000 Goths, who imitating his stratagem therein are cut in peices.

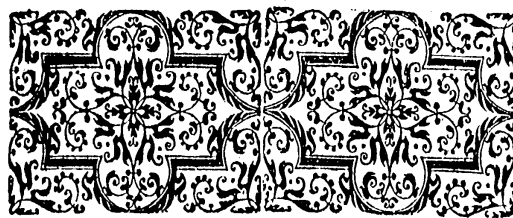
XXII.

Belisarius tells why he was so confident of victory: he is importuned by the soldiers to a battell: he incourages them, orders his troopes, resolved to fight with the horse only, the foote being over few; but is dissuaded by Principius and Tarmutus.

XXIII.

Vitigis encourages his army, and sets it in order of battell. The Romans in Nero's fields first conquer; then by disorder are ruined: the rest first have the better, int he end are beaten unto their walls by the Goths, with some loss, especially of Principius and Tarmutus.

THE



THE
HISTORY OF THE WARRS
of the Emperour
JUSTINIAN.

Of the GOTH & CK VVarre, the
first BOOK:

CHAP. I.



THIS were the Romane Affayres in Affrick. But I proceed to the Gothick Warre; First, touching in a word what happened to the Goths and Italians before this Warre. When Zeno was Emperour of Constantinople, Augustus held the Welterne Dominion, whom by a diminutive, the Romans called Augustulus, because he received the Empire being yet a Boy, which his Father Orestes, a very wise man, did administer. The Romans sometime before had drawne to their ayde Skirrians and Alans, and other Gothick Nations; from whence they came to suffer those things from Alaricus, and Attilus formerly related. As the Barbarians grew strong, the Roman Souldiers were under-valued; and by these New-comers under colour of ayds, they were tir nnyzed, and forced impudently to many things: And in Conclusion they demanded of Orestes all the Lands in Italy to be divided, and to have a third part allotted them, and refusing to do it, they killed him. There was among them one Odoacer, one of the Life-guard to the Emperour, who promised to satistie their demands, if they would place him in the Governement: † so hee usurped, permitting the Emperour to live still a private man, without other harme: Hee gave the third part of the Lands to the Barbarians, and so made them sure his own, and established his Tyranny for ten years together: About the same time the Goths, planted in Thrace by the Emperour, rebelled against the Romans under Theodoricks, a Patritian, and advanced in Constantinople to the Confullship: Zeno, skilfull at a present accommodation, advised Theodoricks to go into Italy, to fight with Odoacer, and to get for himself and the Gothes the Dominion of the West; it being better for him (being a Senator) to beat out the Tyrant, and raig in Rome and Italy, then

Anno Domini 479.

These were seated in Albania, now, upon the Gulfe of Venice, near unto Epidamnus, now Durazzo.

then to runne a hazard by contending with the Emperour. *Theodorick* liked his Counsell and went into *Italy* with all the *Goths*, putting their Wives and Children in Waggon, and all the Goods they could carry. They could not crosse the *Ionian* Gulfe, wanting ships, but compassed the Gulfe, and passed by the *Taurantians*, and other Nations. *Odoacer* and his people opposed them, and were beaten in many Battels: then they shut themselves up in *Ravenna* with their Prince, and in other strong Towns. All the Townes the *Goths* took in by Siege, save the Castle of *Cesina*, about thirty seven miles distant from *Ravenna*, and *Ravenna* it selfe, where *Odoacer* was; which they could not get by Force nor Composition. It is situate in an open Champian, at the bottome of the *Ionian* gulfe, distant only a quarter of a mile from the Sea. *Ravenna* is hard of access for an Army by Sea or Land; no ships can land upon the shore, by reason of a shelve of almost foure miles lying before it, which keeps the Saylor far from the Coast, though it seem neer at first. Neither is it approachable by an Army of Foot, by reason of the River *Poe*, (by some called *Eridanus*) which descends from the mountaines of *Gaul*; and of other navigable Rivers and Lakes, compassing the City with waters, where happens a dayly wonder. The sea each morning rises a dayes journey into the Land, and makes it navigable; and at evening draws home her waters, and spoyles the passage. Such as are to import to the City Merchandize, or to export the same, towne their ships to the place where the water uses to make a Passage, and there stay for a Flood; which coming, by little and little they flo at their Vessells, and keere away.

This happens all along that coast to *Aquileia*, but not alwayes alike: when the Light of the moon is little, the tyde is weak, and after the first halfe moon to the other, the course of the flood is stronger.

But *Theodorick* and the *Goths* spent three yeares in the Siege of *Ravenna*, and were wearied with it, as well as *Odoacer* and his men, who were also prest with wants: So that by the mediation of the Bishop of *Ravenna*, they came to an accord, that *Theodorick* and *Odoacer* should remaine in *Ravenna* upon equall tearmes. This for a while was observed; but *Theodorick* (as he sayd) finding him plotting against him, invited him to a Feast, and killed him; and gaining to the *Barbarian* Enemies surviving, he had the sole Dominion of the *Goths* and *Italians*. He did not assume the Habit, or Style of Emperour of the Romans, but continued the name of *Rex*, as the *Barbarians* call their Rulers. In the government of his Subjects he had all the Ornaments of a true King; being zealous of Justice, and maintaining the Lawes; guarding also the Province from the Neighbouring *Barbarians*, and attaining to a great height of wisdom and valour. He never did Injury to his Subjects, nor suffered others, that practised such things: Onely he distributed to the *Goths* the Lands by *Odoacer* allotted for his Partizans. So that he was in repute an Usurper; but in Effect a true Prince, no lesse then those, who have successively bene graced with that Dignity. The *Goths* and *Italians* loved him exceedingly, and not according to the ordinary Humour; for in States, men have severall Inclinations, and while things are as they would have them, they are pleased with the present Government; but if otherwise, they are male-content.

CHAP. II.

Theodorick having reigned thirty seven yeares, died, being grown terrible to his Enemies, and much beloved by his Subjects. The manner of his Death was thus. *Symmachus*, and his Son in Law, *Boetius*, ancient noble men, and chiefe of the Senate, having been Counsells, and both being Philosophers, just men, and great Relievers of the poore, had many bitter envyers; by whose false accusations *Theodorick* being perswaded, that they plotted against him, put them to Death, and confiscated their Estates. Not long after, his Wayters set before him at Supper a great head of a Fish, which seemed to him to be the Head of *Symmachus* lately murdered, and with the teeth sticking out, and fierce glaring eyes to threaten him. Being frightened at it, he became ohill, and presently went to bed, commanding store of clothes

clothes to be layd on him: And afterward he revealed all to *Elpidius* his Physitian, lamenting the sinne he had done against *Symmachus* and *Boetius*; and soone after dyed. This was the first, and last wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing sentence thus against men without Examination. † *Atalarick*, his Daughters Sonne, succeeded, being eight yeares of age, and bred with his Mother *Amalasuntha*, his Father being dead also. Not long after *Iustinian* received the Empire in *Constantinople*, and *Amalasuntha* governed as her Sonnes Guardian, being Wife, Just, and of a very manly nature. She never, during her Government, layd corporall punishment, or fine upon any *Romane*, nor gave way to the *Goths* longing to do them injuries. She restored to the Children of *Symmachus* and *Boetius* their Estates; and she desired to forme her Son in his manner of living like to the *Roman* Princes. Shee caused him to frequent the Grammar Schoole, and chose three discreet, moderate men of the Gothick Nation to accompany him. This the *Goths* milked, and desiring to wrong the Subjects, would have him bred more according to the *Barbarian* way. The Mother once taking her Sonne in some disorder in the Bed-chamber, strake him; and he weeping, went out into the great Chamber, where some *Goths* seeing him, made a great matter of it, and rayled upon *Amalasuntha*, that shee made haste to be rid of the youth, and marrying some man, with him to raigne over the *Goths* and *Italians*. And their principall men assembling, complained; that their King was ill bred, and not as was fit for him; that Learning is opposit to Valour; that this schooling by old men produces commonly cowardly and low spirits, and that whosoever will prove daring, and a man of Reputation, must be removed from feare of Schoole Masters, and employ his Study in Armes. *Theodorick* (they sayd) suffered not the *Goths* to send their Sonnes to the Grammar schoole; alleging that if they were seasoned once with the feare of a Feruler, they would never despise a Sword, nor a Lance. They besought the Queene to consider, how *Theodorick* gained large Provinces, and a Kingdom to which he had no right, and was dead without knowing his Letters; and therefore to dismiss those Pedagogues, and to give *Atalarick* Companions of his own Age, who growing up with him, might incite him to governe according to the *Barbarian* Lawes. *Amalasuntha* approved not these reasons, but fearing Treason, shee seemed pleased with the discourse, and yielded to their demands. The old men left *Atalarick*, and Youths were bred up with him, having some small advantage of yeares above him: who when he was come to yeares, provoking him to Drinke, and Women, made him extremely ill-conditioned, and so foolish, as to be disobedient to his Mother; nay to desert her, in a Faction of *Barbarians*, who impudently commanded her to retire from Court. But *Amalasuntha* feared not their Faction, nor womanlike softened her Resolution, but with the Majesty of a Prince shee pickt out three of most Account, and most faulty, and confined them single, and far asunder, to the remotest parts of *Italy*. They were reported to be employed in guarding the Marches against the Enemy; but they continued still correspondence with their Freinds and Kinsmen, and all men flockt to them, and the conspiracy grew ripe: Which shee not able to stand against, shee sent *Iustinian*, desiring him to be pleased, that *Amalasuntha* the Daughter of *Theodorick* might repayre to him, shee minding instantly to quit *Italy*. The Emperour was glad of the news, bade her come, and directed the sayelt Houle in *Epidamnus* to be made ready for her to lodge in, and having stayed there what time shee pleased, to be convoyed to *Constantinople*. When *Amalasuntha* understood this, shee chose some *Goths*, valiant, and men most inward with her, and sent them to kill those three chieftes of the Mutiny. And shee put a board a ship † four hundred *Centenaries* of Gold, and much other wealth, under the charge of some of her most confidants, whom shee commanded to sayle to *Epidamnus*, and to lye at Anchor in the harbour, without unshipping any thing till shee sent direction. This shee did, purposing if those three were executed, to stay and remand the ship, fearing then no Enemies; but if any of them escaped, to fly into the Emperours Dominions, there being no sound hope at home. Such was her Resolution: And her Ministers with the Treasure, came into *Epidamnus*, observing her directions. But she quickly (those Executions being dispatched) called back the ship, and remaining at *Ravenna*, fortified her Government. Among the *Goths* was one *Theodatus*, Sonne unto *Amalasfrida*, the Sister of *Theodorick*, a man

Anno Domini, 526.

A million and 260000l. sterl.

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a man in yeares, and who had been conversant in Latine discourses, and the Doctrines of *Plato*, but unpractised in Warr, and never aspiring to seats of Justice, yet extremely avaricious. He was Lord of many Townes in *Tuscany*, and by Oppression fought to spoyle the owners of those remaining: it was an Affliction to *Theodatus* to have Neighbours. *Amalasuntha* endeavoured to curbe this humour in him, which made him very spitefull against her; And he plotted to deliver *Tuscany* to the Emperour for a great summe of Money, and to be made a Senatour, and to remain at *Constantinople*. In the mean time came Ambassadors from *Constantinople* to the Bishop of *Rome*, *Hypatius* Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Philippi* in *Macedonia*, about points which Christians of different opinions dispute among themselves. The questions I know, but will not recite; To search what the nature of God is, I hold to be a frantick arrogance; humane things are not to man exactly comprehensible, much lesse things pertaining to the nature of God: Let me therefore be silent without danger, only by my not mis-believing that which in God is honoured. For let Preests or private men speake as they are perswaded, I can say no other thing concerning God, but that he is absolutely good, and hath all things in his power. But *Theodatus*, meeting privately with these Ambassadors, gave them order to acquaint the Emperour with the plot I mentioned before.

CHAP. III.

IN the mean time *Atalarick* fell into a Consumption with his excessive gluttony; which much distracted *Amalasuntha*, who had no confidence in her Sonne, being runne into so much folly; nor if he dyed could shee thinke her life safe, having offended the principall *Goths*. So shee resolved to deliver the Dominion of the *Goths* and *Italians* to *Iustinian*, and to save her selfe. With *Hypatius*, and *Demetrius*, came one *Alexander*, a Senator; whom the Emperour (hearing of *Amalasuntha*'s ship in the harbour of *Epidamnus*, and that shee came not, much time being spent) sent to view, and report concerning her, in pretence as an Ambassador, to treat about *Lilybaeum*, and about ten *Hummes*, who were run from the Campe in *Affrick* into *Campania*, and entertained by *Uliuris* Captaine of *Naples*, without *Amalasuntha*'s consent. And the *Goths* warring with the *Gepades* about *Sirminum*, had used hostility upon *Gratianna*, a City in the marches of *Illyrium*: All which the Emperour charged *Amalasuntha* with, and wrote his Letter to her by *Alexander*; who left the Bishops at *Rome* to negotiate their affaires, and repaying to *Ravenna*, had access to *Amalasuntha*, whom privately he acquainted with the Emperours propositions; and openly presented the Letter, which was thus. You detain from us our Castle of *Lilybaeum*; you have entertayned our fugitive Souldiers, and do not yet send them back; you have also used our City of *Gratianna* with extremity without cause; from all which you are to judge what the conclusion is likely to be. *Amalasuntha* to this Letter returned this answer. It were more fit for a great Emperour, and one who pretends to virtue, to assist an Orphan, ignorant of these passages, then upon no ground to quarrell with him; no victory bringing credit, when the opposition is not equall. You expostulate for *Lilybaeum*, and ten fugitives, and an Error of Souldiers marching against their Enemies, unwittingly committed upon a City in Amity with us. Do not thus, O Emperour! But thinke how in your invasion of the *Vandales* wee gave you no impediment, nay gave you quiet passage, and free market freindly of what you needed, chiefly of Horses in such abundance, as with them principally you vanquish your Enemies. Not onely he who sends his neighbour aydes, is a freind and an Associate, but he also who readily furnishes him for the warr with necessaries. Consider how then your Navy had no place to put into, but *Sicily*. nor could go into *Affrick* without what was there bought. So that the principall cause of your Victory is from us; who relieving you in time of need, may lay a claime to the good success: and what greater contentment, O! Emperour, could you have, then to subdue your Enemies? nay it is a great wrong to us, not to receive according

according to the Law of Warre, our share in the spoyle: Whereas you seek to take *Lilybaeum* from us, long appertaining to the *Goths*, and a poor Rock not worth the money (in case it did belong to your Empire) which in reason you ought to recompence *Atalarick* with, for assisting you in your greatest needs. Thus *Amalasuntha* wrote publicly, but in private promised to deliver *Italy* to the Emperour; to whom the Ambassadors at their Return to *Constantinople* related all; Alexander concerning *Amalasuntha*'s Resolution; and *Demetrius* and *Hypatius*, what they had in trust from *Theodatus*; and how having great power in *Tuscany*, and being Lord of a large Countrey, he could easily performe his promises. The Emperour being overjoyed with it, sent forthwith into *Italy*, *Peter*, an *Illyrian* by Race, but borne in *Thessalonica*, and an Oratour in *Constantinople*, a wise, milde man, and of great ability to perswade. In the mean time the *Tuscan* accused *Theodatus* to *Amalasuntha* for his oppressions; and for intruding not onely into the Lands of common persons, hut into the Royall domeneus, called *Patrimonium*. *Amalasuntha* called him to his answer, and upon expresse conviction; compelled him to restore his unlawfull Intrusions, which infinitely offended *Theodatus*; and made him her Enemy, being vexed that hee could not use his sinne of oppression. About the same time *Atalarick* dyed of his consumption, having reigned eight years. And *Amalasuntha* (ordayned for a mischeife) without considering *Theodatus* nature, nor her late proceeding against him, imagined by some extraordinary good Turne to oblige him from hurting her. Shee sent for him, and to appease him, told him; That shee had long foreseene her Sonnes end, by the dayly walking of his Body, and the opinion of the Physitians; that shee found the *Goths* and *Italians* inclined to him, being of *Theodoricks* blood; That shee endeavored therefore to purge him of asperitions, which might hinder his calling to the Kingdome; that shee was also troubled in the point of Justice, if men wrong'd should complaine, to have none to make their cases knowne to, but to have their Adversary their Lord. But now being clear, shee invited him to the Kingdom: But they must binde themselves by solemne oathes, for him to continue the name of King, and her selfe to continue her former power. *Theodatus* swore what shee pleased, with a false intent, remembering how shee had used him formerly. Thus *Amalasuntha*, deceived by her owne Counsellors, placed *Theodatus* in the government, and sent some *Goths* to *Constantinople* to acquaint *Iustinian* with her proceedings.

Anna Domini,
534.
Iustiniani 8.

CHAP. IV.

Theodatus being in possession of the Kingdome, did quite contrary to her hopes, and his own Engagements. He drew to him many principall *Goths*, kinsmen to such as shee had put to death; some of *Amalasuntha*'s party he suddenly killed, and put her selfe in safe custody in a strong castle in an Island upon the Lake of *Vulturnus* in *Tuscany*. But fearing that the Emperour might be offended at it, (as indeede he was) he sent *Liberius* and *Opilio*, two Senators of *Rome*, and others to make his Excuses, and to assure the Emperour, that *Amalasuntha* had no harme, though shee had done him extreme Injury formerly. This he wrote to the Emperour, and made *Amalasuntha* write as much. The Emperour in the meane time had instructed *Peter* to get private speech with *Theodatus*, and to give his Oath to conceal the negotiation, and so to make *Tuscany* sure; to deale likewise with *Amalasuntha*, and to conclude for all *Italy*, but publicly to pretend his Ambassage for *Lilybaeum*, and the rest before mentioned. For of the death of *Atalarick*, or succession of *Theodatus*, or of the Fortune of *Amalasuntha*, the Emperour had not yet heard. *Peter* upon the way met *Amalasuntha*'s Ambassadors, and heard of the Succession of *Theodatus*. Shortly after at *Appollonia* upon the *Ionian* gulf he met with *Liberius* and *Opilio*; and was informed of all the passages. He advertised the Emperour, and stayd there: Who thereupon intending to imbroyle *Theodatus* and the *Goths*, wrote Letters to *Amalasuntha*, of his Resolution to take her part, and sent instructions to *Peter* to profess the same openly to *Theodatus*, and all the *Goths*; Whose Ambassadors

fadors being arrived at *Constantinople*, *Liberius*, who was a very honest man, and carefull to speake no untruth, and the rest acquainted the Emperour with the whole matter; onely *Opilio* protested that *Theodatus* had not wronged the person of *Amalsuntha*. But before *Peter* came into *Italy*, *Amalsuntha* was murdered; The kinsmen of those put to death by her alledging to *Theodatus*, that neither he, nor they could be safe, if shee were not made out of the way. So with his permission, they went to the Island, and killed her. Which much greived the rest of the *Goths*, and all the *Italians*. For (as I sayd before) shee was a woman strongly bent to all kinde of virtue. *Peter* protested openly to *Theodatus* and the *Goths*, that for this foule fact there should be implacable war between the Emperour and them. *Theodatus* was so absurd, as albeit he graced *Amalsuntha's* Murderers, yet he would perswade *Peter*, and the Emperour, that the villany was committed by no allowance of his, but much against his will.

At the same time *Belisarius* had newly conquered *Gelimer*, and the *Vandals*; and the Emperour advertized of *Amalsuntha's* misfortune, presently entred into this war, in the ninth yeare of his Raigne: He commanded *Mundus*, General of *Illyrium*, to march into *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and to attempt *Salona*. *Mundus* was a Barbarian borne, but much affected to the Emperour, and a good Souldier. *Belisarius* he sent with a fleet, having 4000 *Legionaries* and Confederates, and 3000 *Isaurians*. Commanders of marke there were *Constantinus* and *Bessius* *Thracians*, and *Peranius* of the *Iberia* next to *Media*, but he revolted from the Persian, and was now of the Emperours side. Captaines of Horse were *Valentinus*, *Magnus* and *Innocentius*. Of foote, *Herodian*, *Paulus*, *Dametrius* & *Ursicinus*; of the *Isaurians* *Ennes* was Leader. There were also 200 auxiliary Hunnes; and 300 Moores. Generall with absolute power was *Belisarius*, who had with him many Lancers and Targettiers of his guard, tryed men. With him went also *Phocas*, the Sonne of his wife *Antonina*, by a former Husband, a discreet young man, and shewing an Ability above his years. The Emperours instructions to *Belisarius* were, to pretend the voyage for *Carthage*, but upon some pretext to attempt *Sicily*; and if he found it feasible and easie, to subdue it, and not to quit it upon any terms; but if he found Impediment, to saile away to *Affrick*, without discovering his intent: He wrote likewise this Letter to the Princes of the *Franks*. "The *Goths* have by force taken from us *Italy*, which they not onely refuse to restore, but adde unsufferable injuries: which contrayne us to send an Army against them, and you have reason to joyne with us in the war, which our Orthodox Religion rejecting *Arrianisme*, and our equal Enmity with the *Goths* makes common to us both. The Emperour accompanied this Letter with liberall gifts, and promise of more, when they came to the businesse; they readily promised to joyn with him. But *Mundus* in *Dalmatia* had a battell with the *Goths*, was victorious and got *Salona*. And *Belisarius* landing in *Sicily*, tooke *Catana*; and from thence got *Syracuse* by composition, and the other townes without any difficulty. The *Goths* onely in *Panormus* presuming upon their walls, and strong Towne, refused to yeild. *Belisarius* finding it by Land impregnable, sayled with the fleet into the Haven, which reaches to the walls, none being there, neither without nor within, to oppose him therein: The ships being at Anchor, had their Masts higher then the Battlements. *Belisarius* filled his Cock boates with Archers, which he hung fast to the Mast tops, and the Enemy being thereby shot upon their heads, their hearts fainted, and they surrendred *Panormus* to him by composition; then all *Sicily* became tributary to the Emperour, where *Belisarius* had a fortune beyond expression. He had received the consulship upon his conquest of the *Vandales*, and in the last day of it he conquered *Sicily*, and rode into *Syracuse*, applauded by the Army and *Sicilians*, and throwing peices of gold among them. This was not so appointed, but it was his fortune that very day to recover the Island to the *Romans*, and to ride into *Syracuse*, and there to lay down his Consulship at the end of his yeare, and not as the use is, in the Senate house of *Constantinople*. *Peter*, upon the newes of these successes of *Belisarius* urged *Theodatus*, and frighted him: And he, his heart sayling, came to a secret conference with *Peter*, and to this accord; That *Theodatus* should surrender the whole Island of *Sicily* to the Emperour, and should yearly send him a crowne of Gold of three hundred pound weight, and three thou-

land

sand fighting *Goths*, when ever he should require them. And that he should not kill, or confiscate the goods of any Priest, or Senatour, without the Emperours assent; "Nor make any Patrician or Senatour by his owne authority, but be a Sutor for it to the Emperour: That the common people in their acclamations shall alwayes name the Emperour first; In the Theaters, *Circus*, or elsewhere, he must not erect any Statue to himselfe alone, but ever another to the Emperour, which is to stand to the right hand of his owne.

CHAP. V.

Theodatus subscribed the accord, and dismist the Ambassadour; but presently his cowardize drave him to endlesse feares, and the thought of a Warre vexed him, which he instantly expected, if the Emperour should not allow the sayd conditions. He sent for *Peter*, being gone as far as into *Albania*, secretly to communicate something to him; and askt "him, if he thought the Emperour would like the accord; who answered, that he thought so. But if he do not, said the other, "what will follow? A warre Noble Sir, quoth *Peter*. And is that just? replied he; "Why not just (quoth *Peter*) for every man to be content in his own additions? *Theodatus* askt, what he meant by that? Because, quoth he, your addition is to Philosophy; and the Emperour *Iustinians* to be Noble; The difference is, that "for you, professing Philosophy, and that from the Schoole of *Plato*, to cause the death of so many men, is not decent, but wicked, not to be absolutely cleere of murder; But for him to challenge the ancient appurtenances of his Empire, is not unreasonable. *Theodatus* perswaded by the advice, agreed to quit the Kingdom to *Iustinian*; and to that effect himselfe and his Wife took their Oaths; and he bound *Peter* by oath not to discover this to the Emperour, before he perceived him not to accept the former accord; and with him he sent *Ruficius*, a Priest, a Roman borne, and his Favourite. These at *Constantinople* acquainted the Emperour with the first accord; who not accepting the conditions, they shewed the second agreement, contained in a letter written by him, thus. I am no stranger to a Court, O Emperour I being born in the Palace of the King mine Uncle, and bred as became my birth. Indeed in the tumults of War I have no skill, my love of learning and exercises therein, have removed me from the noise of Battailles. So that I have no reason to be ambitious of Kingdomes, nor to live in dangers, having meanes to avoid both, neither pleasing me. The first, as all other sweets, being ever puffed with satiety: And the other, vexing a man that is not used to it. If therefore I may have lands in possession of the yearly value of 12. Centenaries of gold, I shall prefer them before a Kingdome; and will surrender to you the Dominion of the *Goths* and *Italians*. I shall be more contented to live a Husband-man, then in the cares and multiplying dangers of a Kingdome. Send to me therefore speedily some man, to whom I may resign *Italy*, and the State. The Emperour infinitely over-joyed, returned this answer. I ever took you for a wise man, and now my experience assures it, in that you depend not on the uncertain event of a War, by which some have undone themselves already; and you shall never repent for having made us a friend of an Enemy; your demands you shall have, with this addition, to be advanced to the prime honours of the *Roman* State. I have sent *Athanasius*, and *Peter* to make our selves sure by some Articles; and *Belisarius* shall be speedily sent to put a conclusion thereunto. The Emperour accordingly sent *Athanasius* brother to that *Alexander* lately sent Ambassador to *Atalaricus*, and the afore-named *Peter*, with Instructions, to allot lands to *Theodatus* of the Emperours Demeans; and having by writings and oath perfected the accord, to call in *Belisarius* from *Sicily* to take possession of the Imperiall Palaces, and *Italy*, and the custody thereof: And he directed *Belisarius*, being sent for, instantly to go over.

During this negotiation, an Army of *Goths* led by *Asinarius*, and *Gripus*, entred *Dalmatia*; and neer *Salona* were encountered by *Mauritius* the sonne of *Mundus*, who with a few went out to discover only. They made a furious charge,

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and the best of the *Goths* fell, but the *Romans* almost all, and *Mauritius* their Leader. *Maurus* was much grieved at the newes, and in his passion marched against the Enemy with no good order. The Battail was listly fought, and the *Romans* got a *Crucian* victory, clearly defeating the Enemy, and cutting off the most part. But *Mundus* killing and chasing at adventure, as enraged for the losse of his sonne, was wounded and slain by a Run-away; Whereupon the Execution ceased, and the Armies parted. Then did the *Romans* remember a verse of *Sibyll*, famous, and seeming formerly to foretel some strange prodigie; That when *Affricke* should again come under the *Romans*, *Mundus cum suo semine interibit*. But in the Oracle it was not so exprest; but having intimated the said return of *Affricke*, it sayes *Quod tunc Mundus cum filio interibit*. *Mundus* signifying the world in Latine, they conceived it to be meant of the world. But into *Salone* no man entred; The *Romans* destitute of a Generall retired home; and the *Goths*, having lost their chiefe men, kept close in their Garrisons, having no confidence in the Fortifications of *Salone*, and the *Romans* inhabiting it being not their friends. *Theodatus* upon the newes hereof slighted the Ambassadors, being naturally slippery and faithlesse; The present fortune ever drew him either into senseless fears not futable to the occasion, or into excessive presumption. As now upon the newes of *Mundus*, and *Mauritius*, he was exalted, not proportionably to the accident, and he flowred the Ambassadors, being now with him. *Peter* once expostulating his breach of agreements, he called him into publike, and said, "That Ambassadors indeed are persons of respect, and by all men honoured; but that they preserve this privilege, and the honour of their places by moderation only. For men use to put an Ambassador to death if he demeane himself insolently to a Kings person, or lye with another mans Wife. *Theodatus* said not thus, as thinking *Peter* to have layen with any mans Wife; but to shew that there were crimes in an Ambassador punishable with death. But the Ambassadors made him this answer. "O Prince of the *Goths*! upon such mistaken, unsound pretences do not you violate the persons of Ambassadors. An Ambassador, if he would, cannot be an Adulterer; who can hardly have so much as the use of water, without the privy of those that guard him. For words (though harsh) if he utter such as he received from his Master, not he, but his Master is to beare the blame; An Ambassadors onely part is, to execute the service. And we, what we have received from the Emperour, will utter it all, and you are patiently to heare us. If you be angry, you have no help, but to abuse men that are Ambassadors. It is high time for you to perform your Covenants with the Emperour; For which purpose we are sent hither. His letters to your selfe you have; another, directed to the principall *Goths*, we will deliver only to themselves. The great Officers being present, bad them give the Letter to *Theodatus*; which was thus. Our care is, to receive you into our State; for which you ought to rejoyce; For you shall mingle with us, not for your diminution, but to adde more value to you. We invite not the *Goths* to Countries strange, and unknown to them; but to our selves, sometimes their familiars, though for a time divided from them. *Athanasius* and *Peter* are sent about this businesse, whom you are to assist in all things.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Theodatus perused all the letters, but refused to perform the agreements; and put a strict guard upon the Ambassadors. The Emperour advertized hereof, and of the successes in *Dalmatia*, sent into *Illyrium* *Constantianus*, Master of his Horse, to gather an Army, and attempt *Salone*; and he directed *Belisarius* without delay to passe into *Italy*, and make War upon the *Goths*. *Constantianus* at *Epidamnus* stayed some time, and raised Forces. *Gripus* in the meane time had entered *Salone* with the *Goths*. And *Constantianus* having made his preparations, left *Epidamnus* with his Fleet, and * cast Anchor at *Epibaurus*, standing to the right hand, as you saile into the *Ionian* gulph. Some here sent by *Gripus* to discover, seeing the land Army, and the Ships covering (as they imagined) Land and Sea, reported to *Gripus*, that *Constantianus* had many thousands. He afraid, thought it not best to encounter them; Neither would he willingly be besieged by the Emperours Army, Master of the Sea. The walls of *Salone* much decayed troubled him too; and he could not trust the Inhabitants.

For these reasons he removed from thence, and encamped in a champion between *Salone*, and the Citie of *Craton*. *Constantianus* wayed Anchor from *Epibaurus*, and came before *Lysene* upon the gulph. Hence he sent some to discover, and report concerning *Gripus*; from whom understanding how it was, * he made for *Salone*. Where arrived, he landed, and rested his Army upon the place; and he directed *Siphylas*, one of his Life-guard, with 500. choien men, to possesse a narrow passage in the Suburbs of *Salone*; which he performed. And the next day *Constantianus* entered the Citie with the Land army, and the Fleet lay before it at Anchor. He rooke care of the walls, and repaired the decayes; And *Gripus* seeing the *Romans* masters of *Salone*, seven days after rose, and transported the *Goths* over to *Ravenna*. So *Constantianus* tooke in *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, and the *Goths* there inhabiting. And then ended the Winter, and the first year of this Warre, written by *Procopius*.

Belisarius leaving Garrisons in *Syracusa*, and * *Pannonius*, passed over his Army from *Messina* to *Rhegium*, where the Poets sain *Scylla*, and *Charybdis* to have been. The Inhabitants came in to him daily, their Towns having been long without walls, and without Garrisons; and they hated the *Goths*, weary (it seems) of the present Government. *Ebrinus* also a *Goth* revolted to him, with his Followers, having married *Theodatus* Daughter, *Theodenarthe*. He was sent to the Emperour, and besides other bounties, made a *Patrician*. The Army marcht from *Rhegium* through *Bruttia*, and *Lucania*, and the Navy kept close to the Coast. In *Campania* they fate downe before *Naples*, a strong maritime Citie, with a great Garrison in it of *Goths*. The Fleet *Belisarius* commanded to lye at Anchor, without Bow-shot in the Harbour. Then he took the Cattle in the Suburbs by composition. He gave the Citizens leave to send him some chiefe men, to acquaint him with what they had to say, and hearing his Propositions, to report them to their Communalty. The *Napolitans* sent him *Stephanus*, who spake thus to *Belisarius*. "It is not just, O General! to bring your Army upon *Romans*, and who never wrong'd you, having a small Citie, and the *Barbarians* within our Masters; that we cannot do as we would: Nay the Souldiers of our Garrison have left under *Theodatus* their Wives and Children, and most precious things, that by practising upon us, they should not more betray our Town, then themselves. But if we may say the truth without mincing, you have advised ill to invade us. For take *Rome* first, and *Naples* is yours without difficulty; but repulsd from thence, you can never be sure of this Towne. So that you will spend time impertinently in this siege. *Belisarius* made *Stephanus* this answer. We meane not to referre it to the *Napolitans*, whether We be here upon good, or bad advice. We desire you to consult of what concerns your selves, and to choose your owne best advantage. Enter-taine therefore the Emperours Armie, come to free you and all *Italy*; and doe not prefer the most sorrowfull things. Such as make War to shake off slavery, or other base condition, gaine in vanquishing, with the victory, freedom from

* Ragusa stands now where about this was, upon the gulfe of Venice.

* The Gothick war began in the Spring, which begins exactly 11. Martii, the Sun entering into Aries, Justinian began to reign alone after Justins death on the first of July, saith Evagrius: And with Justin the 3. day before Easter, ended Severus. Hist. cap. 7.

* Annus. 2. Bell. Goth. incipit. bring in 10. Iustiniani, et Ann. Dom. 536.

"misery; and being vanquished are yet comforted for not having willingly submitted to a wretched fortune. But such as may be free without fighting, and yet will fight to establish their own servitude; if they conquer, they do but more ruine themselves; and if they have the worse, they add to their other wretchedness, the calamity of a defeat. This he sayd to the *Napolitans*. To the *Goths* he gave Liberty either to serve the Emperour with us, or to retire home without harme. If you slight all this, and employ your armes against us, we shall use you as Enemies: But if the *Napolitans* will joyne with the Emperour, and be rid of a sharpe servitude; I will pawn my faith for such conditions, as the *Sicilians* had, who cannot say we are forsworne. This *Belisarius* commanded *Stephanus* to impart to the people; promising him great rewards, if he drew them to the Emperour. *Stephanus* acquainted the City with these propositions, and with his owne opinion of the inconvenience of resisting the Emperour. With him joyned *Antiochus* a Syrian merchant, who had long dwelt there, and was esteemed a very wise and an honest man.

CHAP. VII.

BUT *Pasfor* and *Asclepiodotus*, two Orators much esteemed in *Naples*, and freinds to the *Goths*, to crosse the treaty, drew the people to propound great things, and many, and that *Belisarius* would swear to their present obtaining the same: And they gave to *Stephanus* demands in writing, which they thought *Belisarius* would never yeild to. He went to the Camp, shewed the writing to the Generall, demanding if he would grant those propositions, and take his Oath accordingly. He promised to grant all, and sent him away. The *Napolitans* embraced the Capitulation, and commanded the army to be received into the City; which (said they) may safely be done, the *Sicilians* giving us ample prooffe, who for *Barbarian* Tyrants have chosen the Empire of *Iustinian*, and are become free men, and eased of all grievance. And then in much tumult they went to open the gates; which troubled the *Goths*: but being not able to hinder it, they kept out of the way. But *Pasfor* and *Asclepiodotus* assembled the people, and spake thus. It is not strange for a City-multipitude to ruine it selfe, when they will resolve in the generall absolutely, without communicating with the better sort. But being with you upon the point of destruction, we cannot but contribute this last advice to our country. You are running to deliver your selves, and City to *Belisarius*, who promises much, and will solemnly swear to it. If he could assure you, that he shall conquer in this war, no man can gainsay, but that these things will be good for us. It were foolish not to gratifie him that is to be our Lord; but since this is uncertaine, and since none can secure the Resolutions of Fortune; consider for what miseries you may take this pains. For the *Goths* overcoming, will punish you for having done them the greatest despite, revolting thus not forced by necessity, but as willing cowards. Nay even *Belisarius* himself being Victor will esteeme us false, and Traitors to our Princes; and as such, we must expect a perpetuall garrison upon us. A Traitors service pleases for the present with the victory obtained, but afterward the Victor suspects, fears, and hates his Benefactor, having with him the marks of his falsehood. But continuing true to the *Goths*, and valiant in this danger, if they conquer, they will do us many good turnes; and *Belisarius* getting the victory will pardon us. No understanding man will punish a good affection failing of successe. And why fear you this seige? being in no wants, nor blockt up; but at home, secured by these walls and souldiers? If *Belisarius* could hope to force us, he would not come to this capitulation: and if he would do justly, and us good, he would not fright us thus, and establish a power upon our wronging the *Goths*, but come roundly to a battell with them, that we without danger or Treason might follow the Conquerour. Having thus said, they produced *Jewes*, who assured the town should want nothing: and the *Goths* promised to guard them safely. Wherewith perswaded, they defied *Belisarius*; who fell to assault, and was often repulsed with losse of many, and even

of

of his valiantest men. For the walls what by reason of the sea, and for the steepe ground, were unaccessible, and not to be approacht by an enemy. And the cutting of the Aqueduct by *Belisarius* troubled not the *Napolitans* much, their wells within supplying their uses. And they sent to *Theodatus* to *Rome*, to send them succours. *Theodatus* being a coward (as I have said) made little preparation for a warre: and he had an accident (they say, but not credibly to my conceit) which put him into great fear. *Theodatus* was acquainted ever with men that pretend to foretell things to come; and being now perplexed with the present affaires (when men use most to runne after prophesies) he askt an *Hebrew*, famous for such things, what would be the event of the War. He directed him to shut up three halfe scores of *Hoggs* severally, and to each ten to give severall names, of *Goths*, *Romans*, and the Emperours Souldiers, and so for a certain number of dayes to let them alone. *Theodatus* at the appointed day went to the sties, to see the *Hoggs*. Those which were called *Goths*, he found all dead, save two: Those called the Emperours Souldiers, were almost all alive: And those who bare the name of *Romans* were halfe living, and all with their haire fallen off. *Theodatus* by this divined the successe of the war, and was affraid: perceiving that one halfe of the *Romans* should perish, and all loose their Estates; that the *Goths* should be vanquishd; and reduced to a small remnant, and that the Emperour should get the victory with the losse of few. Upon this he was affraid to fight with *Belisarius*; who besieging *Naples* was troubled, not thinking it would yeild, and being not able to force the difficulty of the place: and his losse of time vexed him, fearing to be put to set upon *Theodatus* and *Rome* in the winter. But having directed the army to rise, and being thus perplexed, he had this fortune,

CHAP. VIII.

AN *Isaurian*, curious to see the structure of the Aqueduct, and how it brought water to the City, entred it far from the city where *Belisarius* had cut it, (which had made it dry) and being come in neer to the town-wall, he met with a Rock to which the Aqueduct was joyned, and through it was cut a vault, not sufficient for a man to enter, but only to let through the water; so that there the Aqueduct was not passable, especially by a man armed with shield and corslet. The *Isaurian* observing it, conceived that by widening the vault, forces might enter; and being himself an obscure man, unknown to the Commanders, he revealed it to *Pancaris*, a Targetter of the guard to *Belisarius*, who told it to *Belisarius*; and he revived with the newes promised the man money, and perswaded him to take some *Isaurians* fit to worke, entred silently the Aqueduct, and being come to the Rock and narrow Vault, they wrought, not cutting it with hatchets and axes, lest the noise should discover them, but paring and filing it with instruments of iron; and in short time there was roome for a man with his shield and corslet on to go through. All being ready, *Belisarius* considered, how the army entering by force, there would be slaughter and such things as befall places forced by Enemies. He sent therefore for *Stephanus*, and sayd to him thus. I have been at the taking of many Cities, and am acquainted with the usuall accidents therein. They kill the men of all ages; the women they vouchsafe not to kill, though they beg it, but lead them away for base and pitifull uses. The children without other Education must learne to serve their greatest enemies, whose hands are stained with their Fathers blood. I speake not of the fire which wil consume your goods, and the beauty of your city. Behold, as in a glasse in other ruined cities, the miseries of *Naples*, I pity it. For my engines are ready, wherewith I shall not faile to take it. And while I am Generall; I would not have an ancient city, long inhabited with Christians and Romans, come to this fortune: the rather having in the army *Barbarians*, enraged for the losse of brothers and kindred, whom I shall not be able to restrain; if they enter by hostility. So that chuse the best for your selves while you may, and avoyd this calamity: which happening (as it will) blame not fortune, but your owne Counsellors. *Steph:*

was weeping, reported to the People this Speech of *Belisarius*: But they (whose Subjection to the Emperour was to be accompanied with their mischiefe) feared not, nor thought of yielding.

Then did *Belisarius* about Evening chuse out 400. men, and gave the Cominand of them to *Magnus*, a Captaine of Horse, and *Ennes*, Commander of the *Isaurians*, whom he directed to stand ready with their Corselets on, and with Swords and Shields, till he should give the Signall. And he sent for *Bessas*, to advise with him of some things of Importance. Far within night, he told *Magnus* and *Ennes* the businesse, shewed them the place, where he had cut the Aquaduct, and commanded them to lead the 400. men into the City, taking Lights, and two Trumpeters, to affright the Towne, and to signifie to him what they did. Himselfe had many scaling Ladders in readinesse. They entred the Aquaduct, and went towards the Town, and himselfe, with *Bessas* and *Photius*, staid in the place, directing the Army to stand with their Armes ready; and keeping many of the Valiantest men about himselfe. More then the one halfe who were to enter, apprehending the danger, came back to the Generall, and *Magnus* with them: after much exhorting them to go on, but not prevailing, *Belisarius* rated them, and gave *Magnus* 200. other of his owne Retinew, whom *Photius* would have led, and first entred the vault; but *Belisarius* forbade him. The Run-awaies aframed at the reprehensions of *Belisarius*, took hart, and followed the rest. *Belisarius*, least the Enemies sentinels upon the Turret next the Aquaduct should discover them, went thither, and bad *Bessas* talke with the *Goths* in their owne Language, that they might not heare the clashing of the Armes. *Bessas* aloud called to them to yeild, promising many Advantages; And they flouted him with scornfull Speeches against *Belisarius*, and the Emperour. The Aquaduct is not onely covered without the Walls, but so continues with a high Arch of Brick a great way within; that *Magnus* and *Ennes* being within the City, could not imagine where about they were, nor finde where to get up, till their fore-most men came, where they found the Roofe uncovered, and where stood a Cottage, and in it dwelt a Woman alone, and very poore; and at the top of the Aquaduct grew an Olive Tree. The men perceiving the Skie, and themselves in the midst of the City, would willingly get up, but could not with their Armes, the Building being high, and without Steps. Being long in doubt, and beginning to be crowded with the Company pressing behinde them; one of them, having a minde to make triall, laid downe his Armes, and clambered up; and finding the poore Woman in the Cottage, threatned to kill her, if she made any noise. She alonist, fate mute; and he tying a Rope to the Olive Tree, threw the other end into the Aquaduct, by which the Souldiers mounted one by one. All being up, and but a fourth part of the Night remaining, they ascended the Wall, and killed the Sentinels upon two Turrets on the North side, where *Belisarius*, *Bessas*, and *Photius* stood expecting the Event. They called them to the Walls with their Trumpets, and *Belisarius* set to the scaling Ladders, commanding the Souldiers to mount. The Ladders were too short, the Work-men having not made them upon view, and so not judging of a just scantling. But they tied two together, and so mounted the Battlements. That part of the Walls next the Sea, where the *Jews* guarded, the Souldiers could not ascend. For the *Jews* had offended the Enemy, in hindring a peaceable surrender of the Towne, and so being hopelesse, (if subdued) they fought valiantly, though the Towne were entered; and they indured beyond Expectation. But day appearing, and being charged behinde by some who were entred already, they fled; and *Naples* was absolutely taken, and the Gates set open; where the rest of the Army entred. Those who were quartered Eastward, having no Ladders, burnt open the Gates there, the Guards being all run away. A great Slaughter was made; all being angry, and especially such as had Brothers, or Kins-men slaine in the former Assaults; and they killed all, sparing no Age; broke into the Houses, and made the Women and Children Slaves; and pillaged the Goods; principally the *Massagets*, who spared not the Churches, but killed many who fled into them; till *Belisarius* rode about and restrained them, and assembling the Army, spake thus. Since God hath given us Victory, and the glory "of subduing a City, heretofore impregnable; let us not prove unworthy of the "Favour, but by our Clemency to the Vanquished, make it appeare, that we have justly

"justly overcome them. Do not without limit extend your hatred to the *Napolitans*, beyond the Rules of War. No Conquerours continue hating the Vanquished; if you kill them now, you are not rid of Enemies, but indamaged by the death of your Subjects. So that do them no further harm, nor gratifie you owne Anger. It is base, having conquered your Enemies, to be overcome by your owne Passion. Take the Wealth, as the Reward of your Valour; but restore the Women and Children, and let the Conquered finde by the Events, what kinde of Friends they lost by their owne ill Counsels. *Belisarius* having thus said, released all their Women and Children, and other Prisoners, without enduring any Dishonour, and reconciled the Souldiers to them. So in the same day the *Napolitans* had the Fortune to be made Slaves, and to recover their Liberty, with the most precious of their Goods; having hid their Gold, and things of Value from the Enemy, under ground, and so found them upon the Restitution of their Houses. Thus ended this Seige, having lasted twenty daies.

CHAP. IX.

THE Gothish Garrison, being 800. men, *Belisarius* took, and hurt not, but respected them as his owne Souldiers. *Passor*, when he saw the Towne taken, fell dead of an Apoplexy, having never had any touch of it before; *Asclepiodotus* his associate, with some other chiefe men, came to *Belisarius*, whom *Stephanus* seeing, Thou vildest of all men (quoth he) what mischiefe hast thou done thy Country-men, and sold their safety for Barbarians Favour? If they had perished, thou wouldst have claimed Rewards, and accused us of Conspiracy with the *Romans*, who gave the best Counsels. And now the City being the Emperours, and we preserved by this mans Virtue, dar'st thou thus foolishly come to him? "as if cleare of all disservice to the *Napolitans*, and the Imperiall Army? *Stephanus* in passion for the Disaster uttered this. But he answered him; Worthy Sir, you unwittingly extoll me, in that you raile at me for my affection to the *Goths*. None loves his Superiours in danger, but from a constant mind. Me the Victors shall finde a Defender of their State, as lately their Enemy. A faithfull man changeth not his Minde with Fortune, nor entertaines Propositions from Enemies in an alteration. But he that is sick of Inconstancy, renounces his Friends upon his first feares. Having thus said, and retiring, the common people followed and charged him with their Sufferings, and left him not, till they had killed him, and torne him in peeces. And they entred *Passors* house, searching, and not believing the Servants Affirmation of his Death, till they saw his Body; which they crucified in the Suburbs; then excused their doings to *Belisarius* upon such just provocation; and obtaining Pardon, went home.

But the *Goths* in *Rome*, and other Townes that way, wondred to see *Theodatus* so tame, not offering to fight with the *Romans*, being his so neere Neighbours: And they suspected him to betray their State to *Iustinian*, caring onely to live at ease himselfe, and to be rich. When they heard that *Naples* was taken, they assembled at *Regia* 35. miles from *Rome*, and accused him openly. The place they found fit to encamp in, being neere to a faire Champain, and to the River of *Detanovius*, so called, because having made a compassse of 19. miles, it enters the Sea about the City of *Tavacina*. Neere unto which is the Mountaine *Circaum*, where they say *Ulysses* had the Company of *Circe*, improbably in my conceit; *Homer* affirming *Circes* house to be in an Island. Indeed *Circaum* runs far into the Sea, and seemes an Island along the Shore to the Sailer: but being in it, he findes his mistaking. Upon this reason *Homer* might call it an Island. But the *Goths* assembled at *Regeta*, chose *Vitigis* their King, a man of no conspicuous family: but in Fights about *Sirmium*, against the *Gepedes* (with whom *Theodorick* had War) he got great Reputation. *Theodatus* hearing this, ran away to *Ravenna*: after him *Vitigis* sent *Opavris* a Goth, to bring him alive, or dead. This *Opavris* had a pique against *Theodatus*: for having betroathed a handsome Maid, an Inheretrix, *Theodatus* perswaded her for Wealth to marry another man. So that to gratifie his owne Anger

ger, and *Vitigis* too, he pursued *Theodatus* eagerly day and night: And overtaking him upon the way, laid him upon his back like a Beast, and cut his Throat. This end made *Theodatus* in the third year of his Reigne.

CHAP. X.

Vitigis then marcht to *Rome*, glad of the newes of *Theodatus* Death, and he put his Son *Theudegisclus* in safe Custody. From thence, finding things yet in no good preparation, he thought it best to go to *Ravenna*, and having there completely furnished himselfe, to enter into the War. He assembled therefore the *Goths*; and spake thus unto them. Great Actions, fellow Souldiers, prosper not commonly by suddaine Opportunities, but by solid Counsels; seasonable delaying often doing good, and many undoing their hopes by undue hast. For men unprovided, though equall in numbers, are more easily beaten in Fight, then though inferiour in Powers, yet well prepared. Let us not therefore, provoked with the present honour, hurt our selves incurably. It is better with a short disgrace to preserve a perperuall Reputation, then avoding it for a moment, to be ever confounded with Ignominy. * Our maine numbers, and our magazines are in *Gaulle*, and *Venetia*, and other remote Parts. We have also a War with the *Francks*; which before we have settled, to enter into another, is folly. Who stands between two Enemies, and hath not his eye upon one at once, is commonly ruined by both. I say then, that we ought to go to *Ravenna*, and having agreed the War with the *Francks*, and disposed our businesse, then to fight with *Belisarius*. Let none be ashamed, or feare that this Retraite will be called a running away. A seasonable Imputation of Cowardize hath crowned many a man with Successe: And the name of Valour, gotten by some before the time, hath ended in a Defeat. Let us not affect Names, but reall Advantages. Actions in their conclusions, not beginnings, shew the worth of men. They run not away, who returne upon the Enemy with greater preparations; but who hide themselves, as if they would keep their Bodies ever alive. And of this City be not afraid. If the Romans be well affected to us, they will secure it for us; being to endure no extremity in the short time before we returne. If they be unsure, they will hurt us lesse by receiving the Enemy into their City; it being ever best to Encounter men that hate us in an open way. But this also I shall prevent; leaving in it a strong Garrison, and an able Commander; and that being so settled, we can have no hurt by this Retrait. The *Goths* approved this advise of *Vitigis*, and prepared for the Journey. Then *Vitigis* using many Exhortations to *Liberius* the Bishop of *Rome*, the Senate and People, to thinke of *Theodoricks* Reigne, and to continue their affections to the *Gothish* Nation, he bound them in strong Oathes; And leaving to guard *Rome* 4000. men under *Leuderis*, a man ancient, and much esteemed for his Wisedome, he marcht to *Ravenna* with the rest of his Army, taking the most part of the *Roman* Senators with him in the quality of Hostages. There he married perforce *Matalasuntha*, a Beautifull Virgin, the Daughter of *Amalasuntha*, that by alliance with the Blood of *Theodorick* he might make his Reigne firme. Then he assembled the *Goths* from all parts, and ranckt them in order, distributing Horses and Armes to them. Those onely lying in *Gaulle*, for feare of the *Francks*, he sent not for.

The *Francks* were formerly called *Germans*, where they first inhabited: and how they ineroached upon *Gaulle*, and then fell out with the *Goths*, I will tell you. I said before, how from *Calis* and the Ocean, into the *Mediterranean*, the left hand continent is called *Europe*; and that against it, *Africk*, and further on, *Asia*. The Countries beyond *Africk* I can say nothing of, being not inhabited; whereby the Spring of *Nile* is unknowne, which, they say, comes from those Parts. But *Europe* at the first is like *Peloponessus*, having the Sea on both sides. The first Province from the Ocean is named *Spain*, unto the *Alpes*, which are in the *Pyrenean* Mountaines (the Natives calling narrow passages, *Alpes*) From thence *Gaulle* reaches to *Liguria*, where other *Alpes* divide the *Gaulles* and *Ligurians*. *Gaulle* is broader

* Leander calls this Venetia Marca Trivi-giana.

broaden then *Spain* (for *Europe* begins narrow, and proceeds to a great breadth by degrees) and it hath the Ocean on the North side, and on the South the *Tyrrhene* Sea. Among other Rivers it hath the *Rhone*, and the *Rhine*, having contrary courses; the *Rhone* into the *Tyrrhene* Sea, but into the Ocean the *Rhine*. Here Lakes also are, where-about anciently these *Germans* did inhabit, now called *Francks*, a *Barbarian* Nation, and at first not considerable. Beyond them dwelt the *Arborychi*, subject formerly to the *Romans*, as all the rest of *Gaulle* and *Spain*. *Augustus* planted the *Thuringians* to the East of the *Arborychi*, not far from whom to the South inhabited the *Burgundians*, and beyond the *Thuringians* the *Suevians*, and *Almans*, Potent Nations. All these were free States, and from all Antiquity seated there. In proceesse of time the *Visigoths* oppressing the *Roman* Empire, subdued *Spain*, and *Gaulle*, to the River of *Poe*, and made them tributary. The *Arborychi* were then become *Roman* Souldiers, whom the *Germans*, or *Francks*, to bring them in Subjection, being their Borderers, and for having abandoned their former Common-wealth, pillaged, and made a generall War upon them. In this War the *Arborychi* shewed much Valour and Affection to the *Romans*: And the *Germans* not able to force them, offer'd to make them their Confederates, which they willingly embraced (both being Christians) and being joynd into one people, they grew into a great power. Other *Roman* Souldiers also Garrison'd in the Confines of *Gaulle*, being not able to returne to *Rome*, nor willing to mingle with the *Goths* their Enemies, and *Arrians*, yielded themselves, their Ensignes, and the Country under their Guard to the *Arborychi* and *Germans*, which they have left to their Posterity, and preserved the *Roman* Customs, which to my time they religiously observe. They still are enrolled in the same Bands they anciently served in, have their proper Ensignes in Fights, and use the *Roman* Lawes, and Habit; and especially the Fashion of their Diadems. The *Roman* State flourishing, *Gaulle* on this side the *Poe* was the Emperours; But *Odoacer* usurping the same, by the Tyrants cession, the *Visigoths* had all *Gallia Cisalpine* to † those *Alpes*, which sever *Gaulle* and *Liguria*. *Odoacer* being slaine, the *Thuringians* and *Visigoths*, fearing the *Germans* power (who were grown a strong multitude, subduing all in their way) sought alliance with the *Goths*: And *Theodorick* afterward gladly contracted affinities with them. *Theudichusa* his Daughter, a young Virgin, he betroathed to *Alarick* the younger, Prince of the *Visigoths*; and *Amaloberga*, the Daughter of his sister *Amalsfrida*, he affianced to *Hermensfridus*, Prince of the *Thuringians*. And the *Francks*, fearing *Theodorick*, forbore to force the *Visigoths* and *Thuringians*, but made Warr upon the *Burgundians*.

CHAP. XI.

Afterwards the *Francks* and *Goths* made a league against the *Burgundians*, upon conditions to ruine the race of them, and to subdue their Countrey, and that the Conquerours shall have a Fine from the part not joyning in the War, but the Country to be a common conquest of both. The *Francks* accordingly went with a great Army against the *Burgundians*. *Theodorick* made preparations in shew, but delayed the expedition, expecting the event. At last he sent his Army, which he bade march faire and softly; and hearing the *Francks* to be vanquished, to go no further; but understanding them to be victorious, to march on speedily. They did so; And the *Francks* in a Battail with the *Burgundians* listly fought, with much slaughter, routed the Enemy, and drave them into the uttermost borders of their country (where they had many strong places) and subdued the rest. The *Goths* hearing it, were speedily with them; and being blamed by their Confederates, they alledged the illwayes, and paying their Fine, divided the Countrey with the Conquerours. And thus *Theodorick* shewed his great providence, by gaining thus halfe the Countrey with a little money, and without losse of his Subjects: Thus the *Goths* and *Francks* held part of *Gaulle*. Afterward the *Francks* power encreasing, without any feare of *Theodorick*, they led an Army against *Alarick* and the *Visigoths*.

† They inhabit (some say) Belgia about Brabant.

† The Author calls the Pyrenean and the Apennine by the name of Alpes.

goths. Alarick sent for Theodorick, who marcht with a great Army to his ayde. In the meane time the Visigoths hearing how the Franks besieged Carcassona, encamped themselves neer to oppose them. The siege continuing, and their countrey being spoyled by the Enemy, they murmured, and put scorn upon Alarick, rayling at the delay of his Kinsman, and affirming themselves strong enough without company to beate the Franks. Alarick thus constrained to hazard a Battaille, before the Goths could come, was therein flaine, and many of his people by the Franks, who thus got the greatest part of Gaule. They straightly besieged Carcassona, hearing there was much treasure in it, which Alarick the Elder had pillaged, when he tooke Rome. There were the jewels of King Solomon, goodly pieces, by reason of a green stone in many of them, and long agoe taken by the Romans out of Jerusalem. The Visigoths remaining, made Giselick their Prince, a base sonne of Alarick; Amalarick, his Daughters sonne, being a child. But Theodorick coming with the Goths Army, the Franks raised their siege; and returning from thence, held the parts of Gaule beyond the Rhone to the Ocean; from which Theodorick could not drive them, and so let them keep it, and recovered the rest of Gaule. Giselick also being dead, he made Amalarick his Daughters son Prince of the Visigoths, and himselfe protector of the Child, and out of Carcassona he took the Treasures, and returned to Ravenna. His ayme was to make the Dominion of Spaine and Gaule his owne for ever, sending Forces thither, and Governors, whom he appointed to send the tributes to him, which (not to appear avaricious) he gave as a yearly donative to his Armies of Goths and Visigoths: who upon this occasion, of having one Prince and the same Country, married with one another, and mingled their races: And afterwards Theudis a Goth (whom Theodorick sent to command the Army) married a Wife of a rich Family of the Spaniards, no Visigoth, but very wealthy, and Lady of a great countrey. He had 2000. Souldiers, and a strong guard of Lanciers, and was in shew as Theodoricks Governour of the Visigoths, but in effect an usurper.

Theodorick grown now an absolute wife man, fearing least while he had a Warr with his owne servant, the Franks might assaile him, and the Visigoths rebell, he discharged not Theudis of his command, but still upon any Warr directed him to lead the Army. Only he got some principall Goths to write to him, that he should do both justly, and as a wife man, to goe to Ravenna, and salute Theodorick. He continued obedient to Theodoricks command, and failed not in the annuall tribute, but to Ravenna he would neither goe, nor promise it.

Theodorick being dead, the Franks invaded the Thuringians, killed their Prince Hermenfridus, and held them in subjection. Hermenfridus his Widow fled to Theodatus her Brother, then King of the Goths. Afterward the Franks vanquished the remaining Burgundians in a Battaille, and kept their Prince close prisoner in a Castle; they used them as men conquered in Warre, made them serve in their Armies, and their Countrey tributary which they dwelt in before. Amalarick Prince of the Visigoths, being at mans estate, and fearing the Franks greatnesse, married the Sister of their King Theudibert: And Gaule he gave to Alarick his cozen german, King of the Goths. So that Gaule on this side the Rhone the Goths had, and that beyond it was subject to the Visigoths: And they agreed to suppress the tribute imposed by Theodorick; And the said Alarick fairly restored to Amalarick the treasures taken out of Carcassona by Theodorick.

The two Nations being joyned thus in alliance, who had married any Wife of the other, might either goe with his Wife, or bring her home to his owne kindred; And some (as they pleased) brought home their Wives, others followed them. Amalarick afterward offended his Wives brother, and was ruined. He was an Arian, and permitted not his Wife, being orthodoxall, to use her countrey fashions, nor religion; but for her not applying her selfe to his customes, hee used her with much disrespect.

The Lady acquainted her Brother with her grievance, which put the Franks and Visigoths into a War; and in a Battaille long and stoutly fought, Amalarick was vanquished, with losse of many, and of his own life. Theudibert received his Sister with all her goods, and so much of Gaule as the Visigoths held. The survivors with their Wives and Children went into Spaine to Theudis, who now openly usurped.

Note.
Beyond the
Rhine in re-
spell of Italy.

From the Pœe
and Gallia
Cis-Alpina to
the Rhone.

Namely Gallia
a Narbonensis,
or rather
some part of it.

ped. So then all Gaule was held by the Franks and Goths: But Theodatus King of the Goths, hearing of Belisarius landing in Sicily, made an accord with the Franks; That they should command in the Warr; and have the Goths part of Gaule, and twenty Centenaries of gold to assist them in this War. But before this treaty was finished, he dyed as hath been told.

CHAP. XII.

AND many of the Goths best men under Alaricus were Garrison'd in that part of Gaule; These Vitigis could not safely raise from thence, but thought them rather too weake for the Franks, who would certainly over-run that part of Gaule and Italy, if he with his Army went to Rome. So he called to him those Goths he trusted most, and said; "I call you here to impart an advice not pleasing perhaps, but necessary; and you must heare patiently, and in the present safe counsell what becomes you. Whose affaires are not according to their mind, such must obey necessity and fortune, and so manage the occasions presented. We are excellent well prepared for this War, five only that the Franks stand in our way; our ancient Enemies, with whom hitherto, though with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, we make our party good. But now (another Enemy appearing, against whom we must march) it behoves us to make peace with them. If they continue Enemies, certainly they will come with Belisarius; A common Enemy ever combines men in amity and mutuall ayde. And if we encounter them severally, we shall be beaten by both: So that it is better by losing a little, to save the maine of our Dominions, then by coveting all, to perish and loose all. My opinion is, if we give the Franks the parts of Gaule, bordering on them, they will lay down their quarrels, and joyne with us in the Warre. How to recover those parts upon our good successe, let none examine now: I remember an old saying; *To settle well the present.*

The principall Goths conceiving this course advantageous, resolved upon it, and Ambassadors were sent to the Franks, to surrender Gaule, and pay the money, and to conclude a Confederacy. The Princes of the Franks were then Childbert, Theudebert, and Clotaire, who received that Gaule with the money, and divided it proportionably to every mans dominion; They agreed to be firm friends to the Goths, and to send them succours, not Franks, but of the Nations subject to them. They could not enter into an open War with the Romans, having lately promised to joyne with the Emperour in this. The Ambassadors having dispatc'd, returned to Ravenna, and Vitigis sent for Marcius and his Troops.

Belisarius in this mean time prepared his journey for Rome. He appointed 360. Foot under Herodian for the guard of Naples. He put a Garrison into Cumæ to guard the Castle there; there being no strong place in all Campania, but Naples and Cumæ. In Cumæ they yet shew Sibyllas Cave, where her Oracle was. It is a maritime Towne, distant sixteen miles from Naples. Belisarius put his Army in order; but the Romans fearing the fortune of the Neapolitans, resolved to receive the Emperours Army, being moved thereunto chiefly by the Bishop of Rome, Liberius*. They sent one Fidelius, born in Milan, a City of Liguria, and formerly Quaestor to King Alaricus, inviting Belisarius, and promising to surrender the Citie. He led his Army by Via Latina, leaving Via Appia on his left hand; which Appia a Roman Consul made 900. years agoe; and it reaches five dayes journey from Rome to Capua: It is broad enough for two Carts a breast, and worth the sight; all the stones being of Mill-stone quarry, and very hard, and brought by Appian from a far countrey. They are smooth wrought, square, and close fastned, without brasse between, or any thing else. They are so well fastned and close, that one would thinke them to grow together. After so long a time trampling on by Carts, and Beasts every day, there is not the least chink in the pavement, nor any stone broken, nor worn out, nor that hath lost the brightnesse.

But the Gothish Garrison in Rome understanding the Enemies approach, and the

C c 2

Romans

Note.
Clotaire the
first Christian
K. of France
had 4. sonnes,
Childbert,
Theodorick,
Clotaire, and
Clodomir.
Clodomir di-
ed without is-
sue, and Child-
bert had his
partage; thus
Theodebert
was some of
Theodorick.
See Agathias,
lib. 1. cap. 1.

* Note.
He calls this
Bishop of
Rome in the
secre History
Silverius, and
so Helvicius in
his Chronology.

The taking of
Rome, Anno
11. Iustiniani,
Anno Dom.
337.

Romans intent, were troubled, being not able both to guard the Citie, and encounter the Enemy. So that by the Romans permission they left Rome, and went to *Ravenna*: Only *Lenderis* (ashamed it seems) staid behind. The same day and houre *Belisarius* entred Rome with the Emperours Army at *Porta Asinaria*, and the Goths went out at *Porta Flaminia*. Thus Rome was recovered in the 11. year of *Iustinian*'s Reign, sixty years after the last taking of it. The keys of it, and *Lenderis* *Belisarius* sent to the Emperour: He took care of the walls decayed in many places, and made the turrets tenable against an assault. He made Works upon the left side of every turret, to secure the Defendants left side from shot: And about the walls he drew a good deep ditch. The Romans commended the Generalls providence, and chiefly his skill in contriving the turrets: But they murmured, wondring he would enter Rome with an opinion of being besieged, a place unfit for a siege for want of provisions, being not upon the Sea, and having a huge compasse of walls, and in an open champion easily invested. But he, though he heard all this, yet still prepared for a siege. The corn he brought from *Sicily* he kept in publique Granaries, and he compelled the Romans (though they grumbled) to bring in all their provisions from their Farms.

CHAP. XIII.

AGOTH then, one *Pizus*, yielded to *Belisarius* halfe *Samnium*, lying upon the Sea, and the Goths there inhabiting to the River, which divides the country. The Goths on the other side the River, neither would follow *Pizus*, nor submit to the Emperour. *Belisarius* gave him some Souldiers to help to guard the Townes there. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians* having no Goths, had voluntarily before submitted to *Belisarius*, both in the Mid land, and upon the Sea-coast; Of which was *Beneventum*, anciently by the Romans called *Maleventum*; now *Beneventum*, to avoid the reproach of the name: for *Ventus* in Latine signifies the Wind: because in *Dalmatia* over against it uses to blow a rough wind, during which no Traveller is seen upon the wayes; they all shut themselves in their houses. The force of the wind is such, that it snatches up a Horse-man and his Horse together, carries them in the ayre, and throws them down and kills them. And *Beneventum* standing high, and over against *Dalmatia*, shares in the inconvenience of this wind. *Diomedes* built the Citie, being banisht from *Argos* after the destruction of *Troy*. It hath a monument of him, the teeth of the *Calydonian Bore*, the prize of *Melager* his Uncle in that famous hunting, which are still there, and worth the seeing, the circumference like a half-moon, being of three spans. Here they say *Diomedes* met with *Aeneas*, and according to *Minerva's* Oracle, gave him the Image stolen by him and *Ulysses* out of her Temple, when they came as spies into *Troy*, before the Citie could be taken. Afterward being sick, they say, he consulted the Oracle, which answered, that he should never have ease, unless he gave that Image to some *Trojan*. Where it is the Romans now know not, but shew the figure of it graven in stone, standing to my time in the Temple of *Fortune*, before the brazen Statue of *Minerva* in the open ayre, on the East-side of that Temple. It resembles *Minerva* fighting, and charging her Lance; yet in a long robe, and with a face not like her Grecian Statues, but as the ancient *Egyptians* made them. They of *Constantinople* say, that *Constantine* buried the Statue in the Market-place bearing his name. But *Belisarius* thus conquered Italy on this side the *Jonian* Gulph, to Rome and *Samnium*. On the other side *Constantianus* (as hath been said) got all, to *Liburnia*.

To speake something how Italy is inhabited; the *Adriatique* Sea discharges a stream farr into the firm Land, and makes the *Jonian* Gulph; Not as in other places, where the Sea running to the Land-ward, in the end makes an *Isthmus*, or neck of Land. As the *Chrisean* Gulph ending in the Haven of *Lechaum* by *Corinth*, makes there the *Isthmus*, being some five miles broad: And the Gulph *Melas* from the *Hellefpont* makes another of the same breadth in *Chersonesus*. Whereas from

Ravenna,

Ravenna, where ends the *Jonian* Gulph, to the *Tyrrhene* Sea, is eight days journey over land, by reason the current of that Sea is carried out farre to the South-ward. The first Towne on this side the *Jonian* Gulph is *Otranto* in *Apulia*. To the North of that Town is part of *Calabria* and *Samnium*: Next to which is *Picenia*, reaching to *Ravenna*. On the other side of that Town is the rest of *Calabria*, then *Bruttia*, and *Lucania*. Next to which is *Campania*, to the City of *Taracina*. To them adjoynes the Territory of Rome. These Nations hold both the shores of the *Mediterranean*, and all the Mid-lands that way. Here is that which was formerly called *Magna Gracia*. In *Bruttia* are seated the *Epizephyrian Locrians*, *Crotonians*, and *Thurians*. On the other side of the *Jonian* Gulph, first are the *Gracians* of *Epirus*, to *Epidamnus*, which stands upon the Sea. Bordering thereunto is the Province of *Preclis*: Beyond which it is called *Dalmatia*, accompted of the western Empire, and all beyond it, as *Liburnia*, *Istria*, and *Venetia*, reaching to *Ravenna*. Above these up into the Land are the *Siscians*, and the *Suevians* (not those subject to the *Franks*) and the *Carnians*, and *Noroi* beyond them. To the right hand of whom are the *Dacians* and *Pannonians*, holding *Singidon*, *Sirmium*, and other places, & extending to the river *Ister*. The Nations on that side the *Jonian* gulph, the Goths at the beginning of this war ruled. Beyond *Ravenna*, to the left hand, and by North of the *Poe*, are the *Ligurians*, and beyond them North-ward the *Albanians*, in an excellent Countrey, called *Languvilla*. To the West of these Nations are the *Gauls*, and then the *Spaniards*. To the South of the *Poe* is *Emilia*, and *Tuscany*, which reaches to the Territory of Rome.

But *Belisarius* took all the said territory of Rome to the *Tiber*, and fortified it round about; which being in good estate, he directed *Constantianus* with a band of his owne Targetiers, and with *Zanter*, *Chorsomanus*, and *Aschmannus*, *Hannes*, and some of his Life-guard, and other Forces to march into *Tuscany*, and take in the Towns there. And he gave order to *Belisarius* to take *Narnia*, a strong place in *Tuscany*. *Belisarius* was of the race of the Goths formerly inhabiting *Thrace*, but followed not *Theodorick* into Italy. He was valiant, a skilfull Souldier, and an excellent Captain, and very dextrous in his own person. He got *Narnia* by the Inhabitants good will; and *Constantianus* as easily took *Spoleum* and *Persia*, and some other Towns in *Tuscany*; the *Tuscans* willingly receiving him. He placed a Garrison in *Spoleum*, and himselfe with his Forces lodged in *Persia*, the chiefe Citie in *Tuscany*. *Vitigis* sent an Army against him under *Onilus*, and *Pizus*, whom *Constantianus* encountered in the Suburbs of *Persia*. At first, the Barbarians having advantage in numbers, the battaile was equal; but at last the Romans by their valour routed them, and killed them almost all; Their Commanders they sent prisoners to *Belisarius*. *Vitigis* upon this would stay no more at *Ravenna*, where he attended *Marcias* and his Troops. First he sent an Army under *Asinarius* and *Oligisalus*, to recover *Dalmatia* to the Goths; directing them to get Barbarians out of *Snavia* to joyne with them, and so to march directly to *Salone*: Which to besiege by Sea also he sent along many Pinnaces. Then himself prepared to go against *Belisarius*, and Rome, with no lesse then 150000. Horse and Foot, the most of them armed, horses and Men. *Asinarius* raised an Army of *Suevians*; and *Oligisalus* led the Goths alone into *Liburnia*, where he fought with the Romans at a place called *Scardon*, was beaten, and retired to the City of *Burnus*, where he staid for *Asinarius*. *Constantianus* hearing of *Asinarius* his preparations, and fearing *Salone*, drew together the Souldiers garrison'd thereabout, made a Ditch about the City walls, and provided against a siege. *Asinarius* with a great levy of Barbarians came to *Burnus*, and joyning with *Oligisalus* march'd to *Salone*. They compass the Walls with their Trenches, and manning their Pinnaces with souldiers, blockt *Salone* to the Sea-ward, and so beleiged it by Sea and Land: But the Romans set sodainly upon their Pinnaces, scattered them, and sunck many with the men aboard, and took many, the men being gone. Yet the Goths raised not their siege, but were rather more eager upon the Romans within.

CHAP.

disordered with false alarms; himself would take care of those things. *Vitigis* (the Romans being in this tumult) sent a Commander named *Facis*, to *Porta Salaria*, who reviled there the Romans for their disloyalty to the *Goths*, and thus betraying their country, and indeed themselves, having exchanged the *Goths* power, for *Greeks*, unable to defend them; none of which nation were formerly seen in *Italy*, but stage-players, and some pilfering mariners. But seeing none would answer him, he went back to *Vitigis*. The Romans also flouted *Belisarius*, who had so hardly escaped, yet bade them despise these *Barbarians*; for he knew he should absolutely beat them. By what he knew this, shall be said anon; but now it being grown late, and he being yet fasting, his wife and friends had much ado to persuade him to eat something.

CHAP. XVI.

THE next day the *Goths* thinking with ease to enter *Rome*, by reason of the greatness of it; and the *Romans* defending it, were thus quartered. The city hath fourteen gates, and some posterns; but the *Goths*, unable to encompass the whole circuit thereof, made fixe intrenchments, and infelct the space of five Gates, from *Porta Flaminia* to *Porta Praenestina*. These were on this side the *Tiber*; But fearing least the enemy should take down *Pons Aelivius*, and so exclude them from all from the river to the sea, and thereby might not feel the inconveniences of the Siege; they made a seventh intrenchment on the other side of *Tiber*, in *Nero's* scilicet; that they might have the sayd bridge in the midst between their Camps. And so they infelct two gates more; *Porta Aurelia* (now named of *Peter*, the chiefe of *Christs* Apostles, lying buried neer unto it) and the Gate beyond the *Tiber*. Thus they incompassed half the city; and being not cut off by the River, made the warre in what part of it they pleased. The *Romans* have built their walls on both sides the River, thus. The *Tiber* grown great, runnes a good space by the walls on this side of it, which stand by the Rivers side, upon Ground flat, and very assaultable. Opposite to them beyond the *Tiber*, is a great hill, where stand the City mills; the water being brought by an *Aqueduct* to the hill top, and from thence descending with much swiftnesse: which caused the ancient *Romans* to compass this hill, and the Rivers bank neer it with a wall; that an Enemy might not demolish the mills, nor passe the River to assail the town walls; which with a bridge they joynd to this part; and building houses upon this ground beyond the *Tiber*, took the River into the midst of the City. The *Goths* also made deep ditches about their intrenchments; and casting the Earth inward, and therewith making the intrenchment very high, and pitching the top with multitude of stakes, they made their camps not inferior to so many Castles. The Entrenchment in *Nero's* fields *Alarcus* commanded, being come out of *Gaul* with his troops, and there quartered. The other were commanded by *Vitigis*, and five other; a Commander to every intrenchment. They cut also all the *Aqueducts*, to cut off the cities water that way: they are fourteen in all, ancient works of brick; and so deep and broad, that a man on Horse back may ride in them. But *Belisarius* to guard the City used this order; himself had *Porta Pinciana*, and *Porta Salaria* standing to the right hand of it, because the wall there is very assaultable; and being opposite to the Enemy, the *Romans* were to fallly there. He gave *Porta Praenestina* to *Bissus*, and to *Constantinus* *Porta Flaminia* (which stands to the left hand of *Pinciana*) and rammed up the gate with stones within, that it might not be opened; fearing the Enemies designs there, being close to one of their Entrenchments. The other gates he directed the commanders of the foot to guard. The *Aqueducts* he fortified a good space, to avoyd mischeife that way from without. But the *Aqueducts* being cut, they wanted water for their mills, and with beasts they could not worke, their scarce provisions of fodder (as in a siege) not sufficing for their horses of service. *Belisarius* to help this, tied cables before the bridge, that joynd to the City wall, from one bank of the river to the other, stretching them tiff, and fastning boats to them two foot afunder, where the stream from the arches

It was called
Porta Trium-
phalis, & Va-
ticana, and
was next to
Pons Trium-
phalis, Leand.
in descript.
Italix.
Mons Jani-
culus it was
called.

of the bridge ranne strongest; and putting into each boat a mill-stone, he hung the Engine between the boats which turns the Mill. Beneath these he tied other boats together in the same manner in a distance proportionable, fitting them with like Engines; and the stream being strong, and turning the Engines, set the Mill stones on worke, and grinded sufficient for the City. The Enemies informed hereof by fugitives, endeavored to spoil the Engines by throwing into the River great trees and bodies of *Romans* slain, and these being driven down with the stream, brake the Engines at first; but *Belisarius* had this remedy. He hung before the bridge iron chains a-crofs the River, which stopt all that came down the stream; which men appointed drew up to the land; and this he did not only for the mills, but to prevent the Enemies entrance with boats through the bridge into the midst of the City. The *Barbarians* failing in their attempt gave it over, and the *Romans* made use of those mills, but for want of water were shut from their Baths; they had sufficient to drinke, those who dwelt far from the River having the commodity of wells. Their common sewers they needed not secure, having all their mouths into the River; and so impossible to be entred by the Enemy.

In the mean time among the *Samnites*, their boyes who kept their sheep, chusing two of the lustiest, and calling one *Belisarius* and the other *Vitigis*, caused them to wrestle. It was *Vitigis* chance to be thrown; whom the boyes in sport hung on a tree, and suddenly a wolfe appearing, they all ran away, and poor *Vitigis* after a long time hanging in great pain dyed. The *Samnite* upon this accident punisht not the boyes, but divining at the event, beleived that *Belisarius* would get the Victory.

CHAP. XVII.

BUT the people of *Rome* not used to the miseries of warr, and a siege; and now wanting their baths, and pincht with scarcity, being put also to guard the walls, and want their sleepes; supposing too, that ere long their City would be taken, and seeing already their country farms spoiled by the Enemy; they murmured greivously to be besieged and run this hazard, having done no offence. So assembling themselves, they railed at *Belisarius* for presuming to make war with the *Goths*, having no competent forces from the Emperour, and the Senators privatly objected the same unto him. *Vitigis* understanding this from fugitives, to exasperate them yet more, and so to put the *Romans* affaires into confusion, he sent Ambassadors to *Belisarius*; among whom was one *Albes*, who having access to him in the presence of the Senate, and Commanders of the army, spake thus. Anciently, O Generall! men fitly defining names for things, have distinguished presumption from valour; the one drives men into danger with dishonour, the other with virtue brings abundantly glory. One of these hath brought you hither, and which of them you may quickly manifest. If in the confidence of your valour you have entred into this warr; you see from your walls your Enemies; and brave Sir, you have meanes to be valiant enough. If through presumption you have invaded us, you will certainly repent what you have rashly done, as over-weening men ever use when they come to the tryall: Adde not therefore more misery to these *Romans*, whom *Theodorick* hath bred in freedom and delights; and oppose not your self against the Lord of the *Goths* and *Italians*. How absurd is it for you, shut up thus, and afraid of your Enemies, to lodge in *Rome*, while her King lives in a trench, acting the mischeifes of a war upon his own Subjects? Yet will wee grant to you and your troopes a free retreat, and leave to carry away your goods; holding it not religious nor manly to insult upon men, who have learnt to be sober again. But we would willingly aske these *Romans* wherewith they can charge the *Goths*, that they thus have betrayed both us and themselves; having hitherto enjoyed our moderation, and now finding what your aides are. *Belisarius* to this speech made this answer. Our season for fighting shall not be at your disposing; men use not to make war by the advice of their Enemies, whose Law is for every man to order his owne business to his owne liking: The time

"will come when you would hide your heads in bushes, and shall not be able. We having taken *Rome*, possess nothing that is anothers. You usurped it formerly being not yours, and now have restored it to the ancient owners. And who ever of you hopes to enter *Rome* without fighting, he is mistaken. It is impossible *Belisarius* should live, and so much degenerate. Thus spake *Belisarius*. But the *Romans* for fear late mute, not daring to contradict the Ambassadors, though reproached thus with treachery. Only *Fidelius* was bold to reprove them, being Praefect of the palace made by *Belisarius*, and most affected to the Emperours Service. The Ambassadors were reconducted to the campe; whom *Vitigis* askt what manner of man *Belisarius* was, and how resolving, touching his retreat. They answered, that the *Goths* hoped an impossibility, if they thought to fright *Belisarius*; whereupon *Vitigis* resolved to assault the City; for which he was thus prepared. He made Towers of wood equall with the walls; having the iust measure of them by often numbring the stones: at the Bases and corners of the towers were wheeles, which with ease were moved and turned about as the assailants pleased, and drawn by oxen. He fitted also many Ladders, and made four Rammes; which Engin is made first setting up four wooden pillars equall and opposite to each other; into which are mortised eight crosse beames, four above and four into the Bases, making the form of a little house four square. This instead of rooffe and walls was covered with Skins, that it might be light to draw, and they within secure from shot. Within about the Engin aloft, hangs another crosse beam with loose chains, the top whereof is made sharpe, and over it a great quantity of iron layd as on the head end of an arrow, where the said iron is made four square like an anvill. The Engin is raised upon four wheeles, fastned to the four pillars; and within fifty men at least move it, who having set it to the walls, draw the said loose beam backward with a pully, then let it go with violence at the walls; and by often shooting it thus, it shakes and makes a breach where it hits: hence the Engin hath the name; the point of the said beam putting forth, and pushing like a ram. The *Goths* also had quantity of fagots of wood and reed ready, to make the ground and the City ditch even for their Engins to passe without rubb. *Belisarius* upon the other side placed upon the Towers engins called *Balisstæ*. These have the form of a bow, with a hollow horne sticking out beneath and hanging loose, but lying upon a strait peice of iron: when they are to shoothe, they bend the two peices of wood, making the two ends of the bow, with cord; and put the arrow upon the hollow horne, being halfe so long as common arrowes, and four times as thick. It mounts not with feathers, but instead thereof hath thinn peices of wood mortised in, and it is in shape wholly like common arrowes, having a head of iron proportionable to its thicknesse; men at both ends bend the bow with pullyes; and the hollow horne going forward, at last falls off, and out flies the arrow with such force, that it reaches twice as far as an arrow from a bow, and lighting upon tree or stone, cleaves it asunder. It is called *Balisstæ*, because *because* it shoothes very far. Other Engins were set upon the battlements proper for slingng stones, and are like slings, and are called wild Asses. At the Gates they set up wolves, made thus. They set two beams from the ground reaching to the battlements; and laying Chequer wise peices of Timber wrought, some upright and some a crosse, they joyn them so, that the mortelling holes meete one another. And before each joynnt ticks out a pointed peice of wood like a thick spur, and fastning the crosse timbers to another beam, which from the top reaches half way down, they lay the beams flat-long upon the Gates, & an Enemy approaching, men above lay hold of the higher ends of the beams and thrust them down, which falling suddenly among the Assailants with those wooden points sticking out, kill all they light on. *Belisarius* having these preparations, the *Goths* conducted by *Vitigis* himselfe the eighteenth day of the siege about sun rising, marcht to the assault. The Towers and Rams in the head of them astonishd the *Romans*, not used to such sights. But *Belisarius* seeing the Enemies order with their Engins, fell into a laughing, and bade the Souldiers stand and begin no fight, till he gave the signall. He imparted not the reason of his laughing, but afterward it was known: The *Romans* thinking he jeer'd them, railed at him, and called him an impudent man; and extremely murmured, that he did not stop the Enemy coming neerer still. Who being approacht the town ditch, the Generall bent his bow and shot an arrow at him, sending the rest

These wolves
were something
like Potcullif-
fies,

into

into the neck; and the wound being mortall, the man fell downe with his face upward. All the people of *Rome* upon the Battlements taking it for an excellent preface, made a huge shout. *Belisarius* shot again, with the like fortune, and againe there was a greater shout from the walls, that the *Romans* within thought the Enemy had been vanquishd. Then *Belisarius* gave the signall to the whole Army to shoot, and commanded those about himselfe, to employ all their Arrows against the Oxen; which soone fell all, and so the Enemy could neither bring on their Towers, nor invent any remedy, being puzzel'd in the midst of their busines. Then was known *Belisarius* providence, not to stop them afar off; and that he laughed at their sottishnesse, in hoping to bring their Oxen to their Enemies walls so unadvlsly. These things were about *Porta Belisaria*.

CHAP. XVIII.

BUT *Vitigis* being there repulsed, left a good part of the Army, ordered in a deep Battallion; and directing the Commanders, not to assault the walls, but to stand in their orders, and ply the Battlements with shot, to divert *Belisarius* from succouring another part (which with greater Forces hee meant to assault) he marched toward *Porta Praenestina*, to that part which is called *Vivarium* (or the Park) where the Walls are most assaultable, having other Engins of Rammes, Towers, and scaling Ladders. The *Goths* also made another assault against *Porta Aurelia*; without which stands *Adrians* Tomb, a stones cast from the walls, worth the sight. It is made of *Parian* stone close joyned, without any other matter within. It hath four equall squares, each being neer a stones cast broad, and is higher then the City walls. On the top are Statues of the same stone of men and horses, of admirable worke. This tombe the Citizens have anciently joyned to the walls by two Flanckers from the same; that it shews as a turret defending the gate there. The Fortification being very sufficient, *Belisarius* gave the command of it to *Constantianus*, directing him to take care of the wall adjoining, which had but a small guard. For the wall being there strong (the river running under it, he look't not for an assault that way, and so put no important guard at it; distributing his maine Forces (which were but few) to the most necessary places. For the Emperours Army at the beginning of this liege amounted but to five thousand men in *Rome*.

Constantianus perceiving the Enemy to attempt a passage over the *Tiber*, and fearing the Flanker there, himselfe went to the succour with a few, directing the rest to guard the Gate and *Adrians* tomb. Where the *Goths* gave on, holding before them their leather Bucklers like *Persian* Targets, and having no engines of Batteries, but store of scaling Ladders and Archery, thinking quickly to perplex the Enemy, and master the Garrison being few. Their opposites saw them not, till they came very neer, being covered by the *Porticus*, which reaches to *Saint Peters* Church. Then suddenly the *Goths* shewing themselves, began; and the *Romans* were not able to use their *Balisstæ* (which can shoot but right forward) nor with their Archery to annoy them, the shot doing no good by reason of those Bucklers. The *Goths* prest hard, and shot thick at the Battlements, and were ready to set their Ladders to the Flanckers, having almost encompassed the tomb, and when the *Romans* came on, still wheeling about at their backs. The *Romans* were troubled, seeing no hope of holding out, till they agreed to take down the Statues being great, and the stones huge, which they threw down upon the Enemies heads. Who being hurt, gave ground by little and little, and the *Romans* grew bold, and repelled them with their Bowes and stones; and falling to their Engines, put them into feare, so that their assault was not long. And *Constantianus* appearing, frighted those who attempted to passe the River, not finding the Flanker there without guard, as they imagined.

Thus the *Aurelian* gate was in safety, and all about it. The Enemy also attempted *Porta Pancratiana* upon the River, but did no good upon the place, being strong, and

and the walls not easily assaultable there, standing on steep ground. *Paulus* with his Foot company guarded there. Neither attempted they *Porta Flaminia*, situate upon craggy ground, not easie of access, and guarded by a Foot-company of *Rhigiens*, commanded by *Ursicinus*. Between this gate and *Porta Pinciana*, next it on the right hand, part of the wall had been long broken halfe way down from the top. It fell not, but panch't on both sides, part appearing inward, and part outward: whence the *Romans* call it the broken wall. *Belisarius* at his first coming, going about to repair it, the *Romans* hindered him, alleading that the Apostle *Peter* had promised to guard the place, whom above all they reverence. And it succeeded according to their expectation: For neither that day, nor during all the siege of *Rome* the Enemy ever approacht it, nor was the least trouble about it. And we wondered in all the time, that the place never came into the Enemies thoughts, having made so many assaults, and attempts by night. No man since hath been so bold as to repair it, but still the wall remains broken. At *Porta Salaria* in the meane time, a tall goodly man, valiant, and of good quality among the *Goths*, being armed with Corset and Morion, left his ranke; and standing on a tree, threw a rope up to the Battlements, whom an arrow from a *Balista* piercing through his body halfe way into the tree, nailed him dead to the fame. This frightened the *Goths* from coming within arrow-shot, and kept them in their ranks, from infesting any more those upon the walls.

CHAP. XIX.

IN the meane time *Bessus* and *Perantius* (whom *Vitiges* hotly charged in the *Vivarium*) sent for *Belisarius*. And he speedily came to their reliefe, fearing the weaknesse of the wall in that part; and leaving at *Porta Salaria* one of his retinew, He encouraged the Souldiers in the Park, frighted with the assault, and the Enemies multitude. Anciently the *Romans* finding the ground flat, and fit for invasion, and the bricks of the wall there grown loose, scarce sticking together, compassed the same with a Flanker, not so much for safety (for it had no Battlements, nor other Fortification upon it, to resist an Enemy) but for pleasure, to keep in it Lions, and other wild Beasts, whereupon it was named *Vivarium*, the Park. *Vitiges* made ready his Engines against the wall there, and commanded the *Goths* to get through the Flanker into the Park, and then he knew he should be easily master of the Town-walls, being weak. *Belisarius* seeing the Enemy digging through into the Park, and in many parts assaulting the walls, suffered not his men to defend, nor stay upon the Battlements, but held them, with their swords and Armour ready neer unto the Gate there. The *Goths* having now cut through the wall, and entered the Park, he sent out *Cyprianus* with his company to begin the fight; who killed them all, falling downe for feare, and spoiled by one another, running out at their narrow breach: the whole Enemy being amazed with the suddenesse, and out of their orders, and some carried one way, some another. *Belisarius* instantly opened the Gate, and sallied with the whole Army; And the *Goths* having no mind to fight, ran away every man; whom the *Romans* followed, and killed them with ease, and had a long execution; the *Goths* having assaulted there far from their Entrenchments. *Belisarius* commanded to burn the Enemies Engines, which with the flame (being high) more astonied them. At *Porta Salaria* also they sallied at the same time unexpectedly, killed the Enemy running away without resistance, and burnt their Engines. The flame rose above the walls, which put them all to a generall retreat: the *Romans* from the walls shouting to encourage the pursuers; and the others from the Entrenchments waiting the disaster. Thirty thousand *Goths* were slain that day (as their Commanders affirmed) and more wounded. For from the Battlements shooting at multitudes, they seldom mist; and they who sallied, slew heaps of amazed flying men, and the businesse lasted from morning to evening. At night they retreated; the *Romans* singing their *Pans* upon the walls, extolling *Belisarius* with acclamations, and some stripping

ping the dead bodies; and the *Goths* curing their wounded, and mourning for their dead. *Belisarius* also wrote to the Emperour this letter.

"We are come into *Italy*, according to your commands, and have gained a great part of the Country, and taken *Rome*, expelling the *Goths*, whose Commander *Leuderis* we send. But in the strong places of *Sicily* and *Italy* (which we took by siege) we have left the greatest part of our Armie; that it is now reduced to 5000 men, the Enemy assailing us with 150000. First, going out to discover the Enemy neer the *Tiber*, we were put to fight beyond our determination, and were almost overwhelmed with the multitude of their Lances. Afterward they made a generall assault with men and Engines on all sides, and failed little of taking *Rome* at the first assault, if fortune had not refused us. Hitherto what hath been done by fortune, or valour, hath succeeded well: But now I must entreat, what may conduce to your future service. I will never conceal what it behoves me to say, and you to do. I know affaires goe as God guides them, but the Governours of them get blame or commendation by the actions they perform. So that Armes must be sent us, and such numbers of Men, as that we may encounter the Enemy with equivalent powers. We must not ever trust to fortune, which runs not always one way. And consider, O Emperour! That if the *Goths* now beat us, we shall loose *Italy* (now yours) and our Army too; besides the disgrace for our ill carriage of the businesse. And we shall also undoe the *Romans*, who have preferred their faith to your Empire before their safety; and so will our prosperity prove the occasion of our calamity. For if we had been repulsed from *Italy*, or before from *Sicily*, the lightest of misfortunes would have troubled us only; not to be rich with other mens goods. You are to consider also, that *Rome* was never before kept so long, with many thousands; it compasses so much ground: and being not upon the Sea, it is excluded from necessities. The *Romans* yet are well affected to us, but the prolongation of their miseries will make them choofe the best for themselves. New freinds to any men, keep faith, not when they suffer, but when they prosper by them. Besides, the *Romans* will by famine be forced to do things they would not. I know I owe my death to your Majesty, so that none shall ever pull me out of this place alive; But think, what glory such a death of *Belisarius* will bring you.

The Emperour upon this letter gathered an Army and Ships, and sent direction to *Valerianus*, and *Martianus*, who were dispatched with an Army about the Winter Solstice, to saile for *Italy* with all speed; but not able to keep the Sea further, went on Land, and wintered in *Atolia*, and *Ararnonia*. The Emperour advertised *Belisarius* thereof, which much comforted him and the *Romans*.

In the mean time in *Naples* this happened. The Image of *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths* stood in the Market-place, made of small pebble stones, dyed into all colours. In his life time the stones of the head of this Image peeled and shed off, and presently after he dyed: Eight years after, the pebbles forming the Images belly dropt off, and instantly *Atalwick* dyed, *Theodoricks* daughters son: soon after fell off the pebbles upon the privities, and then his daughter *Amalsynthia* was murdered. And now the *Goths* besieging *Rome*, the limbs down to the Images feet were in the same manner spoiled, and the whole out-side defaced; and the *Romans* divining upon it, were confident of the Emperours prevailing in this Warr; taking *Theodoricks* seete for his Subjects, the people of the *Goths*. In *Rome* also some *Patricians* produced Oracles of *Sibylla*, that the Cities danger would last but till *July*; when the *Romans* should have a King, through whom they should no more feare *Geticke* Nations: And the *Goths*, they say, are a Nation of *Getes*. In the Oracle it is the fifth moneth, which they interpreted *July*; some, because the siege began in the beginning of *March*, from which *July* is the fifth; others, because before *Numa* March was the first moneth, there being but ten in all, whence *July* was called *Quintilis*. But this was mistaken all. For the *Romans* had no such King, and the siege was raised after that time, and another siege was under *Tatilis* King of the *Goths*, as shall be said hereafter. I conceive the Prophecie to intend not this, but some other invasion of *Barbarians*, happened already, or to come: And to find the meaning of *Sibylla's* Oracles before the event, is not possible, for a cause I shall tell you, having read them all over. *Sibylla* utters not things in order, nor with any congruity. Having

Belisarius defended Rome with 5000 against 150000 Goths.

their heels: who being neere the Walls, the Engineers fell to work with their Engines, and then the *Goths* gave over the Chase. In this Action were kill'd a 1000. *Goths*. Some few daies after *Belisarius* sent out *Mundilus*, one of his Guard, his Favourite, and *Diogenes*, extraordinary good Souldiers, with 300. of his Targetiers, to do the like, and they did so; and killed rather more of the Enemy, then fell before, and in the same manner. The third time he sent out *Oilas*, one of his Life-guard, who performed upon the Enemy the same things; So that with these three Sallies he killed about 4000. Enemies. *Vitigis* (who conceived not the difference between training men to their Armes in Camps, and an experimentall perfectness in the Actions of War) though by charging also with small Forces to indamage the Enemy. And so he sent 500. Horse to approach the Walls, and what they had suffered from a few, to act upon the Enemies whole Army. These got to a rising ground neere the City, onely out of Arrow shot, and there stood. *Belisarius* commanded *Bessus* with a 1000. selected men to charge them: These made a compasse, and shooting the Enemies backs, killed many, and forced the rest to come downe to the plaine ground, where the Fight being with Sword and Lance, and with unequal powers, the *Goths* were most cut in peices, and the rest retired with difficulty to their Campe; whom *Vitigis* reviled, as beaten through want of Valour. Three daies after he sent out 500. selected out of all the Quarters, and had them do as became their Valour and Reputation. *Belisarius* seeing them approach, sent against them *Alaricus* and *Valerianus* with their 1500. Horse, who exceeding the Enemy so much in numbers, with ease routed them, and killed almost every man. The Enemy thought it strang ill Fortune, to be beaten before, being many, by a few, and now being few, to be cut in peices.

CHAP. XXII.

BUT the Romans extolled *Belisarius* for his Wisdome; admiring him, as they had reason. One of his Favourites askt him, what Argument he saw that day wherein he escaped the Enemy, to be so full of the hope of Victory. He answered, that beginning to fight with them with a few in his Company, he found the difference of either Army, such as if he make his Fights proportionable to his Powers, the Enemies multitude shall not ruine his small numbers. The difference was, that the Romans almost all, and the auxiliary *Hunnes* were Archers on Horse-back; a matter not practised by the *Goths*, whose Horse-men have only Lances and Swords, and all their Archers fight on foot, covered with their armed men; so that the Horse-men, unlesse the Fight be at handy blowes, having nothing to resist with, are easily shot and ruined by the Enemy, using Bowes; and their Foot cannot make excursions against Horse. These he alleadged to be the reasons of their being beaten in the former Encounters. But the *Goths* finding how strangely things fell out, would no more ride up to the Walls in small Parties, nor pursue the Enemy infelting, but so much only as to drive them from their Trenches. The Romans exalted with these Prosperities, longed to come to a generall Battell, and would have the War made in an open brave way: but *Belisarius* seeing the great odds against him, was fearfull to hazard his whole Army; at last wearied with the railings of the Army, and Roman Citizens, he resolved to give Battell; but to begin with Excursions. Often he was repulsed attempting, and forced to put it off till the next day: But at last finding the Enemy advertised by fugitives what would be, and beyond his Expectation in readinesse, he determined to fight in the open way, which the *Goths* gladly entertained; And both Parties being Imbattelled, *Belisarius* made this Speech to his Army. Fellow Souldiers, I have been backward to come to a Battell with the Enemy, not condemning you of faintnesse, nor fearing their Powers; but because in this way of Excursions we have prospered, and I thought it best to ply the cause of our prospering; holding it inconvenient, for men setled in a course to their mind, to be altered by others. But seeing now your forwardnesse to hazard, I hope well, and will be no further a stop to your Courage; knowing that in War, the Resolutions of those that fight, contribute the

“the greatest part of the Successe, and that most things are acted by their Alacrity. And your selves know, not by heare-say, but by your daily experience, that few, well ordered with Valour, can conquer multitudes. It is now in your power not to blemish the glory of my former Stratagems, nor my hope in this your Alacrity. All we have acted in this War, must be judged by the Successe of this day. The present opportunity is for us, and in likely-hood will subdue the Enemy to us, their Courage being dejected by what is past; and the Resolutions of men often unfortunate, seldom performing valiantly. Let none therefore spare his Horse, or Bow; what is spoiled in Fight, shall instantly be supplied by me. *Belisarius* having thus said, led out the Army at *Porta Pinciana*, and *Salaria*. *Valentinus* a Captain of Horse, he sent out at *Porta Aurelia* to *Nero's* Fields, with not many; whom he directed not to begin any Fight, nor to approach the Enemies Campe, but still to make countenance of charging, thereby to keep the Enemy there from passing the Bridge, to succour the other Quarters. For he held it enough to cut off those in *Nero's* Fields (being many) from succouring the rest of the Enemy. The Commons of *Rome* being Voluntaries, he would not mingle with the Souldiers in the Battell, fearing, least being handicrafts men, unexperienced in War, they might upon apprehension of the danger disorder the Army. So he commanded them to stand in a Battallion without *Porta Pancratiana* beyond the *Tiber*, till he gave the Signall; imagining that which fell out, that the Enemy in *Nero's* Fields (who were in great numbers) seeing them, and *Valentinus* Troopes, would not venter out of their quarter to joyne with the rest of the Gothick Army; and to keep them divided, he took to be a matter of great Importance. He resolved also that day to fight with Horse onely; for most of the Foot having holne Horse from the Enemy, and being skillfull Riders, were turned Horse-men. And so his Foot being few, not able to make a Battallion of any Importance, nor daring to fight, but in case to run away at the first charge, he thought it safest to place them not far from the City, and caused them to stand still close to the City Ditch, to receive the Horse if they were beaten back, and being fresh, to help to resist the Enemy. But *Principius* one of his Guard, a *Pindian*, and an approved Souldier, and *Tarmatus* an *Isaurian*, Brother to *Emmes*, Colonnell of the *Isaurians*, came to *Belisarius*, and said this. Excellent Generall, suffer not your small Army encountering so many thousands, to want your Battallion of Foot, nor put not a disgrace upon the Roman Infantry, by which the Empire of the ancient Romans arrived to so much greatnesse. If in this War they have done little Service, it is no Argument of their Cowardise, but their Commanders are to beare the blame, for serving on Horse-back, and not esteeming the Fortune of the War common to all, nay often running away before the Fight. Now you see our Foot Commanders all Horse-men, not contented to serve with those under their Conduct; And keep them, Sr. with the other Horse in this Battell, but suffer us to leide on the Foot; and we alighting on foot, will with them stand this multitude of *Barbarians*, hoping to do something, as God shall give us Grace. *Belisarius* at first would not grant this Motion, loving the men whom he knew valiant, and unwilling to put the Foot (being few) to the hazard; at last importuned with their forwardnesse, he placed some few Foot at the Gates, and upon the Battlements with the common People. and about the Engines; the rest he commanded to stand in order behind him, under *Principius*, and *Tarmatus*, that they might not by apprehending danger, put the rest of the Army in confusion; and if any Horse were routed, they might not run far, but flying to the Foot, with them resist the Pursuers.

* Pons Milvius, which stood some thing distant from the City.

CHAP. XXIII.

VITIGIS also put the *Goths* in armes, not leaving any in the Trenches but unserviceable men. The troopes under *Marcias* hee commanded to stand still in *Nero's* feilds attending the Guard of the bridge, that the Enemy might not come that way; and assembling the Army he spake thus, "Some may thinke me fearfull of the losse of my Kingdome, and from thence growne kind, and to speak now what may move you to courage: and it is no strange conceit, for ill natur'd men use to be courteous to meaner people when they need them; and to be churlish to those whose service they have no use of. For me; I care neither for losse of life, nor Kingdome: I could wish this day to put off this purple robe, if a Goth were to put it on; and I think the death of *Theodatus* to have been very happy, loosing his life and Government at once, by the hands of his own Nation: A private disaster, not ruining the whole race, is not without comfort to a wise man. When I consider the miseries of the *Vandales*, and the end of *Gelimer*, I can think nothing tollerable. Me thinks I see the *Goths* with their children made slaves, and their wives doing the basest services to their greatest foes; and my self, with this Daughter of *Theodoricks* daughter, led away whether it pleases our Enemies I would have you with the fear of these things to enter into this fight; for so will you rather chuse death upon the place, then safety after an overthrow. Generous men judge of misfortunes by one rule only; namely to be vanquish'd by their Enemies: Besides, a quick Death makes men happy before miserable. And it is evident that these our choice men disputing this battell will easily overcome the Enemy, (a few *Greeks*, or no better then *Greeks*) and chastise them for the wrongs and scorn they have done us. Certainly we hold our selves their betters in valour, numbers, and every thing; and their boldnesse is grown out of our misfortunes, nothing sustains them but our negligence; it is their prospering beyond their deserts that feeds their confidence. *Vitigis* having used this Exhortation, marshalled his army. He placed his bataillion of foot between the wings of horse very neer their intrenchments, that having routed the Enemy they might overtake them the better, and have the Execution in a great way of Ground. For by reason the Enemies army was much inferior in powers, he hoped that the battell coming to Sword and Lance, they would not be able to stand them. They began on both sides early in the morning, *Vitigis* and *Belisarius* encouraging their men in their Rears. At first the Romans had the Letter, and the *Goths* fell thick by the shot: but there was no rout; the *Goths* with their great numbers easily supplying the slain, that the losse was not seen; and the *Romans* being few thought it enough to be at this point, to continue the fight up to the entrenchments, and having killed many to return to the city with the full faire pretence. In this Encounter three Romans did belt; *Athenodorus* an *Isaurian*, one of the life Guard to *Belisarius*, of good reputation; and *Theodoret* and *George*, *Cappadocians*, and of the Life Guard to *Martinus*; who still sallied out of their bataillion, and kept off the Barbarians. In *Nero's* feilds both sides stood still a long time, onely the Moores made excursions darting their Javelins, and infested the *Goths*, who would not charge them for fear of the common people, whom they tooke to be Souldiers; and to stand there with some design to get their backs and by shooting them both waies to ruine them. About noon suddenly the Romans there gave on, and routed the *Goths* amazed with the suddennesse who could not fly to their quarter, but got up to some hill and there stood. The Romans (though many) were most an unarmed multitude; many mariners and Servants being mingled with Souldiers, and the main army being else where; yet terrifying the *Goths* with their numbers they thus routed them; but by their disorder undid themselves. For the Souldiers being so mingled fell into confusion, and were deaf to all the directions of *Valentinus* their Commander; They not so much as followed the Enemy nor killed any, but gave them leave quietly upon the hills to view what they did. Neither came it into their minds

to

to cut the bridge which had excluded the Enemy from beyond the Tiber, and from besieging *Rome* on both sides: nor by passing the bridge, did they charge the Enemies backs fighting with *Belisarius* Troops; which had put the Enemy to flight doubtlesse without resisting any longer; but they turn'd to pillage the Enemies quarter, and carryed away much silver vessell and other Goods. The Barbarians where they were, stood still a while to see what they did. At last all together shouting, and with much fury they charged them; and finding them pillaging and in confusion, they killed many, and drave away the rest; who threw away their pillage and ran away. Whilst this was doing in *Nero's* feilds, the other *Goths* neere their quarters fencing with their sheilds resisted the Enemy, and killed many men, and more horses. The Romans some wounded, some having lost their Horses, left their ranks, and then in the army (small before) the fewnesse was more apparant, and their great disproportion to the *Goths* multitude; which the Barbarian horse perceiving, from the left wing gallopt toward the Enemy next them. They not abiding the *Goths* Lances, fled to their bataillion of foot, who stood not the charge neither, but ran away together with the horse; and presently the whole army retired with the Enemy at their heeles, and it was an absolute route. But *Principius* and *Tarmutus* with some few foot did things worthy their valour, and made a stand; fighting, and not induring to be routed, and the *Goths* admiring their resolution. By their means the foot, and most of the horse escaped with more ease. *Principius* with his body hewen in peices fell upon the place, and neer him two and forty of the foot. But *Tarmutus* with an *Isaurian* Javeling in either hand kept off the assailants, and being spent with perpetuall knocks, his Brother came to his succour with some horse, which revived him, that with full speed he ran to the walls full of sweat and wounds, and having still both his Javelins. Being a strong man and swift, hee got cleer (though in that case) as far as to *Porta Pinciana*, where he fell downe. His companions thinking him dead, brought him in upon a sheild. He survived onely two dayes and then dyed, leaving a great name behind him in the whole Army. The Romans within were terrified, guarded the walls, and tumultuously shut the gates against the flying souldiers, fearing the Enemy might enter with them pell mell. Such Souldiers, as had not gotten within the walls already, leapt over the ditch, and with their backs to the walls stood trembling, unable to keep off the *Goths* (ready to leap over the Ditch to them) in regard their Lances were broken, and their bowes they could not use standing so close to one another. While few were on the battlements, the *Goths* prest on to cut them in peices, and all that were left behind; but when they saw numbers of Souldiers and common people upon the battlements ready to resist, they rode back despairing thereof after some railing words. And thus the fight, which began at the *Goths* Trenches, ended at the ditch and city Wall.

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THE



THE
C O N T E N T S
 OF THE SECOND BOOK
 Of the *GOTHICK* VVarre.

Chap. I.

S KIRMISHES by Belfas, Peranius, Constantianus, wherein the Goths are routed. A Roman and a Goth, being both fallen into a pit, agree as friends to get out. The valour, rashness, and death of Chorfomantis.

II.

Treasure arrives from Constantinople: Many brave Skirmishes divert the Goths from hindring the entry thereof into Rome. Cutilas, Buchas bravely end their lives. Arzes strange recovery of a hurt.

III.

The Goths block up Rome, which causes a Famine and a plague. Belifarius refuses to fight at the peoples importunity, and sends Procopius and Antonina to Naples, and also sends out parties to cut off the Goths forragers.

IV.

The Goths by garriſons abroad are brought to Famine and Peſtilence. Mount Veſuvius bellowed. New forces from Constantinople. Belifarius iſſues out at Porta Flaminia, and puts the enemy into deſpair.

V.

The Goths deſpair, and ſend an Ambaſſage of peace. Their offer of Sicily, Campania, Naples is reſuſed. They have leave to ſend to the Emperour.

VI.

A ceſſation. Proviſions are brought into Rome, and new forces. Portus, Centuncella, and Alba ſurpriſed by the Romans. The Goths long to break the ceſſation. Belifarius ſends out John with ſtrong forces..

Upon

VII.

Upon a quarrell between Belifarius and Valerianus, the later loſes his life: the Goths tryed to enter the City by an Aqueduct; but failed: as in another deſign, and in an aſſault.

VIII.

John proſpers, takes Ariminum, which made the Goths raiſe their ſiege of Rome: who in their retreat receive a great overthrow. Ildiger and Martinus are ſent to John; and Vitigis puts garriſons in the ſtrongeſt places.

IX.

Ildiger and Martinus take Petra-pertuſa. Vitigis beſieges Ariminum; is beaten off with his tower, and reſolves to ſamiſh it.

X.

Mundilas overthrowes the Goths, and ſeizes upon Millane: Vitigis comes with his army, and an aid of an 10000 Burgundians, ſent by Theodibert K. of the Franks. Millane is beſieged by the Goths, and Ancona; which is aſſaulted, but preſerved by two of Belifarius his Life-guard.

XI.

A digreſſion touching the Herulians; who being overthrowen by the Lombards, ſome of them come into Illyrium and make league with the Emperour Anaſtaſius; others went to the Iſland of Thule.

XII.

The deſcription of Thule. The Scritifini. The Herulians near Illyrium ſend thither for a King to their kiſmen already planted there. They ſent one; but before they had demanded of Juſtinian, one Suartuas, the countryman; whom they expelled, and took him that came from Thule: upon this occaſion they revolt from the Romans.

XIII.

Belifarius, by the opinion of Narſes, is brought to relieve John in Ariminum. A ſtrange child nurſed by a ſhee-goat.

XIV

The ſiege of Ariminum raiſed by a ſtratagem of Belifarius. Narſes raiſes a faction againſt him.

XV.

Urbium deſpiſed of by Narſes, but taken by Belifarius upon compoſition with half the army. John takes in Emilia. Belifarius beſieges Urbiven-
 A di-

XVI.

A digression concerning a generall famine wasting Italy : Millane in danger is not relieved, as it should, by Martinus, and Uliaris; nor by John.

XVII.

Millane for want of relieving is miserably destroyed, and 300000 men slain; the rest made slaves. John attending Narfes direction, and not joyning with Martinus by Belisarius's command, caused this ruine.

XVIII.

Narfes is sent from home : The Herulians abandon the army. Vitigis sends Ambassadors to Chosroes, to provoke him against Justinian. Belisarius sends out forces, to favour his intended siege of Auximum and Ravenna.

XIX.

Belisarius blocks up Auximum : The Romans are beaten by an Ambush, for want of knowing the use of Trumpets. Vitigis promises to relieve the Town, but only sends Uraias, who lyes close by the Romans, neither having a mind to fight.

XX.

The Francks, or Germans, come into Italy with 50000 men against both parts; and route 2 armies of each. But are ruined with sicknesses, and retire, having lost a third part of their army.

XXI.

The Goths in Auximum endure much; convey letters to Vitigis by Burcentius, a Roman souldier: which practise is discovered by the stealing of a Goth by a Slavonian, and is punished by burning Burcentius alive.

XXII.

In a fight about breaking of a cisterne, the Goths are routed, by the valour cheifly of 7 Armenians: Fesula is yeilded to Cyprian by composition; and Auximum to Belisarius after much induring.

XXIII.

The Poe strangely is so low, that the Goths provisions are intercepted. The Goths refuse the Francks motion to divide Italy. Belisarius hires one to burn the magazines of Ravenna: Castles upon Alpes Cottiae are taken in by the Romans.

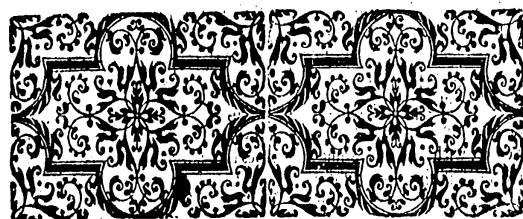
XXIV.

The Emperour offers a peace. Belisarius mislikes the conditions, though the Commanders approved it. The Goths offer him the kingdome, which hee seems to accept; and thereby takes Vitigis, and the principall Goths, and Ravenna with their own consents.

XXV.

Belisarius is sent for home: Uraias refuses to be King of the Goths. They chuse Ildebad; and by his advice importune Belisarius to take the Kingdome: He constantly refuses, and goes towards Constantinople.

THE



THE
HISTORY OF THE WARRS
of the Emperour
JUSTINIAN.
Of the GOTHICK WARRE, the
second BOOK.

CHAP. I.



THE Romans durst no more hazard their whole Army with the Goths, but skirmished with the Goths (as before) with their Horse. Both of them were lined with Foot marching at their Horses sides; and ever the Romans had the better of the Barbarians. Bessas in one Encounter, charging the Enemy with his Lance, killed three of their best Horse-men, and made the rest run away. Constantianus at another time, led the Hunnes into Nero's Fields about the Evening, and finding himselfe over-matcht in numbers, he did thus. Upon a great old *Stadium* standing there (where formerly the Fencers used to combat) are many houses built, and consequently divers narrow Lanes. Constantianus not able to Encounter the Goths multitude, nor yet safely to run from them, caused the Hunnes to alight from their Horses, and with them made a stand in a narrow Lane; and shooting the Enemy from a secure place, killed many. The Goths a while stood their shot, hoping when the Hunnes Quivers were empty, to take them all Prisoners good cheap; But they being good Archers, and shooting at a multitude, almost at every shot killed an Enemy, that halfe their number appeared to be lost. And being about Sun-set, and having no place to be safe in, they ran away; and the Hunnes pursuing them close, and being excellent to shoot upon the full speed, killed them as fast as before, and at night came back to Rome with Constantianus. Some daies after Peranius sallied at *Porta Salaria* with Romans, and routed the Gothes. The over-throw being suddain, and about Sun-set, a Roman Foot-man in the tumult fell into a Pit, there being many anciently made in that place to lay up Corn in. He durst not cry out so neer the Enemies Camp, and he could not get up; so there he staid all night, the next day the Barbarians being again routed, a Goth fell into the same Pit. They here grew acquainted; necessity making

making them Friends, and they swore to procure each others safety; and then both roared as loud as they could. The *Goths* ran to the Pit, and asked who made that crying: The *Roman* by agreement between them was silent, and the other prayed them in their Language, to let down a Rope to lift him up; they threw in a Rope, which the *Roman* first catcht, and said, that he being up, the *Goths* would not leave their Companion behind, but would make no account to save him being an Enemy, and so got up. The *Goths* when they saw him, wondered, but hearing the Story, took up the other, who went along with them, and the *Roman* was permitted to go to the City without harm. Some Bravadoes there were often between small parties of Horse, as if they would fight; but still the Quarrell ended in a Duell, where in the *Romans* ever had the Victory. At an Encounter in *Nero's* Fields, there being many Chafes on both sides by the Horse, *Chorsomantis* of the Life-guard to *Belisarius*, by Birth a *Hunne*, pursued with some others 70. *Goths*; who being gon far, the rest rode back, only *Chorsomantis* followed still; the *Goths* turn'd about at him, and he killed on of their best men, and routed the rest: They fearing that they were seen from their Trenches, and ashamed, charging him again, and again, after the losse of another of their best men, were made to run away as fast as before; and *Chorsomantis* chased them up to the Trenches, and then returned all alone. Not long after at another Fight he was shot into the left leg to the bone, and lying for the cure unserviceable, he chased (being a *Barbarian*) and threatned to be even with the *Goths*, for the wrong they had done his leg. When he was well, and had drunk store of Wine at his Dinner, out he went towards the Enemy to be revenged for his leg; he told the Sentinels at *Porta Pinciana*, that *Belisarius* sent him to the Enemies Camp, who not mistrusting one of the Generals Guard, opened the Gate, and let him go out. The Enemy seeing him, took him for a Fugitive; but when he was come neer, and fell to use his Bow, some twenty came upon him, whom he shook off and retired a foot pace; more came on, yet he would not run away, and still resisting (though more still charging him.) The *Romans* from the Turrets seeing it, thought him some mad man, not knowing it to be *Chorsomantis*, who did there brave things, and highly to be commended: but at last being compassed by the Enemy, he paid the penalty of his fool-hardiness. *Belisarius* and the Army (when they knew who it was) mourned for him, as if all their hopes had perished with him.

CHAP. II.

BUT about Midsummer, *Euthalius* arrived at *Taracina*, with Monies from *Constantinople* owing to the Army; who fearing the Enemy, and his Money, wrote to *Belisarius* to conduct him safe into *Rome*, who sent out a 100. of his Targetiers, with two of his Lancers to *Taracina*, to convoy the Treasure, and himselfe made a shew of giving Battell to the whole Army, to amuse the Enemy from going out upon occasion of Forraging. The next day hearing *Euthalius* with his convoy would arrive, he ordered his Army for a Fight; and knowing *Euthalius* would enter by night, he stood all the morning near the Gates in Armes, and at Noon he commanded the Army to dine; the *Goths* did likewise, thinking that he put off the Battell till the next day: Then he sent *Martinus*, and *Valerianus* to *Nero's* Fields, to give Alarmes to the Enemy there. And at *Porta Pinciana* he sent out 600. Horse against the Trenches, led by three of his Life-guard, *Aracines* a *Persian*, *Buchas* a *Hunne*, and *Cutilas* a *Thracian*. The Enemy encountered them with many, and a good while they spent in charges, and retirings only, without coming up to the Sword, and Lance, seeming willing so to wear out the day. At last they grew angry, and the Fight being hot, many, and of the best fell, and seconds came in from the City and the Camp; from whence (the Skirmish growing more and more) the shouts filled the Combatants with Courage. In conclusion the *Romans* routed them; *Cutilas* was hit into the head with a Dart, which sticking therein, he followed the Execution; and that being done, he rode with the rest into the City, with the Dart dangling on his head; a strange Sight. *Araxes* a Targetier

Targetier of *Belisarius* was shot between the nose and the right eye; the *Arrows* head piercing to his neck, but not appearing through; and the Shaft as he rode shook upon his Fore-head: The *Romans* wondered to see him, and *Cutilas*, ride so little sensible of such hurts. This was the Success here; but in *Nero's* Fields the *Goths* had the better: *Martinus* and *Valerianus* sustaining their great numbers, with much difficulty and danger. *Belisarius* commanded *Buchas*, who was come off untoucht, to ride up to *Nero's* Fields, to succour there; who falling on suddenly, and in the Evening, defeated them: but charging himselfe too far, he was compassed by twelve Enemies with Lances; which troubled him not, his Corselet holding good against the pushes thereof, till a *Goth* thrust him behind under his right arme-hole, which Wound was not mortall: but another thrust him into the left thigh, and cut the Muscle across. *Valerianus*, and *Martinus*, rode speedily to his rescue. and beat off the Enemy, then led him into the City, taking his Horse by the Bridle. Night being come, *Euthalius* entred the City with the Treasure, and all being within, they lookt to their hurt men; the Surgeons desired to take the Arrow out of *Araxes* Face, but demurred; not in respect of the eye (which they had no thought to save) but least by tearing the Membranes and Nerves there-about, they might kill one of the bravest men of *Belisarius* retinue. One of them (named *Theoctistus*) pressing with his hand behind upon the neck, asked if it pained him; he answering that it did: then (quoth the Surgeon) your life is safe, and your Sight unhurt. This his confidence was, because he found the head of the Arrow not far from the Skin; such of the Shaft which stuck out, he cut off and threw away, then opened the Fibres, or small Strings, where his pain was most, and drew out the Arrow head with the rest of the Shaft that way with ease; So *Araxes* was not only unmaimed, but had not so much as a Skar left in his Face. But the Dart being pulled violently out of *Cutilas* head (where it stuck deep, and fast) he swooned; then the *Meninges* inflaming, he fell into a Phrensie, and died quickly. *Buchas* thigh fell into such a bleeding, by reason the Muscle was cut crosse-way, that he died within three daies. The *Romans* mourned that night for these misfortunes, and from the *Goths* Trenches heard extream Lamentations. They wondered at it, not supposing the Enemy to have received any notable losse, but to have had much more in former Skirmishes, which troubled them not, by reason of their multitudes. The next day they knew that it was for many of the bravest men they had slain, in *Buchas* first Encounter in *Nero's* Fields. Many petty Skirmishes there were, which I mention not: In all there were during the Siege, 67. the two last shall be related in their due place. And then ended the Winter, and the second yeare of this War, written by *Procopius*.

Incipit
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CHAP. III.

SOON after the middle of the Summer, the City was visited with Famine, and Pestilence, and the Souldier also was in want of Corn, but of no other Provision. But the Citizens besides that want, were sorely prest with the Famine, and Pestilence. The *Goths* found it, and resolved to hazard no more Fights; but with Garrisons to hinder the importing Provisions to the Enemy. Two Aqueducts between *Via Latina*, and *Via Appia*, high built with goodly Arches, meet at a place about six miles from *Rome*; then that which took the right-hand way before, goes to the left, crossing one another, and again they meet, and sever again, inclosing the ground in the middle; and the *Goths* damming up the Arches with Stone, and Earth, made it as a Cattle, and lodged in it a Garrison of 7000. men, to cut off the *Roman* Forragers. The *Romans* then grew hopelesse, compassed with every species of misery. While the Corn was, some Souldiers (the most daring) rode out in the night, and cut off the Eares, and brought them in unseen by the Enemy, upon spare Horses, and sold them to the Rich for great Sums. The rest lived upon Grass growing within, and neer the Walls, (The Fields about *Rome* being green with Grass Summer, and Winter, which served the Army for their Horses.) Some made

made Sauffages of Mules flesh which died in the Towne, and sould them secretly. But the Corn being gone, and the Citizens in extremity, they flockt about *Belisarius*, urging him to end all in one Battell, and promising that not a Citizen should be absent from it. He was much troubled, and the Commons still importuned; saying, that their present Condition had over-taken them suddenly, and that their hopes ended in the quite contrary; having gotten what they longed for, and yet now being in this Calanity: And their former Opinion of doing well, in affecting the Emperours Protection, being now their folly, and the ground of their misery, which now necessitated them to a daring, and again to put on Armes against the Enemy. They craved Pardon, though sawcy with *Belisarius*. A hungry belly knowes no modesty; and their fool-hardinesse to fight, Fortune must excuse, seeing life prolonged in misery, is of all the most grievous. That he saw their case, their Farmes in the Country in the Enemies hands, and their City blockt up; the Citizens lying dead without earth to cover them, and the Survivers wishing their Carcasses lying by them; all mischiefs being made tolerable by the Plague, and forgotten, when that appears, it making all other Deaths, but from it selfe, a kind of pleasure. They prayed leave to try their Fortune in Fight, before the sickness had utterly subdued them; either they should conquer, or be rid of their troubles. Men who have hope in delaying, are unwise to hazard all with forwardnesse; but in such as find their match the worse by deferring, a little delay is more to be blamed, then instant rashnesse. To this Speech *Belisarius* made this answer; This is no more then I expected from you: I know what an inconsiderate thing a common People is; who neither can beare the present, nor provide for the future; only it can attempt Impossibilities, and ruine it selfe unadvisedly. But let me never willingly destroy you, and the Emperours Affairs by your negligence. The War prospers not by bruiusish eagernesse, but by weighing the Opportunities wisely, and with consultation. You thinking you are at Dice, will throw at all; but it is my manner not to chuse hastily, but profitable counsels. You promise to fight with the Enemy in our Company: since when have you been trained to your Armes? and were you perfect therein, who knowes not, that a Battell is, not proper to try Masteries in? In the Fight the Enemy will not give you leave to practise, and learn. I commend therefore your forwardnesse, and pardon this Tumult. But why it is not seasonable, and why we use a provident backwardnesse, I will tell you. The Emperour hath sent a mighty Army gathered out of all Lands, and a Fleet (the like whereof the Romans never had) covering the shores of *Campania*, and much of the *Ionian* Gulfe. These Forces are coming to us, and will deliver you from your feares, and over-whelme the Barbarians with their Arrowes; and I defer our fighting till their Arrivall, to get rather a secure Victory, then by adventring without reason, to abandon our safety; and I will take order, they shall be with us without delay. *Belisarius* with this quieted the Commons, and dismissed them. And it being reported, that the Emperour, would send Forces to *Naples*, he dispatcht *Procopius* thither, the Writer of his History, with Instructions to freight Ships with Corn, and to assemble the Souldiers comit from *Constantinople*, and the Horse-men quartered in those Countries; and marching then into *Campania*, to take also some out of every Garrison, and to convoy the Corn to *Ostia*. *Procopius* went out at *Saint Pauls* Gate, with *Mundilas* one of the Life-guard, and some Horse-men, and were not seen by the Enemy, quartered by *Via Appia*. When *Mundilas* at his return, reported how *Procopius* was by that time in *Campania*, without meeting a Goth, who went not out of their Camp in the night, they all took hart: And *Belisarius* grown bolder, sent store of Horse to the next Fortresses, from thence to charge the Enemies Vorragers, and to lay Ambushes to cut of their bringing Provisions to the Camp; that by this the City might be lesse vexed with wants, and the Goths might be beleiged more then It. He sent *Martinus*, and *Trajanus* with a 1000. men to convoy his Wife *Antonina* to *Taracina*, and from thence to give her a convoy to *Naples*; where she was to expect the Event in a safe place. And he sent *Magnus*, and *Synthues*, one of his Life-guard, with 500. men to the Castle of *Tibur*; standing about 17. miles from *Rome*. To the small City of *Alba*, standing so many miles also from *Rome*, upon *Via Appia*, he had before sent *Gontharis* with some *Herulians*, whom

the

the Enemy beat out from thence a while after. There stands a Church of the Apostle *Saint Paul*, a mile and three quarters from the walls of *Rome* upon the *Tiber*. It is not fortified, but a *Porticus* reaches to it from the City, which with the buildings upon it make the place not easily to be invaded. The Goths also so much reverence those two Apostles, that during the siege no hurt was done to either of these Temples, but the priests celebrated divine Service in them as formerly. In this place *Belisarius* commanded *Valerianus* with all the *Hunnes* to intrench upon the banks of *Tiber*, thereby to favour the pasturing of their own Horse, and to restrain the Goths from coming out so far at their pleasure. *Valerianus* encamped the *Hunnes* accordingly, and then returned to the City. And *Belisarius* having settled these things, lay still, resolving to begin no fight, but to defend only the walls from harm, and to some of the Commons he distributed corne.

C H A P. IV.

BUT *Martinus* and *Trajanus*, past in the night by the Enemies camps, came to *Taracina*, and sent *Antonina* with a convoy into *Campania*; themselves seized the fortresses there about: from whence issuing and charging ever suddenly, they restrained the Goths inroads that way. *Magnus* also, and *Synthues*, repaired the decays of the castle of *Tibur*, and from a safe place infested the Enemy, and a fortification they had not far off, frightening with unlook't for charges their convoys of provisions: Untill *Synthues* by a hurt of a Lance upon his right hand, was disabled, his sinews being cut asunder. The *Hunnes* also, quarter'd near there about, did the Goths as much hurt; that the Famine vexed them, having not provisions brought so freely; and the plague killed many, especially in the camp near *Via Appia*; where the few that escaped ran to the other intrenchments: The *Hunnes* also suffered the like, and went back to *Rome*.

Procopius in *Campania* got together 500 souldiers, and ships freighted with corn, and when *Antonina* came, she took care with him to set out the fleet. *Vesuvius* then bellowed, but did not cast up, which was expected; and the inhabitants were terribly frightened. This mountain stands eight miles three quarters from *Naples* northward, steep, and thick with wood below, and above craggy and very wild. At the top is a deep cave, seeming to reach to the bottom of the mountaine, and if you peep in, you may see fire, which ordinarily keeps in, not troubling the people; But when the mountain bellowes like an Oxe, soon after it casts out far away a huge quantity of cynders, which catching a man upon the way, he hath no means to save his life; if it fall upon houses, they fall with the weight; if the wind blow stiff, it rises up past ones sight, and is carried by the wind to very farr countreys. They say, it fell once in *Constantinople*, which so frightened the Citizens, that to this day they have yearly publick supplications to appease God; and that another time it fell in *Tripolis*. Formerly this bellowing came every 100 yeares, or more, but since oftner. When the *Vesuvius* casts out cynders, they are confident of a plentifull year: the aire about it is pure, and none more healthy; that the Physicians send thither men far gone in Consumptions.

But from *Constantinople* arrived at *Naples* 3000 Isaurians, commanded by *Paulus* and *Conon*, and at *Otranto* 800 horse, *Thracians*, led by *John*, Sisters Son of that *Italianus*, who formerly rebelled against the Emperour. With them were a 1000 more horsemen, commanded by *Alexander* and *Marcentius*, and others. *Zeno* with 300 horse was already come to *Rome* through *Samnium*, and by *Via Latina*. *John* and the rest coming into *Campania* with many waggons out of *Calabria*, and joyning the 500 levied (as I said) in *Campania*, marcht by the Sea shore with their waggons, which they were to fortifie with, in case of an Enemies assault. *Paulus* & *Conon* they sent by sea with their troops, to joyn with them at *Ostia*, having put corn sufficient in their waggons & freighted the ships therewith, & with wine and other provisions. They thought to find *Martinus* & *Trajanus* about *Taracina*, but they were newly sent for, and gone to *Rome*. *Belisarius* fearing the Enemy with multitudes might cut off the troopes marching with *John*, and having at the beginning of the warre

ran'd up *Porta Flaminia* with stones, that the Enemy encamping neer it, might not there force the city (neither was there ever any fight there, nor did the *Barbarians* looke for any Enemy thence) from this gate he took away the stones secretly, and put there in armes the greatest part of his army, and at day-break he sent out *Diogenes* and *Trajanus*, by *Porta Pinciana*, with a thousand horse, to shoot into the Enemies quarters, and when they came out to run away, upon the full speed to the town walls. They accordingly provoked the *Goths*, who from all their quarters encountered them; and both parts came upon the speed towards the walls, the one flying the other pursuing. When *Belisarius* saw the Enemy upon the chase, he opened *Porta Flaminia*, and drew out the army unexpected. Neer the high way, there was one of their camps and before it a narrow lane craggy and hard to passe: where a *Barbarian* gallant and well armed, seeing the Enemy coming ran and preposessed the said passage, calling to his companions to help to maintain it; but *Mundilas* overtook him and killed him, not suffering any of the rest to come to the Lane. So they went through without opposition to the Enemies quarter: which some attempted, but could not take it, though few were within, by reason the ditch was deep and the Earth cast up inward, and was raised to a kind of a wall, and the stakes were very well pitcht and thick, wherein the *Goths* trusting, resisted valiantly. *Aquilinus* a Targetier of *Belisarius*, and very valiant, leapt into the quarter, drawing his horse by the bridle after, and some he killed; but they darted thick at him, and killed his horse, himself escaped strangely through the Enemy, and went towards *Porta Pinciana*, with his fellows, who overtook the *Goths* yet pursuing, and killed them shooting them behind. *Trajanus* with his troopes seeing it, (their horse there also seconding) gallopt against the pursuing *Goths*, who surprized between the Enemy thus, were slain in confusion; and the slaughter was great, and few recovered their Quarters: Which they were all afraid of, kept in, and fortified; expecting a present assault. In this fight *Trajanus* was shot above his right eye, neer the nose. The arrow head though broad and long stuck fast, and was not seen; but the shaft fell off, the head being loose set. *Trajanus* felt it not, but continued chasing and killing; & 5 years after the point of the arrow head appeared of it self out of his fore head. This is the third year that still by little and little it comes out; and in time 'tis thought it will all come out. In the mean time it is no trouble to him at all.

CHAP. V.

BUT the *Goths* upon these successes despaired of the warr, and thought of retiring, being reduced by the plague and Enemy from many thousands to a few, pincht with famine, excluded from all provisions, and in shew besieging, but indeed besieged themselves. Hearing also of other forces come from *Constantinople*, by sea and land, not as they were, but as lame gave them out, they consulted upon a retreat, and sent into *Rome* a *Roman* of good account among them, "with two other Ambassadors, who spake thus to *Belisarius*. How neither part hath got by this war, all of us find by our experience of the inconveniences thereof. And neither army can deny what no man can be ignorant of, that no wise man will for a little Emulation perpetually toil and seek no relaxation; he must be sensible that sayes the contrary. So that it behooves our Princes, not to sacrifice their Subjects safety to their own Glory; but to imbrace what is just and profitable not only for themselves but their adversaries, and so to end these troubles. By desiring moderate things, difficulties are accommodated, but by wrangling nothing concluded. We having therefore advised upon a conclusion of the war, are come to propound things advantageous to both, parting with some of our Right, as we conceive. And do not you by contending with us run your selves rather, then chuse what is best for you; and herein it is not so good to use Rhetorical speeches, but to reply instantly, if any thing seem to be said or done amisse. *Belisarius* approved the conference to be so, but bade them speak peccable & just things. They replied, you have done us wrong to take arms against us your friends and allies, and we will say what you all know: The *Goths* conquered *Italy*, not forcing

"cing it from the *Romans*; but *Odoacer* had deposed the Emperour and changed the state into a Tyranny: and *Zeno*, then Emperour of the East, desiring to revenge his fellow Emperour upon the usurper, & to free the Province, but unable to suppress *Odoacer*, perswaded our Prince *Theodorick*, (ready then to besiege him in *Constantinople*) to lay down that quarrell, being a *Patritian*, and having been a *Roman* Consul; and by revenging the wrong done to *Augustulus*, upon *Odoacer*; to become with the *Goths* lawfull master of the province. Thus we received the Dominion of *Italy*, and have maintained the Common-Wealth and Lawes, as much as any Emperour. There is not one new Law made by *Theodorick*, nor any of his Successors, written, nor unwritten. And concerning Faith and Gods Worship, we have conserved them exactly, that not an *Italian* willingly nor unwillingly hath changed his Religion, and when *Goths* have changed, it hath not been questioned. The *Roman* Churches have been by us held in highest Reverence, and none flying to them hath been violated. The great Offices the *Romans* have had, not a *Goth* hath been advanced to any. If any man think this not to be so, let him stand out and disprove me. Nay the *Goths* have given way, that the *Roman* Consulship should yearly be conferred on *Romans*, by the Eastern Emperour. Things being thus; you, who never pretended to *Italy*, waited by *Barbarians* under *Odoacer* (who for ten yeares together wrought so much mischief) now force out the lawfull Purchasers, having nothing to do with it.

Be gone therefore from us, keeping what is yours, and the Booties you have taken. *Belisarius* replied: Your promise was to be briefe and moderate, but your discourse hath been tedious, and something insolent. The Emperour *Zeno* sent *Theodorick* against *Odoacer*, not to be King of *Italy* (for to him what distinction could be between one Usurper and another?) but that it might be free and obedient to the Emperour. And *Theodorick* did good service against the Usurper, but in the rest proved extremely ungrateful; never bethinking himselfe to restore the Country to the Lord thereof. He that ejects forcibly, and he that restores not what is his Neighbours, is the same man. For me, I may not give away the Emperours Provinces: If you would have any thing else, speak on. *Ambassador*. You know all, that we have spoken nothing but truth. But to shew, we affect no Disputes; we quit to you *Sicily*, a great and rich Island, without which you cannot hold *Africk* securely. And we quit all *Britanny* to the *Goths*, greater then *Sicily*, and formerly subject to the *Romans*. It is fit to requite such as do us Benefits, with the like. If we mention *Campania*, and *Naples*, you will not accept. *Belisarius*. We have no power to dispose of what is the Emperours, but with his liking. *Ambassador*. Nor if we shall yeild to the payment of an annuall Tribute. *Belisarius*. No truly; we have no absolute power in any thing, but to guard the Province for the Conquerour. *Ambassador*. Be pleased then we may repaire to the Emperour, and conclude and accord with him, and some time must be limited for the Armies to forbear hostility. *Belisarius*. Be it so, I will not hinder, while you consult upon wayes of peace. Thus the Conference ended, and the Ambassadors returned to the *Goths* Camp.

CHAP. VI.

AFTER often meetings, they concluded a Cessation, and to give Hostages mutually of eminent men. During this negotiation, the Fleet of *Isaurians* came into the Haven of *Rome*, and the Troops of *John* to *Ostia*, without the Enemies interruption to land or encamp. The *Isaurians* to lodge securely from the Enemy, drew a deep Ditch neer the Haven, and kept guards; and *John* lay fenced within his Waggon. At night *Belisarius* came to *Ostia* with a 100. Horse, acquainting them with the occurrences, and conclusion with the *Goths*, & commanding them to send up their lading, and to goe boldly to *Rome*; promising them to secure the way for them: himselfe before day rode back into the City. When it was day, *Antonina* consulted with the Commanders about sending up their lading; which seemed difficult, and scarce faisible. The Oxen were halfe dead, and could not hold

1 Mr. Cambden out of this passage, and other authorities, proves the *Goths* to inhabit Scotland, sent thither by Gratian, and Valentinian; & that the Scots are their descendants vid. Camb. Brit. page 88.

hold out : and it was unsafe to go with their Waggon in a way so narrow ; and to draw Lighters up the River, as formerly, was impossible; the left-hand way by the same being possessed (as I said) by the Enemy, and not passable for the *Romans*; and by the other bank was no passage at all : So that taking the Cock-boats of the greater Ships, and walling them round with boards, to guard the men from shot, they put aboard those Boats a proportion of Archers, and Marriners; and stowing as much as they could carry in them, and getting a wind, they sailed up the *Tiber*; a part of the Army winging them on the right hand shore : And they left a strong guard of *Isaurians* in the Ships. Their sails they tooke from the Enemy, and went up with ease. Only where the Stream with an eddy went side-long, their sails had no wind for them, and the Marriners rowed, and with much toyle forced up. The *Barbarians* interrupted them not, either fearing to hazard, or not thinking provisions could be imported that way. And they held it inconvenient to crosse the Cessation promised, upon a slight occasion; In *Portus* also the *Goths* meddled not with them, as they sayled by them, wondering what their intent was. Having in this manner, sailing to and fro, imported their ladings; the Marriners went away with the Ships, it being now toward the Winter *Tropick*. The rest of the Army entered *Rome*, save *Paulus*, who staid in *Ostia* with some *Isaurians*. Afterward they gave Hostages for observing the Cessation, the *Romans* *Zeno*, and the *Goths*, *Uliar*, a man of quality; Neither to invade the other for three moneths, till the Ambassadors should bring the Emperours resolution. And if any should begin to wrong the other, yet the Ambassadors should be returned home safe. The *Goths* Ambassadors were conveyed by the *Romans* to *Constantinople*; and *Ildiger*, who married *Antonina's* daughter, came from *Africa* to *Rome* with a faire troop of Horse. The *Goths* in the Castle of *Portus* wanting provisions, quitted it, and came to the camp by *Vitigis* direction: The place *Paulus* with his *Isaurians* from *Ostia* surprized. It was the *Romans* being Masters of the Sea, which caused these wants of Victuall, permitting no Provisions to come to the *Barbarians*. Upon the like scarcity they quitted then also *Centumcella*, a Sea Towne of much importance, great, and populous, and standing in *Tuscany*, 35. miles to the West of *Rome*. The taking of it much strengthened the *Romans*: and of *Alba* likewise, standing to the East of *Rome*, and abandoned by the Enemy for the same reason. So that the *Romans* compassed them round; which made the *Goths* eager to breake the Accord, and to do them mischief. They sent Ambassadors to *Belisarius*, complaining, that *Vitigis* having upon some occasion sent for the *Goths* from the Castle of *Portus*, *Paulus* without any reason had surprized it; and pretending the like for *Alba* and *Centumcella*, with menaces, if they had not restitution. *Belisarius* sent them away, laughing at their pretext, all men knowing why they quitted those places. From hence forward they were suspicious of each other.

Belisarius seeing then *Rome* strong with Souldiers, sent out many parties of Horse to places neer *Rome*: And *Vitalianus*, *Johns* Nephew, to winter about *Alba* in *Picenia*, with his own 800. Horse, and 400. of the Troopes of *Valerianus*, whose Sisters Son *Damianus* commanded them, and 800. of his own Targetiers, extraordinary good men, led by two of his Life-guard, *Sutus*, and *Abigis*. These he directed to follow *John*, whithersoever, and him, while the Enemy kept the Truce, to be quiet; but if they broke it, suddenly to fall upon *Picenia*, to visit the Townes before they had newes of his coming, (few men being left in the Country, but almost all before *Rome*; and their Wives, Children, and Goods being in every Town some) and to carry away Captive, and pillage all he found, taking care not to hurt the *Roman* Inhabitants: lighting upon any Town Fortified and Garrison'd, to attempt it; and if he took it, to march forward; but if it were too tough for him, to come back, or stay: For going on with a strong Town at his back, it would be dangerous, and he could hardly be succoured, if distressed by an Enemy: that he should keep all the Booty to be distributed to the Army. Then smiling, he added this word; That it is not just for some to toile, to kill the Droanes, and others at their ease to eat the Honey. *Belisarius* with these Instructions sent away *John*, and those Forces.

C H A P. VII.

About that time *Darius*, Bishop of *Millane*, with some chiefe Citizens came to *Rome*, and intreated of *Belisarius* some Souldiers, with whom they undertook not only to draw *Millane* from the *Goths* to the Emperour, but all *Liguria*. This City is in † *Liguria*, in the mid way between *Ravenna* and the *Alpes* (which are upon the Frontier of *Gaulle*) standing eight daies Journey from either. Next to *Rome* it was the greatest of the Western Cities, and the most populous and rich. *Belisarius* promised as they desired, and kept them there the Winter; but Fortune grew envious at the *Romans* Prosperity, and meant to temper it with some ill; putting a quarrell between *Belisarius*, and *Constantianus*, upon a slight ground. *Perfidius*, a *Roman* Citizen of quality, who dwelt at *Ravenna*, having offended the *Goths* (when *Vitigis* was upon leading his Army to *Rome*) under a pretence with some few Servants to go a hunting, ran away, communicating his Designe to none, nor carrying money, nor money-worth, save two short Swords with Scabbards, set with much Gold and precious Stones. Being come to *Spolethum*, he lodged in a Church without the Walls, which *Constantianus*, (then there) understanding, sent *Maxentius*, one of his Targetiers, and took the Cimiters from him; who being grieved at the wrong, went to *Rome* to *Belisarius*; whether soon after came *Constantianus* also, the *Goths* Army being reported to be neer. While the *Romans* were in trouble and danger, *Perfidius* was silent; but they having the better, and the *Goths* Embassadors being dispatched to the Emperour, he acquainted *Belisarius* with the Injury, praying his assistance in his just Cause; who in Person, and by others reproved *Constantianus*, and advised him to wash his hands of so foule an Imputation. But *Constantianus* (who was to have a mischief) put off the advise with a Jest, and flouted the man he had wronged. Who meeting *Belisarius* riding through the Market place, took his Horse by the Bridle, and clamouring aloud, askt, if it were the Emperours Law, that when a poor Suppliant comes for refuge from *Barbarians*, any man may take from him what he hath about him. The Company threatned him, and bad him let go the Bridle; which he would not do, before *Belisarius* promised to give him the Swords. The next day he called *Constantianus* and many Commanders to a Room in the Palace; putting him in mind of the Accident the day before, and (though late) to restore the Cimiters. He said, he would sooner throw them into the *Tiber*. *Belisarius* grew angry; and askt, if he took not himselfe to be under his command: In other things he professed to obey him, since it was the Emperours pleasure; but that which he now commanded, he would never do. *Belisarius* then bad his Guard to come in; isit to kill me, quoth *Constantianus*? no, said *Belisarius*, but to compel your Targetier *Maxentius*, to restore to the man his Swords, which he took from him by violence, and brought them to you. *Constantianus* supposing yet it was to kill him, thought first to do some brave Act; and drawing a short Sword, made a thrust suddenly at the Belly of *Belisarius*; who amazed stept back, and embracing *Belisarius* who stood next him, avoided the danger. *Constantianus* yet in rage made at him; but *Ildiger* taking him by the right hand, and *Valerianus* by the left, drew him back: Then came in the Guard, who wrested his Sword from him, and snatched him away. Then they hurt him not, respecting the Commanders present, but they led him to another Room, and there by *Belisarius* Command, killed him. This was the only † impious Act ever done by *Belisarius*, not conformable to the much moderation he had stilled to all men. But (as I said) *Constantianus* was to have a mischief.

Shortly after the *Goths* had a designe upon *Rome*: They let down some men into an Aquaduct, whole water they had cut off in the beginning of the Siege; these with Lamps, and Torches searched for an entrance into the City. Not far from *Porta Pinciana*, an Arch of this Aquaduct had a breach in it, out of which a Centinell saw light, and told it his fellowes; they said it was a Wolfe, there being no Land to be seen over the building of the Aquaduct, they took it to be a Wolfes eyes, shewing like fire. The *Goths* in the Aquaduct came into the mid of the City, where

* This Author calls much more Liguria then now is. Leander saies, there was a Liguria Cisappennina anciently. The Liguria now he names Transappennina.

* This History is supplied in the secret History; where it appears to be impious indeed.

where had been an ascent into the Palace, and found there a Building made by *Belisarius*, providently in the beginning of the Siege, which hindered their further passage, or ascent. So they took a small Stone out of it, and returned to *Vitigis*, shewing him the Stone, and relating the particulars; who held a Counsell about it. The next day the *Romans* upon the Guard at *Porta Pinciana* had speech of their suspicion about the Wolf; which being spread, and coming to the wife General, he did not slightly give eare to it, but instantly let down into the *Aquæductus Digones*, one of his Life-guard, with some choice men, to search; who found scattered Lamps of the Enemy, and droppings of Torches, and saw where they had taken out the Stone, and reported all to *Belisarius*; whereupon he kept a strong Guard upon the *Aquæduct*: which the *Goths* perceiving, forbore the attempt. But they prepared to give an open Assault; and at dinner time with scaling Ladders and fire, they came unlookt for to *Porta Pinciana*, hoping to take the City so by a sudden on-set, few Souldiers being left within it. *Ildeger* then kept the Watch with his Company, every man being appointed to guard by turnes. Seeing the Enemy approach disorderly, he charged them not ranckt for a Fight, but marching in confusion, and he routed and killed them. At the noise the *Romans* ran up to the Walls, and the *Goths* without doing anything retired. *Vitigis* then had another designe; the Walls are very assailable by the *Tibers* Banck, the Ancients having built the Wall carelesly there, and low, without Towers, trusting to the Fortification of the River. Here he hoped to take the City, there being no considerable guard. He corrupted two *Romans* dwelling about *Saint Peters* Church, to repaire to the Sentinels there with a Vessell of Wine about the Evening, and with some colour of kindnesse, to bestow the Wine on them, to sit drinking with them till midnight, and to throw into their Cups a sleepe Drug, which he gave them. He prepared Boats upon the opposite Shore, in which the *Goths* upon a Signall, (the Sentinels being asleep) were to passe over and assault; and he put the whole Army in readinesse to force the City. But one of the men hired for the Service, (*Rome* being not to be taken by that Army of *Goths*) revealed the Plot to *Belisarius*, and discovered his fellow; who upon torture opened all, and shewed the Drug given by *Vitigis*. *Belisarius* cut of his Nose, and Eares, and sent him upon an Asse into the Enemies Camp; who seeing him, saw God preventing their Counsels, and therefore the City by them not to be taken.

CHAP. VIII.

IN the mean time *Belisarius* wrote to *John* to attend close his business. And he with 2000. Horse foraged *Picenia*, taking all in his way, Women, and Children Captives. And he overthrew *Uthius*, *Vitigis* his Uncle, killing him and almost his whole Army; that none durst encounter him. † At *Auximum* he heard there was but a weak Garrison of *Goths*; but finding the place strong, and hard to take, he would not besiege it, but marcht forward. He left also *Urbinnum*, and marcht toward *Ariminum*, a daies Journey from *Ravenna*, whether some *Romans* invited him. The *Goths* being jealous of the Townes-men, when they heard of the *Roman* Army coming toward them, ran all away. So *John* got *Ariminum*, and left at his back Garrisons in *Auximum*, and *Urbinnum*, not forgetting *Belisarius* Instructions, nor upon any ungrounded temerity (being one who had Discretion mixt with Valour) but considering what came to passe; that when the *Goths* heard a *Roman* Army to be neer *Ravenna*, they would instantly raise their Siege, affraid of the place. And he lighted upon a right conceit; for *Vitigis* and the *Goths*, understanding *Ariminum* to be in his Possession, and extreemly fearing *Ravenna*, made a direct Retreat, without any further consideration; for which *John* got a great Reputation, being before generally famous; a daring man, laborious in his own Person, and fearless in dangers. He used a hard Diet, and in toiles was inferiour to no *Barbarian*, or common Souldier. *Mattasumbha*, *Vitigis* Wife, offended with her Husband, who at first attained her Bed by violence, and hearing *John* to be

† *Auximum* is now called *Ossano*, in *Marcia Anconitanæ*, subiect to the Pope.

be in *Ariminum*, was glad of it, and secretly treated with him, touching a Marriage and a plot of Treason: This they negotiated by Messages unknown to any. And the *Goths* having the newes of *Ariminum*, and their Provisions failing, and the three Months being expired, made their Retreat, though they heard nothing of their Ambassadors successe. About the Summer Tropick having spent one yeare and nine daies in this Siege, they burnt up their Huts, and by day-break began their Journey. The *Romans* seeing them, doubted what to do, their main body of Horse being not present; but sent out severall waies, as I have said; and conceiving themselves not able to fight with such multitudes: Yet *Belisarius* armed his Horse, and Foot; and more then halfe the Enemies being past over the Bridge, he sallied at *Porta Pinciana*. The Fight came to the Sword, and Lance, and the *Goths* at first slyly sustaining the Enemy, many fell on both sides: But afterward the *Goths* being routed, made their own overthrow very great, by pressing and crowding to passe the Bridge, that they suffered extraordinary losse, being killed by Enemies and one another. Many fell into the *Tiber*, and were drowned in their Armes; and having lost most of their men, the rest ever-took those formerly past over. *Longinus* the *Isaurian*, and *Mundilas*, two of *Belisarius* his Life-guard, did extraordinarily in this Battell: *Mundilas* killed foure *Barbarians*, and came off; but *Longinus* having been the greatest cause of the Enemies overthrow, fell upon the place, much lamented by the whole Army. *Vitigis* in his march toward *Ravenna* with the remainder of his Army, fortified the defensible places with strong Garrisons; leaving in *Clusium*, a City in *Tuscany*, a 1000. men under *Gelimor*, and as many in *Urbiventum*, under *Albilas* a *Goth*; and in *Tudera* *Oligisalus*, with 400. In *Picenia* he continued the 400. formerly lodged in the Castle of *Petra*; in *Auximum*, the greatest City there, he left 4000. selected *Goths*, and *Vifandus* a valiant Commander. And in *Urbinnum* 2000. under *Tamoras*; In *Cesina* and *Monteferratum*, other Castles there, he Garrison'd 500. men in each; Himselfe marcht with the rest to besiege *Ariminum*. *Belisarius* when the Siege was raised, sent *Ildeger* and *Martinus* with a 1000. Horse to get before the Enemy into *Ariminum*, (taking soe other way) and to cause *John* and his Troops to rise from thence, placing in their stead other sufficient numbers to guard the Town, and to be taken out of *Ancona* standing upon the *Ionian* Gulse, two daies journey from *Ariminum*; which he had taken in before, sending *Conon* with an Army of *Thracians*, and *Isaurians*. He hoped, that there being only Foot in *Ariminum*, and no Commanders of Note, the *Goths* would not employ their powers to besiege it, but despise it, and march on to *Ravenna*; and if they should besiege it, that Provisions would last longer for Foot only, and that the 2000. Horse with *John* would infest the Enemy, and force them to raise their Siege. *Ildeger*, and *Martinus* with these Instructions took their Journey by *Via Flaminia*, and by much prevented the *Goths*, who by reason of their multitudes marcht slowly, and were forced to go about for want of Provisions, neither would they come neer the strong places upon *Via Flaminia*, the *Romans* (as hath been said) holding *Narnis*, *Spoleum*, and *Perusia*.

CHAP. IX.

BUT those *Romans* sliding *Petra* in their way, attempted the Castle as a by-business; a fortress not made by men, but by the nature of the place, where is a craggy way, and to the right hand a swift running river unfordable, on the left hand a steep rock so high, that men on the top seem below like little birds. Anciently there was no passage through, but in time a way was dig'd through it, & a gate made; the other entrance was walled, save so much as was left for a gate there, and so of it self the place became a fortification, and was named † *Petra*, the Rock. *Martinus* and *Ildeger* assaulted one of the Gates, but did no good with their shot, though the *Goths* within made no defence. At last behinde they forced their way up the crag, and threw stones upon the Enemies heads: they ran into the houses, and there kept close. The *Romans* when they could not reach them with stones, cut great peices out of the Rock, and with many hands tossed them

* It is called afterward *Petra Pertusa*, because of the passage cut through the Rock.

them down aiming at the houses, such as they light on tottered, and so frighted the Goths that they held up their hands to those at the Gate, and yielded upon composition, to have no hurt, but to be servants to the Emperour, and obedient to *Belisarius*. *Martianus* and *Idiger*, removed the most of them, leaving some few with their wives & children, & placing a Garrison of Romans. Then they went to *Ancona* from whence they took many foot companies, & brought them the third day to *Arnum*, declaring *Belisarius* his direction. But *John* refused to go with them, and detained *Damianus* with his 400 men; so that leaving the foot companies, they went away with the Lancers and Targetiers of *Belisarius*. Soon after *Vitigis* with his whole army sat down before *Ariminum*. He made a wooden tower higher then the walls, and upon wheels brought it where the same were most assaultable: They drew it not on with oxen, least they should speed as they did at *Rome*; but men covered within it, shoved it on: within it was a great broad scaling ladder for the common souldier to mount the battlements, they not doubting but to get up with ease so soon as their tower was set to the walls, so was the figure thereof contrived. Being come neer the walls with it, they lay still, because it grew dark, set their sentinels about it, and took their rest, dreaming of no opposition; there being but a small trench only to hinder their approach. The Romans past the night in fear, expecting the next day to be ruined. But *John* neither despairing nor fearing, about midnight left the rest upon their Guards, and himself with his *Isaurians* carrying Mattocks and other instruments, got secretly without the walls, and caused them to dig in the trench, and to cast up the Earth to the town-ward, which served for a rampire, and in a small time, the Enemy being fast a sleep, they made the Trench of reasonable depth and breadth, where the walls were weakest, and the Goths were to approach with their tower: who (the night being far spent) perceived it, and ran to beat them off: but they, the trench being compleated, got within the walls. *Vitigis* was extremely vexed at it in the morning, & put to death some sentinels: and being as eager as ever, commanded to fill up the ditch with Faggots, and so to draw the tower on. They did his commands with alacrity, though mightily opposed from the walls. But the faggots with the weight of the Tower sunk, that they could not get it forward, the Ground growing still steeper, where the Earth was cast up, as I sayd. So that fearing the night approaching, and the Enemies sallying to burn their Engin, they drew it back. *John* to hinder them, put the Souldiers in Armes, and used this Exhortation. "Fellow souldiers, and my partners in this danger, he that would live, and see those he hath left at home; let him know that he holds this hope by his sword only. When *Belisarius* sent us out, the hope and Love of many things made us cheerfull in the business. We suspected not so neer the sea (the Romans being masters of the sea) to be besieged, nor imagined, that the Emperours army could so much neglect us. Then the occasion of shewing our affection to the state, and of getting Glory encouraged us; now, but by our valour, we cannot so much as live; and for life (were there nothing else) we must of necessity undergo this hazard. And who pretends to valour also, hath a fair opportunity this day to get Glory by it; which is gotten not by overcoming in serious power, but by a victory with lesse preparations, and greater courage. And who love their lives best, shall gain most by daring; whose affaires (as ours now) are upon the Edge of a razor, such as are preserved only by despising danger. Having thus sayd, he led them against the Enemy, leaving some upon the battlements; the Enemy received them bravely, and it was hotly fought; and with much ado about Evening they brought their Tower to the Camp with losse of many good men, that they resolved to assault no more; but lay still to take the Romans by Famine; whose provisions failed, and they knew not which way to get supply.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

BUT *Belisarius* sent towards *Millan*, 1000 *Isaurians* and *Thracians*: *Ennes* led the *Isaurians*, and *Paulus* the *Thracians*, and *Mundilas* commanded in cheife, having some Targetiers of *Belisarius*. *Fidelius* (made Praefect of the Palace) being born at *Millan*, was thought fit to accompany these forces, having some power in *Liguria*. From the port of *Rome*, they went by Sea to *Genoa*, the utmost City in *Tuscany*, at the Entrance of the Gaulish and Spanish seas; where leaving their ships they took their journey, putting their schiffs upon waynes to passe the *Poe* with. Being passed the River, and come to the City of *Picenum*, the Goths, with many and of their best men fought with them; For such of them as dwelt in those parts, had put into *Picenum* their Goods of most value, it being a strong place; but the Romans after a hot fight had the victory, slew many, and failed little of taking the town; for the Goths had much ado to shut their gates, they were so closely pursued. *Fidelius*, as the Romans rod back, staid to pray in a Church; and having a fall by the stumbling of his horse neer the Town: the Goths sallied and killed him, unseen by the Enemy, which much grieved *Mundilas* and the Romans, who went to *Millan*, and took it without fight, and all *Liguria*. *Vitigis* understanding it, sent an army thither under *Vreas*, his Sitters son. And *Theodebert*, King of the Franks, sent to his ayd at his request, 10000, not Franks, but Burgundians, that he might not seem to wrong the Emperour. These Burgundians pretended to come of their own accord, not upon the Command of *Theodebert*. The Goths joyning with them came before *Millan* unexpected by the Romans, and besieged it; that they had no means to import provisions, but were instantly in want of necessaries. Neither could the Souldiers guard the walls; *Mundilas* having put Garrisons into *Perzannum*, *Comum*, *Novarra*, and other small fortresses neer *Millan*; and having there with himself but about 300 men, and *Ennes* and *Paulus*, so that necessarily the Cityzens were to guard in their turns. And thus the winter ended, and the third year of this warr written by *Procopius*.

But *Belisarius* about midsummer went against *Vitigis*, leaving in *Rome* a small Garrison; and taking the rest with him. He sent some to intrench before *Tudera*, and *Clusum*, meaning to follow, and with them to besiege the Goths therein. But they hearing of the army coming, sent to *Belisarius*, and yielded upon composition to have no hurt done them. He took the Goths there, and sent them to *Naples* and into *Sicily*, then left Garrisons in *Tudera* and *Clusum*, and marcht on. In the mean time *Vitigis* sent another army under *Vacinus* to *Auximum*, to joyn with the Goths there, and to attempt the castle of *Ancona*. This *Ancona* is a cornerd rock, from whence it hath the name, *Anco*, signifying an Elbow. It stands from *Auximum* ten miles, and is the Haven for it; the Castle is at the corner of a rock, very secure, but the houses without being not many, have no defence of walls. *Conon*, who had the Guard of the place, hearing *Vacinus* to come against him, and not far off, fell upon a fencelesse resolution, as if it were nothing to save the Castle, People, and Souldiers. He left the castle unguarded, and drew out some five furlongs off, standing in order of battel, not of any depth, but compassing the hill, as if he were hunting. But when they saw the Enemy so much exceeding in numbers, they all ran away to the Castle. The Barbarians pursuing, killed many that could not get in; set to their Ladders to mount the Castle, and put fire to the houses without. The Romans who dwelt within were amazed, and first having opened the Gate, and received in the flying Souldiers, now seeing the Goths at their heeles ready to enter with them, they shut the Gates, and drew up with ropes divers, and *Conon* among them. The Goths, mounting by their Ladders, had taken the Castle, if two men upon the Battlements had not miraculously thrust them off, the one a Thracian, and a Lancer to *Belisarius*, named *Olimus*, the other *Bulgudis* a Hunne, a Lancer of *Valerianus*. These by chance landed a little before at *Ancona*, and in this fight keeping off the Goths with their Swords, saved the Castle beyond expectation, but were carried off themselves mangled and halfe dead.

Incipit annus
quartus bell.
Goth, being in
11 reg. Justin-
ian et anno
domini 539.

CHAP. XI.

Then came newes to *Belisarius*, that *Narses* was come from *Constantinople* with an army, and was in *Picenia*; *Narses* was an Eunuch, and Treasurer to the Emperour, valiant above the condition of an Eunuch: with him came 5000 men in severall Regiments, commanded by *Iustinus*, Generall of *Illyrium*, and others; and another *Narses*, a *Perf-Armenian*, who revolted formerly to the *Romans* with *Horatius* his Brother, who came a little before to *Belisarius* with other forces, and 2000 *Herulians* under *Visandus*, *Alueth*, and *Phanathens*. Formerly the *Herulians* inhabited beyond the river *Ister*, serving many Gods, and holding it no impiety to appease them with human sacrifices. They had Lawes differing from other men: When men were grown aged or sick, they were not to live, but to intreat their kindred to put them out of the world: Who made a pile of wood, and set the man in the top, and sent a stranger to him, in blood, with a sword to dispatch him; then set the pile on fire, and the flame being done, gather'd up his bones, and buried them. When an *Herulian* died, his wife (if she would be thought vertuous) was to strangle her self over her husbands Tombe; otherwise shee was esteemed infamous, and an Enemy to her husbands kindred. In time over-topping the bordering Barbarians in populousnesse and power, they vanquish't them in fight one by one, and forraged their country, and kept them under. They subdued the Lombards being Christians, and made them pay Tribute, upon Covetousnesse or vain glory, it being a thing not used by the Barbarians in those parts. In the Raige of the Emperour *Anastasius*, having none left to invade, they remained quiet for three years: But were discontented for it at their King *Rodolphus*, flocking about him, and calling him coward, and immoedly they scold and abused him. Who not enduring the disgrace, made a causelesse war upon the Lombards, not charging them with breach of Treaties, or any other pretence. The Lombards sent to *Rodolphus* to know why the *Herulians* were in armes against them; if their Tribute were not all paid, they would satisfie it with advantage; if they thought it too mean, they would make it greater. But *Rodolphus* sent their Ambassadors away with Threats. They sent again other Ambassadors, who used much entreaty; but speeding "not. the third came and advised him; In no sort to make a war without a cause: "if he did, the Lombards (though unwillingly) must oppose the invasion; calling "God to witnesse, whose least drop upon the scale will weigh down all the power "of men, & as he is induced by the causes, will determin the conclusion of this war. The *Herulians* not frighted herewith, nor relenting, resolved to have a Battell. Both parts being neer each other; over the Lombards the aire was suddenly over cast with a black thick cloud; there being a clear sky over the *Herulians*, a Prefage that the *Herulians* entred the fight for their own mischefe. and among those Barbarians before a battell the saddest prodigie that can be. But the *Herulians*, not heeding the same, marcht proudly against the Enemy, judging of the successe by their great multitudes. But they were very many slain, with their King *Rodolphus*, and the rest flying were almost all cut in peices. Upon this they left their Country, and passing through all the land beyond the River *Ister*, came where the *Regians*, or *Regians* had inhabited, (who were gone with the Goths into *Italy*) and there they sat down. But the land being wast, and famine compelling, they removed, and came to a country next the *Cepades*; who at the first permitted them to plant, coming as Suppliants: But afterward they wronged them, forcing their wives, and making prey of their Cattell and Goods, and at last began unjust quarrells with them: which the *Herulians* not able to bear, past the River *Ister* to dwell by the *Romans* there. And *Anastasius* the Emperour received them, to plant in the country. Soon after by committing much wickednesse upon their neighbouring *Romans*, they offended him, and he sent an army against them; which in a battell had the victory, killed most of them, and would have destroyed them all; but their chieftains remaining, with supplications begged their lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants to the Emperour; who granted the same, and so some *Herulians* escaped alive, but neither ayded nor served the *Romans*. *Iustinian* coming to the Empire gave them a good country,

try, and Goods, and made them absolute Associates, and perswaded them to be Christians; upon this they grew civiller, and applyed themselves to the Lawes of Christians, serving the *Romans* as Auxiliaries. But still they are false to us, and covetous; not thinking it any shame to wrong their Neighbours. They use impious mixtures with men and Beasts, being indeed the wickedest of all men, and wretches wretchedly to perish. Some few of them continued their League with us; the rest revolted upon this occasion. To shew the Javagenesse of their nature, they killed *Ochon* their King, suddenly, without alleading any thing, but that they would no more be under a King. And indeed their King before had only the name, otherwise little advantage above a private man. All sat and ate with him, and put licentious scorn on him; the *Herulians* being the most indiscreet, and the lightest men alive. This foule Fact they instantly repented, finding no possibility to live without Governours, and Generals. After much consultation, they resolved to send for one of the Blood Royall from the Island of *Thule*. For the *Herulians* being overthrown by the Lombards, and leaving their native Soile, some dwelt in *Illyrium* (as I said) others past not the River *Ister*, but thought it better to plant in the uttermost borders of the habitable World. Conducted by many of the Blood Royall, they past through all the Nations of the *Slavonians*; then passing a large desert Country, they came to a Nation called the *Varians*, after whom they traversed the Nations of the *Danes*; the *Barbarians* there using no violence against them: Then they came to the Ocean, and getting Shipping, arrived at the Island of *Thule*, where they staid.

CHAP. XII.

T*hule* is ten times bigger then *Britany*, much distant from it to the Northward: The most of it is waste; but in that which is inhabited are seated thirteen populous Nations, and over every Nation is a King. The Sun about the Summer Tropick sets not in the Island for fourty dayes, being in all that time a strange sight still above the Earth. And neer the Winter Tropick, it is not seen in the Island for fourty dayes, but a continuall night hangs over it; the Inhabitants leading a sad life all the while, and not conversing with one another. It was not my fortune to goe to this Island, though I much desired to behold the wonder: But inquiring of some that came from thence, how they knew the due times of Sun-rising and Sun-setting, they told me the true reason; That the Sun sets not indeed there for fourty dayes, but it shines sometimes from the Eastward, sometimes from the West; and when they see it returne to that place of the Horizon, where first they saw it rise, they reckon a day and a night. And in the long nights they count the dayes by the courses of the Moone, which they see every moneth. When live and thirty dayes are runn out of this long night, men used to it are sent to the tops of the Mountaines, who there seeing the Sun, bring word that within five dayes it will shine againe. For this good newes a solemne Feast is celebrated in the dark; which is the *Thulites* greatest Holy-day. They feare (it seemes, notwithstanding their yearly experience) that the Sun may forsake them quite. Of all the Nations of *Thule*, only the *Scythians* are Savages, who use no apparel, nor shooes to their feet, nor get any mans meat out of the earth; themselves neither manuring it, nor their Wives using any work, but both perpetually hunting; for their vast Woods and Mountaines breed multitudes of wilde Beasts; which they catch and feed upon their flesh, covering themselves with their Skins, which they patch together with Sinews of Beasts, wanting thred, or any thing to sew with. Their Children are not nursed like other people, with Womans milke, nor hang at the Mothers breast, but are nourished with the Marrow of the wilde Beasts they take. The Woman having brought forth her childe, wraps it in a Skin, and hangs it on a Tree, and laying Marrow to the mouth of it, out shee goes a hunting with her Husband.

The rest of the *Thulites* differ not much from other people. They worship many Gods, and Demons, both Cælestiall, and of the Ayre, Earth, and Sea; and the Spirits sayd to be in Fountaines, and Rivers. They are perpetually sacrificing, and pa-

* Mr. Cambden.
Nec me latet
vassissimam il-
lum regionem
Scandiam sub
Thules nomine
a Photopio des-
cribi.
Indeed this
Scandia,
whom is Nor-
way & part of
Denmark, it
appears in the
Mappe as a
Peninsule. It is
called by some
of our Writers,
Vagina gen-
tium.

cifying

cifing with blood; and their fairest Victime is a Man, before taken Prisoner, whom they sacrifice to *Mars*, esteemed their greatest God. And they doe it, not by cutting his throat onely, but hanging him on a tree, and throwing him among Bryers, and other kinds of death. Among these *Thulites* the *Herulian* wanderers planted themselves; and those who continued among the *Romans*, having murdered their King, sent some chiefe men to the Island of *Thule*, to bring home one of the blood royall, if they could finde any there. They found many, and made choice of one whom they liked best, and tooke him with them. But being come neer home, he dyed of a sicknesse; and the men went againe to *Thule*, and brought another, named *Todasius*, accompanied with his Brother *Aordus*, and two hundred *Herulians* of the Island. Who being long upon their journey, the *Herulians* about *Singedon* conceiving it might be inconvenient to introduce a King from *Thule*, without the Emperour *Iustinians* consent, sent to *Constantinople* to the Emperour, to give them what King he pleased: He sent them *Snartuas*, an *Herulian*, who had long continued in *Constantinople*, whom the *Herulians* at first received joyfully, adored him as King, and obeyed him in the usuall directions: But within few daies, they had newes how the Ambassadors from *Thule* were neer. *Snartuas* commanded them to go out and kill them; and the *Herulians* followed him with a seeming approbation; but being within a daies journey of them, they revolted from him by night to the new commers, and himselte alone fled to *Constantinople*; the Emperour was studious to restore him; and the *Herulians* fearing the *Romans*, betook themselves to the *Gepedes*: And this was the cause of their Revolt.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Armies of *Belisarius* and *Narses* joyned at *Firma*, a City standing neer the *Ionian* Gulfe, a daies journey from *Auximum*. They held a Council of War where to oppose the Enemy with best advantage. If they go to relieve *Auximum*, they doubted the Enemy from *Auximum* might at their backs infest them, and spoile the *Romans* inhabiting those parts. And likewise of the besieged in *Ariminum*, they were afraid they might be distressed for want of Victuall. Most of the Captaines offended with *John*, charged him in their speeches for running into that danger rashly, and to get money, and for crossing (contrary to order) the Counsels of *Belisarius* concerning the War. But *Narses* (who loved *John* above all men) fearing least *Belisarius* upon the Captaines speeches might put *Ariminum* in the second place, spake thus. Fellow Commanders, you discourse in things not to be discoursed of, and consult where none reasonably can be of two Opinions; but where he who never knew the War may chuse upon the sudden. When the danger appeares equall, and the damage alike in mistaking, abundant consultation, and much discourse is fit, and so to determine the matters propounded. But we deferring to attempt *Auximum* now, shall receive no important hurt; for what so soon can alter our case? Whereas if we receive a blow at *Ariminum* (as can no otherwise be) we shall ruine (a harsh word) our whole power in *Italy*. If *John* have contemned your Commands, excellent *Belisarius*, you have it now in your power to punish him, by saving the Offender, or abandoning him to the Enemy. But take heed you do not punish the Emperour and us, for an unwitting Offence of *John*. If the *Goths* take *Ariminum*, they will make Captive a valiant Generall with his Army, and a City of the Emperours obedience. Neither will the mischiefe stop there, but even constitute the whole fortune of the War. For the Enemy have now much advantage in numbers; but by being often beaten, are become Cowards, their ill Fortune having taken their confidence from them. But if in this designe they prosper, they will soon recover their Spirits; and then dispute the War with more then equall Courage: Such as escape difficulties being commonly wiser, then they who never had misfortunes. Thus *Narses* spake. But a Souldier from *Ariminum* brought Letters to *Belisarius* from *John*, which were thus; Know, that our Victuall hath long failed us, and we can no longer answer the People, nor resist the Enemy; but within seven daies

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must fore against our wills yeild the city and our selves. We can no longer strive against our necessities, which will sufficiently apologize for us, if we shall do any thing not so honorable. *Belisarius* at this was troubled, and full of irresolution. He was afraid of the besieged; and he doubted that the Enemy in *Auximum* would fly abroad and burn the towns thereabout without controule; and by watching advantages distresse his own army, especially if there should be a battell. In the end he left *Aratius* with a thousand men to incamp by the Sea side, 25 miles from *Auximum*, and not to stir, nor give fight to the Enemy but in their own Defence; By this he hoped that the Enemy would lye quiet in *Auximum*, and not infest his army, having a camp of *Romans* so neer them. He sent also forces by Sea, commanded by *Herodian*, *Uliaris*, and *Narses*, brother to *Aratius*, and the whole in cheif by *Ildiger*. Whom *Belisarius* directed to sail directly for *Ariminum*, and to land not far off from the foot, which should march by the Sea shore commanded by *Martinius*, and appointed to wait upon the Fleet; whom he directed being neer the Enemy to light many fires, not proportionable to their small army, so to give the Enemy apprehension of greater numbers. Himself with *Narses*, and the rest of the army, marcht by *Urbisalia*, far from the Sea coast; a city so ruined by *Alaricus*, that nothing remained of the former beauty, but some reliques of one Gate, and of the pavement. Here I met with this adventure. When *Jo* came with his army into *P*, the people were in much confusion. and the women some suddenly fled where they could, others were carried away captives. In this place some woman, newly delivered of a Child, had left it in swathing clouts upon the Ground; whether she ran away, or were taken from it by the Enemy, she never did return, being likely either gone out of *Italy*, or the World. The child lying in that Desart cryed, and a shee Goat perceiving it, pittied it, and having also lately brought forth young, came to it and gave it her Teate, guarding the child, that no Dog nor wild beast might hurt it. The troubles lasting long in the country, this Infant had long the benefit of this Teat. But the *Piceniens* finding the Emperours army was come against the *Goths* only, and not to hurt the *Romans*, returned to their severall homes. And into *Urbisalia* the women with their husbands coming, and seeing the child, could not imagin what it was, and wondered how it lived: such women as were fit, offered their breasts; but the child would not take womans milk, neither would the Goat leave it; but importunately bleated, and seemed to be grieved at the womens troubling it, and in a word pretended to it her own. So that the women let it alone, and the Goat nursed it; for which the people called the child *Agisthus*. Travelling that way, they brought me to it, and anger'd it to make it cry; the Goat hearing it, being a stones cast off, ran to it bleating, and stood over it that none might hurt it. and this is the story of *Agisthus*.

CHAP. XV.

BUT *Belisarius* marcht by the mountaines, resolving not to come to a direct battell, being much inferior in numbers, and the *Goths* desperate with their misfortunes. But he thought that when they heard of Forces invading on every side, they would not resist, but run away; and he guest as it fell out. For being upon the Mountaines a dayes journey from *Ariminum*, he lighted upon *Goths* travelling about businesse; who being suddenly surprized, could not turne out of the way, but were some slain by the *Romans*, and the rest wounded ran up, and hid them in the rocks: from whence seeing the *Romans* marching many together in narrow passages, they judg'd them far more then they were, and perceiving the Ensign of *Belisarius*, they knew that he led them. The night overtaking, the *Romans* stayed there, and the *Goths* hurt men run to *Vitigis* Camp; whether being arrived about noon the next day, they shewed their wounds, and reported *Belisarius* to be at hand with an innumerable army. Hereupon they prepared to fight; marching to the North of *Ariminum* (which way they thought the Enemy would come) and still looking to the mountain tops. At night having put off their armes, and tak-

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ing their rest, they saw fires some seven miles from the City Eastward, kindled by *Martinus*. They fell into terrible fear, apprehending in the morning to be surrounded by the Enemy; and so lay still that night in that fear. And by sun rising they saw a great fleet coming, which even struck them dumb; that with tumult and clamouring they trus'd up, harkning to no commands, nor thinking upon any thing but how to get quit of the camp, and within the walls of *Ravenna*. If the besieged had had any strength or courage left, they had cut the Enemy in peices, and made an end of the war; but they were heartlesse with their miseries, and feeble with want of food. The Goths in that confusion left much of their baggage behind, and ran a main to *Ravenna*. *Ildiger* with his forces first seized the Enemies trenches, tooke the baggage they left there, and some sick men. At noon *Belisarius* came with the army, and seeing *John* and his company pale, and greivously nasty, he said, he must give thanks to *Ildiger*, glancing at his unadvised presumption. He answered that he acknowledged none to *Ildiger*, but to *Narjes* the Emperours Treasurer; intimating that *Belisarius* did not willingly releive him, but perswaded by *Narjes*; both these were ever after jealous of each other: That *Narjes* freinds would not let him march with *Belisarius*, su, getting how poor it was for him who communicated of the Emperours secrets, not to be an absolute commander, but to obey one that was but a Generall; and that *Belisarius* would never indure to command with him in Equality, but that if he would himself lead an army, he should have more Souldiers & better captaines to follow him; the *Herculians*, and his own Lancers and Targetiers, and the troops under *Iustinus* and *John* himself, with those of *Narjes* and *Aratius*, being not lesse in all then 10000 valiant men and able Souldiers. That they would not have the conquest of *Italy* wholly attributed to *Belisarius*, but *Narjes* to share in it, who had not left his attendance on the Emperours person, to establish with his own dangers the Glory of *Belisarius*; but by shewing his own valour and wisdom, to grow famous in the world; and that *Belisarius* without him could do nothing; most of the army commanded by him being dispersed in the places he had taken. All which they reckoned up from *Sicily* to *Picenia*. *Narjes* was much pleased with these discourses, and could not contain himself within his present condition: but *Belisarius* directing him any business, till he flew to some excuse, rejecting his commands. Which *Belisarius* observing, he assembled the Commanders, and spake thus. Fellow commanders, I find not my self to be of the same opinion with you concerning this War. You despise the Enemy, as absolutely subdued; but I thinke this confidence will bring you into danger; knowing that the Goths have not been beaten through their cowardice, or want of men, but overstratagem'd with counsell and foresight, and so routed. And you in like sort I fear from some false opinion may receive a blow, which may undo your selves and the Roman affaires. They are more easily undone, who are insolent with successes and conceit of victory; then such as having lost some honour, do for the time to come use feare and caution towards their Enemies. Carelesnesse hath ruined many well settled, and a solicitous labour releived men after misfortunes: the powers of the negligent lessening of themselves, but care naturally adding powers. Consider that *Vitigis* is in *Ravenna* with many thousands, That *Oreas* besieges *Millan*, and holds all *Liguria*; That in *Auximum* is a great and gallant army; and that there are other garrisons of Goths able to fight with us, all along to *Urbivintum*, which is a neighbour to *Rome*. That if we should now be compassed by the Enemy, our danger were more then ever. The Franks also are said to be in armes in *Iuguria*, which every Roman ought to consider and apprehend. My opinion therefore is, that part of the army be sent into *Liguria* and *Millan*, and all the rest to march against *Auximum*, and undertake as God shall enable, and as shall seem best and most advantageous. To this speech of *Belisarius*, *Narjes* replied. Noble Generall, in all the rest (being nothing but truth) none can contradict you; but that all the rest of the Emperours army should be confined to *Auximum* and *Millan*, I hold it inconvenient, for you to lead such of the army as you please for those purposes, is good reason: In the mean time we will get *Emilia* for the Emperour, a Province most set by by the Goths; and we will give such alarmes to *Ravenna*, that you shall bring the Enemy on your part to what tearmes you please, being excluded from hope of succours. I fear if we sit down before

|| Lombard
padana, from
the city of Ar
to Parma vid.
Icanurum.

before *Auximum* together, the Goths will set on us from *Ravenna*, and we shall be charged on both sides, and wanting Victuall perish upon the place. *Belisarius* fearing least by dividing the Forces, the Emperours Affaires might fall asunder, and ruine by the disorder arising from thence; produced the Emperours Letters directed to the Commanders in these words. We have sent *Narjes* our Treasurer into *Italy*, not to command the Army; it being our pleasure that *Belisarius* alone shall have the leading thereof, whethersoever himselfe thinks best; and it behoves you all to follow him for the good of our State. *Narjes* took hold of the last words of this Letter; and said, that *Belisarius* did now advise against the good of the State, and therefore they were not bound to follow him.

CHAP. XV.

Belisarius upon this sent *Perantius* with an Army to besiege *Urbivintum*; Himselfe led the rest to *Urbium*, a strong Town, a daies journey from *Ariminum*, which had a good Garrison of Goths within it: *Narjes* and *John* followed him, but before the Town they encamped severally at the foot of the Hill, *Belisarius* on the East side, & *Narjes* on the West. *Urbium* stands upon a round high Hill, not craggy, but unsafe to mount, only for the steepnesse, and neernesse to the City. Towards the North is an entrance upon plain ground. *Belisarius* (the Army being thus quartered) sent Ambassadors to the Goths, hoping to bring them (being affraid) to a composition; and promising many advantages by their submission to the Emperour. The Ambassadors at the Gates (being not admitted into the Town) used many allurements; but the Goths presuming upon the strength of the place, and their abundance of Provisions, rejected them and their motions. *Belisarius* upon this caused the Army to gather Poles, and with them to make a Gallery for men, to approach the Gates and Walls under this covert. Some Friends of *Narjes* told him that *Belisarius* laboured in vain, (*John* having attempted the place when the Garrison was small, and found it impregnable) therefore he should take in the Emperours Townes in *Emilia*. *Narjes* upon this advise rose that night (though much wooed by *Belisarius* to stay and help to take *Urbium*) and went to *Ariminum* with the rest of the Army. *Morras* and the Goths under him, in the morning seeing halfe the Army gone, flouted from their Walls at those that staid behind. But *Belisarius* with them resolved, to assault, and consulting about it, he had strange Success. The only Fountain in *Urbium* which watered all the Inhabitants, grew dry of it selfe, and in three daies so failed, that the Goths drunk the water with mud, whereupon they determined to yeild: whereof *Belisarius* not knowing, put the Army in readinesse to assault round about the Hill, and commanded to bring on the wooden Gallery upon the even ground. The men within unseen by the Enemy brought the same on, at which the Goths held out their hands, crying for peace. The Romans knowing nothing of the Fountain, conceived that it was the fight they feared, which they gladly forbore: And the Goths rendred themselves, and Town to *Belisarius*, upon composition of indemnity, they becoming Subjects to the Emperour, & serving in the Army with equall conditions. *Narjes* wondred to heare the Newes, and took it for a misfortune. He lay still in *Ariminum*, but commanded *John* with the Army to lead out against *Cesina*. They approach the Castle with their scaling Ladders upon their backs, & assaulted; But the Goths defended stoutly, and *Pharabius* Leader of the *Herculians* was slain, and many more, so that *John* would attempt it no more, seeming impregnable, but marcht on with *Iustinus*, and the rest of the Army, and took an ancient City, named *Forum Corneli*, by surprise: And he recovered all *Emilia*; the Goths avoiding still to fight with him. *Belisarius* also having taken in *Urbium*, thought it not expedient (being at the Winter Tropic) to go against *Auximum*, expecting a long Siege of it, the place being strong, and impossible to be forced, by reason the Goths within it were many, and of the best, who having forraged much Country, had brought in great quantity of Provisions, so that he appointed *Aratius* to winter in *Firmum*, and to restrain the

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Goths

Goths incursions, and to spoil the Country; and himselfe marcht against *Urbiventum*, perswaded by *Peruvius*, who had learnt of run-awaies, that the *Goths* within wanted Victuall; and that it was thought, they would yeild upon sight of *Belisarius* Army, which came so to passe. *Belisarius* quartered his Army before it, and himselfe went round, and viewed the Town, and found it not possible to be taken by force, but he thought by some plot it might be feasible. *Urbiventum* is built upon a Hill, standing alone in a Valley, and being plain at the top, and towards the bottome craggy. About it, a stones cast off are many Rocks, and the Town hath no Walls, nor other Fortification, Nature having made it impregnable; in regard there is but one way to it between those Rocks: which being guarded, the Townes-men feare no invasion at any other part. And where the way into the Town is, a large River unfordable takes up all the space between the Hill and those Rocks. So that there is only a small Fortification at the said passage, and a Gate to it, which the *Goths* guarded.

CHAP. XVI.

BUT *Belisarius* begirt the Town with his Army, hoping to incommode the Enemy from the River, and to take them by Famine. The *Goths* for a while were in no absolute wants, and though furnished very barely, yet they indured beyond expectation, having not Food to satisfie, but to keep alive only; and their Provisions being failed, they fed upon Hides, and Skins soaked in water, and upon vain hopes, which *Albilas* their Commander gave them, a man of great Reputation with the *Goths*.

The Summer being come, the Corn in all those parts grew of it selfe, but not in such quantity as formerly; being not covered under Furrowes by the Plow and Harrow; but lying upon the Face of the Land, which could yeild so but small Crop: And none being to reap it, much shed, and never grew again. The same happened in *Emilia*, that the Inhabitants went all into *Picenia*, which being upon the Sea, they thought the Famine not to be so much there: Which seized also upon *Tuscany*; but there the Mountainers grinded Acornes, and made bread, which bred all kind of Diseases in many; but some recovered and lived. But in *Picenia* 50000. *Roman* Husbandmen at least perished, and more on this side the *Ionian* Gulfe. I have seen their Countenances, and manner of deaths. They grew lanck, and pale, the Flesh wanting Food (according to the old saying) feeding on it selfe; Choler prevailing spred a wan Complexion over their Bodies: And as the Disease grew, all moisture forsook them; the Skin was hard like a tanned Hide, and lookt as if it cleft to the bones; afterwards they became black-coloured, and like Lincks much burnt. Their Countenance were hideous, like mad-men; and as most dyed for want of Sustenance, so some with greedy feeding; whose heat being quenched within, if they were nourished to satisfaction. and not by little, and little, like Babes new born, being not able to digest the meat. they dyed. Some forced by the Famine fed upon one another. Two Women in a Village beyond *Ariminum* were reported to have eaten 17. men, they onely were left alive in the place, and so Passengers lodged in their Cottage, whom they killed sleeping, and eat them. As they were attempting the like upon the 18. he waked, and finding out the truth, killed them both. Many being pinchd with this Famine, went where there was Grasse, and stooping to gather it, but being not strong enough to pull it up, they fell upon their hands, and dyed with the Grasse in their mouths. None buried any, nor had the least thought of Funeralls: The very ravenous Fowles, that feed on dead bodies, would not touch them, there being no flesh left to allure them, which the Famine had consumed all. So grievous was that Famine.

But *Belisarius* sent *Martinus* and *Uliaris* with an Army against *Urbis* and the *Goths*, whom he heard to besiege *Millan*. They encamped and stayd upon the *Poe* a dayes journey from *Millan*, and spent much time in consulting about their passage over the River. Which *Mundilas* understanding, sent one *Paulus* a *Roman* to them; who slipt by the Enemy and finding no Boats upon the *Poe* stript himselfe.

and

and in great danger swam over the River. Coming to the *Roman* Campe he told the "Commanders *Martinus* and *Uliaris*, that they did unjustly, and not besitting "their reputations, to come there in pretence to serve the Emperour, but in effect "to augment the *Goths* power. That *Millan*, the cheife of the *Italian* Cities for big- "nesse, wealth, and populousnesse, being a Bulwark for the whole *Roman* Empire "against the *Germans*, and other *Barbarians*, is now in perill with *Mundilas* and "the Emperours Forces, and yet by them neglected. The wrong they did the Em- "perour, he would forbear to aggravate, time not allowing many words, but "demanding speedy succour, whilst yet some hope is left. That therefore they "must instantly releive *Millan*; if they delayed it, Our fortunes (quoth he) will "be after the bitterest sufferings to perish, and yours, to betray the Emperours Soul- "diers to the Enemy. Seeing such are justly sayd to betray, not onely who open "their Gates to an Enemy, but who having means to rescue their best Freinds be- "sieged, by preferring a backward security before hazarding, abandon them to the Enemy. *Paulus* spake in that sort, and *Martinus* and *Uliaris* promised him to fol- low immediately, and so sent him away; who entred *Millan* by night, revived the Souldiers and other *Romans*, and made them yet more cheerfull in their Faith to the Emperour.

CHAP. XVII.

BUT still the Troops with *Martinus* were backward, and lay still, and so continued long. *Martinus* to put the blame from himselfe, wrote thus to *Belisarius*: "You sent us out to releive our distressed Freinds in *Millan*: "we have used our best diligence, and are as farr as the River of *Poe*; which "the Army feares to passe, hearing that in *Liguria* is a great Army of *Goths*, and "a multitude of *Burgundians*; with whom we conceive our selves not able to fight. "Command therefore *John* and *Iustinus* (who are our neighbours in *Emilia*) to "joyne their Troops with us in this adventure; whereby we shall be safe our selves, "and doe some hurt to the Enemy. *Belisarius* upon receipt of this Letter, com- manded *John* and *Iustinus* immediately to joyne with *Martinus* for *Millan*. They refused, unlesse *Narjes* directed them; whereupon *Belisarius* wrote thus to *Narjes*: "Consider how the Emperours Army is one body: If (as members in bodies) "you be not all of a minde, but will be doing one without others concurrence; in "the end (having done nothing you should) you will all perish. Wherefore leave "*Emilia*, which hath no strong place in it, and for the present is not of any impor- tance to us; and command *John* and *Iustinus* immediately to march with *Mari- nus* against the Enemy before *Millan*, whose Troops are near the same, and well "furnisht to vanquish the *Barbarians*. From hence it is not convenient to send For- ces thither, much time will be spent in the march, that they will come after the "season; and being come, they will not be able to use their Horses in a fight after "so long a journey. But those, and *Martinus* and *Uliaris* marching to *Millan*, in "likelihood will beat the *Goths*, and then againe subdue *Emilia*, none being to op- pose them. *Narjes* after perusal of this Letter, wrote to *John* and *Iustinus* to march to *Millan* accordingly. *John* afterwards was sent to the Sea-coast, to get Barks for transporting the Army over the *Poe*; but a sicknesse hinderd his businesse. In the mean time of this backwardnesse of *Martinus* Troops, and *Johns* staying for *Narjes* his Orders, the Besieged became infinitely distressed with Famine. The extre- mity constrained them to feed on Dogs, Rats, Mice, and such uncouth creatures. The *Goths* sent to *Mundilas* to render the City, offering Indempnity to himselfe, and the Souldiers. He accepted, so they would give assurances of performance; and not use hard measure to the Inhabitants. When the Enemy had given assurances to *Mundilas* and the Souldiers, but being angry with the *Ligurians*, appeared resolved to destroy them; he called the Souldiers and spake thus. If ever men have chosen "to dye honourably when they might have lived basely, such would I have you now "to be, and not for love of breath to live in disgrace; the rather being of the

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Schoole

"Schoole of *Belisarius*, where you have learnt so plentifully, that it were impious not to be generous, and extremely daring. To all men that come into this light, one fate is appointed, in their due time to dye. But in the manner of their deaths men are distinguished; Cowards first becoming the scorn and laughter of their Foes, fulfill their destiny too in their defined times. But generous men suffer the same with Virtue, and an advantage of Honour. If by becoming Slaves to the *Barbarians* we could preserve this People, our safe preservation would have an excuse; but for us to behold so many *Romans* destroyed by the Enemy, is more bitter then any death; for we shall seem even to have helpt the *Goths* to act this Calamity. Whilst therefore we are yet Masters of our selves, and can beare necessity with Virtue, let us make this our hard Fortune, our Glory. My Opinion is, to arme our selves compleatly, and to sally upon the Enemy, not looking for us: We shall gain one of these two; either Fortune to do something for us, or else an honourable riddance of our miseries, by a happy death beyond our hopes. The Souldiers for all these words of *Mundilas* would not hazard, but yielded themselves and the City upon the Conditions offered. Then the *Goths* hurt not, but made Prisoners with *Mundilas*, but the City they demolisht to the Ground, killing men of all ages, 300000. at least. The Women they made Slaves, and gave to the *Burgundians*, to graulie their joyning with them. Finding there *Reparatus*, Prefect of the Palace, they cut him in peeces, and threw them to the Dogs. *Tergentinus*, who was then in *Millan*, went into *Dalmatia* with his Troops through *Ventia*, and other Countries, and from thence brought the newes to the Emperour, of the *Romans* Disaster at *Millan*. The *Goths* also took other Townes by composition from the *Roman* Garrisons, and quickly subdued all *Liguria*. And *Martinus* and *Uliaris* returned towards *Rome* with their Army.

* This is now
Marca Trivigiana, south
Leander.

CHAP. XVIII.

Belisarius heard nothing of these Occurrents in *Liguria*, but the Winter being ended, he marcht with his Army into *Picenia*: In which Journey he understood to his great griefe what was become of *Millan*. *Uliaris* he suffered not to come into his sight, and wrote the whole matter to the Emperour, who punisht no man; but hearing of the differences between *Belisarius* and *Narjes*, he sent for *Narjes* home, and appointed *Belisarius* absolutely to command all the Army. *Narjes* went to *Constantinople* with some few Souldiers; And being gone, the *Herulians* would stay in *Italy*, though *Belisarius* in his own name and the Emperours made them large promises. They first went into *Liguria*, where meeting with *Ureas* his Army, they told their Slaves, and Cattell they had, and for a Sum of money given them, swore never to take Armes against the *Goths*, and so peaceably they came into *Venetia*; where having speech with *Vitalius*, they repented of their Error against the Emperour, and to expiate the same, left *Fislandus* there, and his Troops. The rest came to *Constantinople*, conducted by *Aluth*, and *Philimath*, who was chiefe; *Phanobius* being dead in his Tent.

But *Vitigis* hearing that in the beginning of the Spring *Belisarius* would come against him, and the *Goths* in *Ravenna*, they were all afraid, and consulted what to do; and finding upon debate themselves alone not able to match the Enemy, they resolved to draw in the aid of other *Barbarians*. Of the *Germans* they were thy, having already had experience of their unfaithfulness, being contented they should continue neutrall, not joyning with *Belisarius*. But to *Futis* King of the *Lombards* they sent Ambassadors and large Sums for aide; but he being a Friend, and Auxiliary of the Emperour, they returned without doing any thing. So that *Vitigis*, in much perplexity, demanded the advice of ancient men, what was to be done to repaire his Affaires. After many Opinions of his Counsell, some unreasonable, some worthy of consideration, it was said; "That the *Roman* Emperour could not invade the *Barbarians* of the West, before he had made truce with the *Persians*. Then the *Vandales*, and *Moors* were ruined, and these things

"things now befell the *Goths*. If the King of *Persia* might be put into a quarrell with *Justinian*, the *Romans* in war with that Nation could maintain none elsewhere. *Vitigis* liked the Counsell, & resolved to send Ambassadors, who were not *Goths*, to set *Chosroes*, King of *Persia*, at variance with *Justinian* (for feare of discovering, and spoyling of the negotiation.) But they perswaded two Priests of *Liguria* with money to undertake the Service. One of them taking upon him the shew and name of a Bishop, was the Ambassador, and the other went as his attendant. To these *Vitigis* gave his Letters to *Chosroes*, who being therewith moved, did those mischiefs to the *Romans* during the Truce formerly related. And the Emperour, so soon as he found the *Persians* plotting those mischiefs, thought good to end the War in the West: He sent therefore for *Belisarius* to go against the *Persian*, and he dispatcht *Vitigis* Ambassadors, (who yet were at *Constantinople*) with promise to send some to *Ravenna*, to conclude a Truce with the *Goths*, as should be expedient for both parts. But *Belisarius* made stay of the Enemies Ambassadors, untill they also sent home *Athanasius* and *Peter*, who went to *Constantinople*, and were highly rewarded. *Athanasius* the Emperour made Prefect of the Palace in *Italy*, and *Peter*, Captain of the Emperours Guard. And thus the Winter ended, and the fourth year of this War, written by *Procopius*.

Belisarius resolved first to get *Auximum* and *Fasula*, and then no Enemy being in his way, nor to be at his back, to set upon *Vitigis* and *Ravenna*. Unto *Fasula* he sent *Cyprian* and *Justinus* with their own Troops, and some *Isaurians*, and 500. Foot under *Demetrius*; these beleiged the *Goths* in that Cattle. Towards the Sea he sent *Martinus* and *John Phagas* with their own Troops, and other Forces, commanded by that *John*; whom he directed, in case *Ureas* with his Forces came towards them out of *Millan*, by any means to get the Reare of them, and to follow at their backs: These taking *Dorthon*, a Towne unwalld upon the River, there encamped.

Incipit,
Annus 5. belli
Goth. 13. Reg.
Justiniani &
Ann. Dom.
540.

CHAP. XIX.

Belisarius himselfe with eleven thousand men came before *Auximum*; which is the Metropolis of *Picenia*. It stands ten miles and a halfe from the shore of the *Jonian* Gulfe, and from *Ravenna* three dayes journey, and ten miles more, upon a high Hill, with no entrance in any plaine ground, and so not approachable by an Enemy. *Vitigis* had Garrisoned in it the choicest *Goths*, supposing that the *Romans*, missing this Towne, would not dare to invade *Ravenna*. *Belisarius* encamped his Army round about the bottome of the Hill, divided and lodged in severall quarters. The *Goths* seeing them thus severed, and not likely in a great Campaigna to succour one another, charged them about evening from the East side of the Towne, where *Belisarius* Quarter was with his Lancers and Targetiers: who opposed the Invaders, and soon routed them; and pursuing got up to the middle of the Hill; where the *Barbarians* trusting to the advantage of the place, turned head against them, killed many, shooting upon their heads, till the night prevented them. The day before this skirmish, some *Goths* being sent out early to get Provisions, were returning by night; and seeing the *Romans* fires, stood amazed. Many adventured and got into *Auximum* unseen by the *Romans*, others of them hid themselves in the Woods, thinking to goe to *Ravenna*, but were surprized, and all cut in peices. *Belisarius* finding *Auximum* strong, and no means to assault it, despaired to take it by force, but hoped by a close Siege to reduce them to wants, and in time to subdue them. The store of Grasse neer the Walls was occasion of dayly skirmishes: The *Romans* seeing the *Goths* cut the same for their Horses, ran up the Hill, fought with them gallantly still, hindred their carrying away the Grasse, and killed many of them. The *Barbarians* overmatcht by their Enemies valour, did thus. They took the Wheels and Axeltrees off their Waggon, and (their men beginning to cut Grasse) they rolled them downe upon the *Romans*, when they were ascended the middle of the Hill; but they went to the botome

come without touching a man. The *Goths* failing herein, ran into the Towne. Afterward they layd an ambush of their best men in Vallies neer the town; then some few appeared about the Grasse plot, and when the fight was come to Sword and Lance, they rose from their ambush, and having the advantage much in numbers, and amazing the Romans being unlookt for, they killed many, and put the rest to flight. The Romans in the quarters saw the Enemy rise from their ambush, and cryed loud to their companions to retire, but were not heard, being divided from them the whole length of the hill, and the Barbarians clashing their armes to drown their cries. *Belisarius* was troubled at it, and *Procopius*, the writer of this History, came to him, and sayd. "Noble Generall, Anciently the Roman Trumpeters were skilfull in two tunes, one composed to incourage the Souldiers to fight, the other to sound a retreat, when the Generall saw his time: Who by this means signified his pleasure, and the Souldiers put it in Execution. For in a battell to doe it by shouting is impossible; the fright it is amazing, and the clashing of armes over-coming the noise. But now rudenesse hath bereft us of this skill, and we cannot signifie both with one Trumpet: wherefore do you thus. Let the horsemens trumpets incourage the Souldiers to fight, and let those of the foot call them to the retreat; they cannot but distinguish the sound, the one being made of Leather, and very thin wood, and the other of a thick peice of Brasse. *Belisarius* liked *Procopius* advise, and calling the army, spake thus. "Courage and forwardnesse is expedient, and commendable so far as it is moderate, and hurts not them who use it; all things becoming ever worse with Excesse. Commit therefore no more of these Errors through vain ambition; to fly sometime is no shame, and who unadvisedly runs into evident mischief, if he chance to escape, yet is he guilty of Folly. The gallant man is he, that fights valiantly in time of need. The *Goths* now unable to fight with you, endeavour to ruin you with ambushes; and you are more to be blamed for standing the danger, then if you had run out of their ambush; nothing being baser, then to serve an Enemies Counsellors. I will be carefull to prevent your falling into ambushes; and you, when I give the signall, presently retire, which shall be done by the sound of the foot Trumpets. The Souldiers after this speech, seeing the Enemy at the Grasse, went towards them, and at first killed some. A *Moore* elypping one of them with Gold Ornaments, took him by the hair, and drew him aside to strip him; but a *Goth* hit him through both the calves of his legs with a dart, and so fettered them both together, yet still he drew the dead body, holding it by the Hair. In this instant the *Goths* rose from their ambush, and immediately *Belisarius* seeing all from the camp, caused the foot Trumpets to sound, which the Romans hearing, retired gently, taking up the *Moore* with the Dart through his legs. The *Goths* durst not follow them, but retired too. Afterward the *Goths* considered how they might advertise *Vitigis* of their wants, which grew great, and none adventuring to go, as thinking it impossible to slip by the Enemy, they observed a night without moon light, and preparing their men with Letters to *Vitigis*, when the night was far spent, they made great cries upon the walls, as if they were in some terrible confusion, preit by Enemies, and their town suddenly taken. The Romans could not imagine the cause, and kept within their quarters by *Belisarius*'s direction, fearing a surprize from the Town, and from some army from *Ravenna*, which might be come to the Enemies succour; and so thought better to lye still in a safe place, then in a dark night to run into danger: Whereby the *Goths* sent out their men unespied to *Ravenna*; who the third day, without meeting Enemy, delivered the Letters to *Vitigis*, to this Effect.

"When your Majesty placed us in *Auximum*, you said, that in our hands you left the keys of *Ravenna*, and of your Kingdom, and you therefore summoned our uttermost power to conserve the dominion of the *Goths*, and if we needed it, you promised to come to us unsent for with your whole army. We have fought with *Famin* and *Belisarius*, and been faithfull Guards of your Kingdome; but you have not thought meet to succour us at all. Think it the Romans take *Auximum*, and the keys which lye here by you forgotten, whether they will be kept out of any thing you have. *Vitigis*, upon persuall hereof, promised forthwith to succour *Auximum* with his whole forces, and dismist the men: But upon better consideration he lay still, doubting least the troops with *John* might fall upon his back, and be-

fore

fore him fearing a great power of resolute men with *Belisarius*; but principally want of victuall troubled him, not knowing from whence to furnish his army, in regard the Romans were masters of the Sea, and transporting their provisions from *Sicily* and *Calabria*, to the Castle of *Ancona*, from thence had it brought with ease in the due season; but the *Goths* in *Picenia* should have no means of supply. But the Messengers came safe to *Auximum* with *Vitigis* promise, which raised them with vain hope. And *Belisarius* hearing thereof, caused the Guards to be more strictly kept.

In the mean time *Cyprian* and *Iustinus*, besieging *Fesula*, could not approach to assault the place; and the *Goths* willing rather to end it by fights, then to endure the want of victuall, sallied often. At first the fights were equall, in the end the Romans being too hard for them, shut them within their walls; keeping exact watch that none might get out. In *Auximum* the *Goths* perplexed with their wants, sent out again to *Vitigis* for succour, as unable to hold out any longer. He directed *Vreas* with the army in *Liguria* to march into *Picenia*; promising also to come to the besieged with his whole power. *Vreas* went into *Picenia* accordingly, with the army with him; first the *Poe*, and came neer the Romans Camp, and sat down about 7 miles distant from them. They began no fights, the Romans thinking it enough to keep them from joyning with the besieged. And the *Goths* were afraid to fight, considering if they should lose the battell, they should ruin all; being to have no more means of joyning with *Vitigis*, and with him of opposing the Enemy: with these counsellors they both lay still.

CHAP. XX.

IN the mean time the *Franks* hearing how both the *Goths* and *Romans* were waited with this war, conceived it easy to get a good share of *Italy*, and repined to sit idle thus, and look upon others, disputing a province so neer neighbour to. So that forgetting their late oathes and accords both with *Romans* and *Goths* (for this nation of all men is the most slippery of Faith) with an army of 50000 men under the leading of *Theodebert*, they invaded *Italy*. They had some few horsemen, Lancers, to attend their King. The rest were foot men, without bowes or Lances, only wearing a sword, a shield, and a battell axe; the iron whereof was broad and sharp on both sides, and the handle very short; This upon a signall at the first charge they throw from them, to break the Enemies shields and kill them. Thus the *Franks*, passing the *Alpes* which divide *Gaul* and *Italy*, came into *Liguria*. The *Goths* were before angry for their not accepting their offers of a large country, and great summes to aid them; but now hearing *Theodebert* was come with a mighty army, they rejoiced; and hoped to beat their Enemy now without striking stroke. And the *Franks*, while they were in *Liguria*, hurt not the *Goths*, that they might find no impediment in their passage over the *Poe*; and at a Town in *Picenia*, where was an ancient bridge over the River, the Garrison supplied them, and let them at their pleasure passe the *Poe*. But the *Franks* being masters of the Bridge, such women and children as they found, they sacrificed, and threw into the River as the first spoiles of the War; retaining yet (though Christians) much of the old religion, & using sacrifices, and other ungodly Rites in making their predictions. The *Goths* seeing it, in a great fear fled into the town, and the *Franks* being past, march towards the *Goths* Camp: Who at first seeing them in small troops, were glad of their coming, thinking it to be to aid them. But when numbers came on, and fell to the businesse, and darting their Battle axes hurt many, they turn'd about, and ran away by the *Romans* camp into *Ravenna*. The *Romans* seeing them fly, thought that *Belisarius* had vanquishd them in fight, and taken their camp from them; and they took armes, thinking to joyne with him in the pursuit; but they found an Enemy unlookt for, and unwillingly they fought, till being beaten, and not able to return to their camp, they fled into *Tuscan*, and sent Newes of the accident to *Belisarius*. The *Franks* having conquered both parts, and taken their Camps without any men in them; there then found their provisions. But in a while they had no-

thing

It seems they had Almans with them yet Heathen. See Agathias lib. 1. cap. 3.

thing to feed on in a wasted Country, but Oxen, and water of the *Poe*, no bread at all, and being not able to digest the flesh, and abundance of water, they fell into fluxes and dysenteries, which they could not get cured for want of things convenient: So that a third part of them are said to have so perisht, and being not able to march on, they staid there. *Belisarius* hearing of this army of *Frank*, and how the troops of *John* and *Martinus* were routed, he was afraid of his army, especially of those before *Fasula*, who were neerest the Barbarians, and he wrote this Letter to *Theodebert*. "Noble *Theodebert*, for one pretending to virtue, and especially being a King of "so great a Nation, not to be true of his word, is not Princely; but to violate oaths "and accords reduced into writing, is not fit for the meanest man. Herein you know "your self a Transgressor; having lately agreed to joyne with us against the Goths; & "now not so much as continuing neutrall, but advisedly having taken armes, and set "upon us. Put not this affront upon the Emperour, Good Sr. who will revenge it in "the highest kind. It is better for a man to hold his own securely, then by meddling "with what belongs not to him, to run a danger in that which most concerns him. *Theodebert* upon this Letter, and being troubled with his present Estate, and reviled by the Germans for letting them fly thus in a desert country to no purpose, rose with the *Frank*s surviving, and made haste home.

CHAP. XXI.

Nevertheless *Martinus* and *John* came back with their Troops, least the Enemy should set upon the Army before *Auximum*. Where the *Goths* hearing nothing of the *Frank*s retreat, but despairing at the delays from *Ravenna*, thought once more to importune *Vitigis*, but could not get by the Enemy. Seeing at noon one *Burcensius*, a *Bessian* by birth, and a Souldier of *Narjes* the *Armenian*, standing Sentinell to keepe off the Towne from cutting *Grasse*; some came to parley with him, and agreed to give him a great Summe in hand to carry a Letter to *Ravenna*, and more at his returne with Letters from *Vitigis*. The man for the Money undertook the service, and presently put it in execution. He brought the Letters sealed up to *Vitigis* with all Speed, which were thus: "You will perceive our estate, by enquiring who is the bearer of this Letter; there "being no means for a *Goth* to get out of the Towne walls; and our best supply "of Victuall is the *Grasse* that grows about them, which we cannot touch without fighting and losse of men. To what conclusion this will bring us, you and "the *Goths* in *Ravenna* are seriously to consider. *Vitigis* returned this answer: "My best Freinds in the World! I think not I am so dejected, nor come to that degree of baseness, as through sloth to abandon the *Goths* affaires; my owne "journey was in readinesse, and *Vreas* by my direction was coming from *Millan* "with his Army; but an unexpected invasion of *Frank*s stopt our preparations, "whereof I am not to beare the blame: For things above humane power bestow "this favour on the unfortunate, to make him unblameable; Fortune taking the "whole imputation upon her selfe. But *Theodebert* being now gone, as we heare, "we will shortly, God willing, be with you with our whole Army. And you must "beare your Fortune valiantly, and suitably to the necessity. Thinke upon the vertue for which we made choice of you to guard *Auximum*; and respect that general opinion held of you by all the *Goths*, which set you there a Bulwark of *Ravenna*, and of their whole safety.

Vitigis with this Letter and good store of Money, dispatcht the man: Who coming before *Auximum* pretended to his Companions a sudden sickness, which caused him to goe to a Church neer there for cure; and standing Sentinell where he was wont, he delivered the Letters unseene by the *Romans*. The reading whereof raised their Spirits, though opprest with the Famine, that they would not yeild, albeit *Belisarius* much wooed them to it: But having no newes of any Army from *Ravenna*, and being in extreame want of Victuall, againe they sent *Burcensius*, writing onely, That they were able to struggle with the Famine five dayes, and no more; who brought them againe a Letter from *Vitigis*, holding them in suspense with

with like hopes. The *Romans* also were weary of this long Siege in a barren desert Country, and troubled to see the *Goths* not to yeild, though in so much misery. *Belisarius* therefore sought to take some Enemy alive, from whom he might learne the ground of this oblinacy of the *Goths*. *Valerianus* promised to serve him therein; who had in his Troops *Slavonians*, that used to lye under some Stone or Bush, and to steale Enemies; a thing ordinarily practised by them by the River *Ister*, where their dwellings are, both upon *Romans* and *Barbarians*. *Belisarius* liking his way, and committing it to his care, he chose out a *Slavonian*, a tall lusty fellow, and valiant, and assured him a good reward from *Belisarius* to get an Enemy alive; and told him, That at the *Grasse* plat, which the *Goths* used to eat for want of food, he might doe it with ease. The *Slavonian* before day-broke, put himselfe neer the Towne walls, concealed in a Bush, and gathering up his feet close about him. By day-light a *Goth* came out to gather *Grasse*, suspecting nothing from the Bush; but had his eye upon the Camp, least any enemy might come from thence. The *Slavonian* stealing behinde him, snatched him up fast between his armes, & delivered him to *Valerianus*; who enquiring, from what confidence the *Goths* being so weakere refused to yeild, and wilfully endured so much distresse; the *Barbarian* told him all the story about *Burcensius*, desiring he might be brought face to face. *Burcensius* seeing himselfe discovered, concealed nothing; and *Belisarius* gave him to his Companions to use him as they pleased; who burnt him alive in the sight of the Enemy: And this fruit had *Burcensius* of his covetousnesse. But *Belisarius* seeing the *Goths* still hold out, he had a designe upon their water, by that way thinking to take them in with most ease and advantage.

CHAP. XXII.

There was a Spring-head to the North-ward of *Auximum*, in a craggy ground, a stones cast from the Town, sending a small stream into a Cistern anciently there built, which being filled from that small stream, supplied water for the Citizens. *Belisarius* thought that if the water were not received into the Cistern, the *Goths* being plyed with Arrowes, would be long filling their Vessels from so small a stream. To spoile this Cistern, he did thus; he put his Forces in Armes, and in their orders round about the Town, as if he would make a generall Assault; The *Goths* fearing the same, stood upon the Battlements, to oppose the Enemy. In the mean time *Belisarius* brought to the Cistern five *Isaurians*, covered under a multitude of Shields, skillfull in Masonry, with Axes, and other Instruments to cut stones, commanding them to break down the sides of the Cistern. The *Goths* thinking they came to approach the Walls, kept quiet; that being neerer they might shoot at them with more advantage, not imagining the businesse. But seeing the *Isaurians* within the Cistern, they plyed them with Arrowes, and stones; The rest ran back, and the five *Isaurians* being under in safety, fell to work; there being an Arch over the water for shade, under which they made no account of the Enemies shot, though it came thick. The *Goths* opening the Gate there, sallied furiously upon the *Isaurians*, and the *Romans* encountered them, where was a hot fight long, and body to body, and much slaughter on both sides. The *Romans* fell thicker, the *Goths* having the advantage of the upper ground; but the *Romans* gave not back, *Belisarius* being present, and with loud shouts encouraging them: When from the Enemy came an Arrow whizzing towards the Generals belly, whether shot by chance, or purposely: *Belisarius* seeing it not, could not ward nor shun it; but *Unigatus*, one of his Life-guard, perceiving the Arrow coming almost to his belly, put his right hand between, and saved the Generals life; and being himselfe wounded with it, and in extremity of pain, he retired: His Sinewes were afterwards cut asunder, and he lost the use of his hand. The Fight beginning in the morning ended at noon, where seven *Armenians* of the Troops of *Narjes*, and *Aratius*, shewed great deeds of Valour; running up the steep Hill, and upon the plain killed all that stood them, untill they had routed the *Goths* in that part. And the *Romans* seeing the Enemy give ground, fell to Execution

ecution, and the Defeat being cleer, the *Goths* got within their Walls. The *Romans* thought the Cistern to be downe, and the *Isaurians* to have dispatcht their work; but they could not force one stone out of it. The ancient Artificers, above all, carefull of their Credits, had so wrought this building, that it would not yeild to time, nor the attempts of men; wherefore the *Isaurians*, seeing the *Romans* masters of the Feild, came out of the Cistern, and retired to the Camp. Hereupon *Belisarius* caused the Souldiers to throw dead bodies of Beasts, and poysonous Herbs into the water, and to quench burning Lime in it; that the *Goths* having but one Well within the Walls, with little water in it, were much scanted. Neither did *Belisarius* use any more force or designs against the Town, hoping by Famine only to have his will of the Enemy; and therefore he attended earnestly to his Guards and Sentinels. The *Goths* also in their great wants were quiet, expecting an Army from *Ravenna*.

In *Fesula* the Besieged endured sore Famine, and much misery, and having no hope from *Ravenna*, they resolved to yeild: And coming to a Parly with *Cyprian* and *Justinus*, and taking assurance for their lives, they rendred themselves and the Castle. *Cyprian* brought them and the *Roman* Army before *Auximum*, leaving a Garrison in *Fesula*. *Belisarius* shewed their Leaders to the *Goths* in *Auximum*, bidding them leave their Opiniativeness, and hopes from *Ravenna*, from whence receiving no good, but being more ruined daily, they will at last come to the same Fortune with those of *Fesula*. They considered of it, and being unable to hold out longer against the Famine, they embraced the Proposition, and rendred the City upon conditions of indemnity to themselves, and to go with their Goods to *Ravenna*. *Belisarius* was in some doubt to suffer so many brave men to joyne with those in *Ravenna*; but he would not lose the opportunity of marching thither against *Vitigis*, while Affaires was yet in suspence, and the *Frankys* expected to come with succours to the *Goths*; whose coming though he would willingly prevent, yet he would not raise the Siege of *Auximum*, before it were taken. But the Souldiers opposed the *Goths* having their Goods, shewing their wounds, and recounting their toiles in the Siege, whereof they alledged the spoiles of the Conquered to be the due Prizes. In the end forced by the pressing opportunity, and the *Goths* compelled by the Famine, they came to this accord; That the *Romans* should have halfe the Goods, and the *Goths* with the other halfe be subject to the Emperour: And upon this they gave Oath, the *Roman* Commanders to observe the Agreement, and the *Goths* not to conceale any of their Goods. So they shared the Goods, and the *Romans* had *Auximum*, and the *Goths* were mingled with the Army.

CHAP. XXIII.

Belisarius having taken *Auximum*, made hast to *Ravenna* with his whole Army; He sent *Magnus* before with competent numbers, to skirt the Banks of *Poe*, and prevent the transporting of Provisions into *Ravenna* that way. *Vitalius*, being come out of *Dalmatia* with Forces, guarded the other side of the River; a Fortune here befell, which shewed evidently, that he it is who will determine the controversie. For the *Goths* had formerly brought down into the *Poe* many Barks out of *Liguria* laded with Corn, bound for *Ravenna*; but the water was grown so low then, that they could not row on; till the *Romans* coming, surprised the Barks and all the lading. Soon after, the River had the wonted stream and was Navigable again; which never happened so before, that we could heare. And now the *Goths* began to be scarce of Provisions, importing nothing from the *Ionian* Gulfe (by reason the Enemy was Master of the Sea) and the River being blockt up.

The Kings of the *Frankys* understanding how things went, and desiring to put for *Italy*, sent Ambassadors to *Vitigis* with offers of aides, so they might share the Dominion of the Country with him; which *Belisarius* being advertised of, sent also Ambassadors to dispute it with the *Frankys*, and among others, *Theodorus*

dorus the Steward of his house. The *Frankys* Ambassadors were first heard, and spake thus: "The Kings of the *Frankys* have sent us hither, sorry to heare that you are distressed by *Belisarius*, and ready according to their League to avenge you. There is an Army passed the *Alpes*, of 500000. men, who at their very first Encounter will over-whelme the *Roman* Army with their battle Axes. Harken not therefore to their Counsell, who would make you Slaves, but to theirs rather who in their Affection to you embrace the hazards of a War; And the rather, because joyning with us, the *Romans* cannot hope to match both our powers, but we shall with ease have the Victory. Whereas if you joyne with the *Romans*, yet shall they not be able to stand against the *Frankys*, (the Battle even then being not to be with equal powers) and you will be vanquished in the company of your greatest Foes. To run therefore into so evident mischiefe, having meanes to be preserved without hazard, is extremelt folly. The *Romans* are not faithfull to any *Barbarians*, but naturally Enemies to them. But we (if you like it) will share with you the Dominion of *Italy*, and divide the Country as we shall both think best. Make choice therefore of what is most expedient for you. The *Frankys* having done, the Ambassadors of *Belisarius* spake thus: "That the *Frankys* multitudes shall not hurt the Emperours Army, as these men would fright us, what needs a long Speech to you, whose experience hath learnt all the moments of War? and that Valour is not vanquishd with multitudes. The Emperour can more then any, (if he please) exceed his Enemy in numbers. The faithfulness of these men to all *Barbarians*, we know, and themselves have shewed it to the *Thuringians*, *Burgundians*, and to you their Allies: So that we would gladly ask, by what God they mean to sweare for the pledge of their Faith. How they have respected him by whom they have already sworn, you know; who coming as Friends to aide you, did not only not joyne in the danger, but impudently took Armes against you; if you remember what they did at the *Poe*. What need we, by repeating things past, convince the *Frankys* impiety? Can any thing be more detestable then this their Ambassage? as if they had forgotten former Treaties; now they pretend their aides to be better then other mens; but if they obtain the *Goths* to mingle with their Armies once, what will be the period of their insatiable desires, were good to consider. *Belisarius* Ambassadors having thus spoken, *Vitigis* after long conference with the principall *Goths*, chose an Accord with the Emperour, and dismiit the *Frankys* with denyall.

From hence forward the *Romans* and *Goths* sent Ambassadors to each other: But still *Belisarius* set Guards to hinder importation of Provisions; and he employed *Vitalius* to take in Townes in *Venetia*, and himselfe with *Idageer* guarded both sides of the *Poe*, to draw thus the *Goths* to yeild to him upon his own termes for want of Victuall. Hearing how there was much Corn in the publick Magazines of *Ravenna*, he won a Citizen with money to set them all on fire; which losse (some say) happened by *Mattasanthas* advise, the Wife of *Vitigis*. It was so suddenly done, that some thought it was by lightning, as others by designe, and *Vitigis* and the *Goths* taking it in either kind, fell into more irresolution, neither trusting one another, and thinking God himselfe made War against them.

In the *Alpes* also which divide *Gaulle* and *Liguria*, (called *Alpes Cottie*) are many Castles, whereof many principall *Goths* have the Guard, having long dwelt there with their wives and children. *Belisarius* desirous to reduce them, sent *Thomas* thither, one of his retinue, with some few, to give Faith, and receive the *Goths* upon composition, whom *Sisgis* commander of all those Garrisons received into a Castle, and with himself brought in all the rest. In the mean time *Vraus* with 4000 choice men out of *Liguria*, and those Castles, was marching to succour *Ravenna*: These hearing what *Sisgis* had done, and afraid of their own Estates, with *Vraus* went first to these *Cottian Alpes*, and besieged *Sisgis* and *Thomas*. *John Vitalianus* hearing of it, and *Martinius* (being then about the *Poe*) came to their succour with their forces, and some of the Castles they surprized, and made the Inhabitants slaves, and among them many wives and Children of *Vraus* souldiers, who from those Castles had followed him; but hearing now how their own Estates were ran-

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sack't, they suddenly ran from the Goths Camp to *John*, whereby *Uraas* could do nothing there, nor yet relieve *Ravenna*, but went into *Liguria* with some few, and lay still.

CHAP. XXIV.

IN the mean time, *Belisarius* shut up in *Ravenna*, *Vitigis*, and the cheife of the Goths: and the Emperours Ambassadors arrived, *Dominicus* and *Maximinus*, both Senators; with commillion to make peace upon Terms, that *Vitigis* should have half the Revenues of the Crown, and the Dominion of the country beyond the *Poe*; the other half of the Revenues to be the Emperours, and the rest of *Italy* to be subject to him, and to pay him Tribute. The Ambassadors shewed the Emperours instructions to *Belisarius*, and were conducted into *Ravenna*: And *Vitigis* and the Goths gladly agreed to conclude the treaty upon those conditions. This discontented *Belisarius*, as an ill service to hinder him from the absolute conquest, and his bringing *Vitigis* to *Constantinople* prisoner, having it in his power: and at the Ambassadors return he refused to signe the Treaty, upon which the Goths were jealous of the Romans that they fraudulently propounded a peace, and protested to conclude nothing without the signature and oath of *Belisarius*. Who hearing that some Commanders taxed him with a design against the Emperours service, to prolong the War; he called them all, and in the presence of *Dominicus* and *Maximinus* spake thus: "The fortune of the war (I and you know) stands not upon firm Ground; many in hope of an instant victory have been overthrown, and an Event, in appearance ruined, hath beyond imagination subsisted. So that men consulting of peace, are not to fancy the best for themselves only, but to consider the event both waies in possibility, and so to resolve. And I now assemble you my fellow Commanders, and the Emperours Ambassadors, that chusing with all freedom what you think most expedient for the Emperour, you may not after the business done, lay imputations upon me; it being most unreasonable, when you may chuse the best, to be silent; and when you see the Event, then to coyn accusations. The Emperours resolution, and *Vitigis* mind for concluding the war, you know; which if you conceive to be expedient, say so; but if you thinke your selves able to recover *Italy*, and to subdue the Enemy, there is no danger, boldly to say it. *Belisarius* having spoken, they all said plainly that the Emperours instructions were best, and that they were not able to do more then they had done. The opinion pleased *Belisarius*, and he bade them expresse it in a writing, that they might not deny it afterwards; which they signed accordingly; that they were not able to subdue the Enemy by war. But the Goths the while prest with *Famin*, could hold out no longer; weary they were of *Vitigis* government, and yet scrupulous to yield to the Emperour; fearing to be removed by him out of *Italy* to *Constantinople*, and planted thereabout. So that the principall men upon debate resolved to declare *Belisarius* Emperour of the West, and secretly they sent to entreat him to accept the Empire, professing to be most willing to obey him. *Belisarius* would not take the Empire without the Emperours consent; to whom he was tyed in a solemn oath, not to innovat during the said Emperours life; and the very name of an Usurper he hated: yet to facilitate his business, he seemed to accept the offer. *Vitigis* perceiving it, out of fear, commended the Goths resolution, and secretly animated *Belisarius*, that there should be no rub in his way to the Empire. *Belisarius* hereupon called the Commanders with the Ambassadors, and askt them, if they thought it not a matter of importance, to make all the Goths, and *Vitigis* the Emperours Captives; to share their wealth, and to recover all *Italy* to the Romans: They said, it would be an extream high fortune, and prayed him to effect it if he could. Presently *Belisarius* sent some of his favorites to *Vitigis*, and the cheife Goths, willing them to perform their offer immediately. Indeed the *Famin* would not permit a put-off, but brought them to it; that again they sent Ambassadors with the former propositions openly, but privately to take *Belisarius* oath for their indemnity, and that he would be King of *Italy*; and that done, to return into *Ravenna* with the Roman army. Concerning

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the rest *Belisarius* gave oath; but touching the Kingdome, he said he would swear it to *Vitigis* and the Goths Commanders. The Ambassadors not thinking he would reject the Kingdome, but that he desired it above all things, prayed him forthwith to march into *Ravenna*. *Belisarius* sent away *Narges*, *Aratius*, *Bessus* and *John*, (whom he suspected to be worst affected to him) to quarter with their Troops in severall countryes, telling them he could not possibly bring into that city provisions for the whole army. They with *Athanasius*, *Præfekt* of the Palace, lately come from *Constantinople*, went accordingly; & himself and the rest of the army entred *Ravenna*, with the Goths Ambassadors. He commanded also ships he had laded with Corn, to come into *Escle* the haven for *Ravenna*. When I saw the entrance of this army into *Ravenna*, I considered how actions are not concluded by valour, multitudes, or human virtue; but that some spirit steers the wits and judgments of men thither, where nothing can hinder the pre-ordained conclusion. The Goths had much the advantage in numbers and power, and since they came to *Ravenna* had no battell, nor their courages dejected with any accident, yet they became prisoners, and thought it no shame to be slaves to fewer in number. The women (who had heard from their Husbands, that the Enemy were tall gallant men, and not to be numbred, scorned the Souldiers when they saw them in the City, and reviled their husbands cowardice, pointing at their conquerours.

CHAP. XXV.

BUT *Belisarius* kept *Vitigis* in an honourable restraint, and sent away such Goths as inhabited this side the *Poe*, to their own houses, to possesse them freely; fearing from thence no hostility, nor that the Goths would gather head in those parts, because much of the Army was there Garrison'd. And these Goths were glad to go home, whereby the Romans in *Ravenna* were secure, having equal numbers. The Treasures in the Palace he seized, with intent to carry them to the Emperour; But neither himselfe plundered any Goth, nor suffered others, leaving them their Estates according to the Accord. The Captaines of Fortresses, hearing *Ravenna* and *Vitigis* to be in the Romans hands, sent to *Belisarius* offers of surrendering the same upon Composition. He gave them assurances, and received *Tarvisium*, and another strong Hold: *Cefina* and *Emilia* he had taken in before with *Ravenna*; and the Goths Garrison'd in those places, upon assurances given, came into *Belisarius*, and staid with him. *Aldebad* also, Governour of *Verona*, having his Children Prisoners in *Ravenna*, sent to *Belisarius* to the same purpose; but he would not put himselfe into his hands there. In the mean time some Commanders had traduced *Belisarius* to the Emperour falsely with usurpation; Who not believing the accusation, but the Persian war pressing him, sent for *Belisarius* to make an Expedition that way. *Belisarius* left the charge of *Italy* with *Bessus* and *John*, and some others; and he directed *Constantinus* to come to *Ravenna* from *Dalmatia*. But the Goths inhabiting beyond the *Poe*, hearing how *Belisarius* was called home, at first made no account of it, not thinking that he would less esteem a Kingdome then his faith to *Iustinian*: But afterward seeing his preparations to be gone, their chief men continuing in those parts, went into *Picenia* to *Uraas*, sisters Sonne to *Vitigis*, and after much lamenting, spake thus: "There is none a greater cause of these miseries of our Nation, then your self. We had long since deposed your uncle, so cowardly and unfortunate a Prince, as formerly we did *Theodatus* the sisters Son of *Theoderick*, if we had not (respecting your valour) given him the Title, but in Effect put the Kingdome into your hands. But now our then seeming good counsell, appears our folly, and the cause of these Calamities. The best Goths are consumed by the war, and the best of the remainder *Belisarius* is carrying away with all our Treasures; and no man doubts, but we shortly being few, & enemies, shall suffer the same. In this extremity a glorious death is better, then to behold our wives and children led Captives to the uttermost bounds of the earth; and might we have you in the head of us, we may yet do something worthy the name of valour. *Uraas* made this answer: I am of your opinion, to chuse danger before slavery; but to make me King, I hold it in no sort convenient. For being the Nephew of *Vitigis*, a man so unlucky, the Enemy may despise me, supposing Fortunes ever

to

"to run in a blood. Besides I shall seem dishonest to intrude upon my Uncle, and thereby have many male-contentes. My Sentence is, to make *Ildebad* King in this danger, a man accomplisht in Virtue. and very valiant, whose Uncle *I hendis*, King of the *Vifigoths*, in likely-hood will enter into this War for his sake, where by we may dispute it with more hope. This advise of *Uraas* seemed best; and forthwith *Ildebad* was sent for from *Verona*, whom they invested with the purple Robe, and proclaimed King, recommending unto him their Affaires. "*Ildebad* being thus made King, assembled the Goths, and spake thus: Fellow Souldiers, we have had experience of many Wars, and in likely-hood shall not run rashly now into this; Experience brings Wit; and wit is never Foole-hardy. It is fit now to consult of our present Estate, by calling to mind the former Accidents. Men by an affected forgetfulness of things past, and so by foolishly keeping high thoughts, have been ruined in their greatest occasions. *Fiigis*, without your opposing him, hath put himselfe into the Enemies hands; you being tired with crosse Fortunes, and chusing rather (quietly sitting at home) to obey *Belisarius*, then to hazard. But he being going to *Constantinople*, now you resolve to stir; whereas you should consider, that men speed not alwaies in the way they expect, that often the Event beyond Imagination is contrary to the appearance; Fortune and Repentance commonly doing best, unlookt for, which is not unlikely, may be now the case of *Belisarius*. Wherefore our best way is, to send first to know his mind, and to perswade him to what was lately accorded, and so to enter into action. This counsell of *Ildebad* they all conceived to be best, and immediately sent Ambassadors to *Ravenna*; who put *Belisarius* in mind of his Agreement, blamed his infringing the same, and reproached him for not blushing to be thus a Voluntary Slave, and to prefer Servitude before a Kingdome. Many such Provocations they used, and animated him to accept the Government, assuring him that *Ildebad* would willingly give place, lay at his feet the Purple Robe, and salute him, *Belisarius*, King of the Goths and Italians. The Ambassadors spake thus, thinking that *Belisarius* would not be so scrupulous, as to reject the Title of a King. But he, contrary to their expectations, plainly refused it, saying; that during the Emperour *Iustinians* life, he would not intrude upon such a Title. They hearing this, instantly departed, and reported it to *Ildebad*. And *Belisarius* took his Journey towards *Constantinople*, the Winter ending, and the fifth yeare of this War, written by *Procopius*.

Finis lib. 2. Bell. Goth.

THE



THE
CONTENTS
OF THE THIRD BOOK
Of the *GOTHICK* VVarre.

Chap. I.

AN Elogium of *Belisarius*. The ill carriage of the other Commanders in Italy. *Ildebad* is chosen King, and the Goths recover. The Roman Souldiers and Subjects are discontented with Alexander *Pfalidion* the Auditor. *Ildebad* kills *Uraas*, and is slain himself by *Vilas*, one of his Guard.

II.

Erarick, a Rogian, is chosen King. The Romans have 11. Commanders under *Constantianus*, and Alexander *Pfalidion*; They basely run away from *Verona*, and are routed by the *Poc*, through the want of *Artabazes*, who was hurt in a Duell.

III.

Florence attempted, and mist by *Totilas*, elected King of the Goths. The Roman Army makes head, and is routed. *Naples* besieged by *Totilas*, who is Master of Italy. *Demetrius*, sent from *Constantinople*, is routed in a Sea-fight, taken Prisoner, and the Navy ruined by storme.

IV.

Totiles takes *Naples* by composition: His humanity to the Citizens and Souldiers. His noble punishment of a Rape. The baseness of the Roman Army. *Totilas* invites the Roman Senators to revolt.

V.

Belisarius is sent into Italy. *Otranto* is besieged, and relieved by *Valentinus*. *Tibur* is surprized by the Goths. *Belisarius* come to *Ravenna*. The *Illyrians* goe home. Forces are sent to relieve *Auximum*.

VI. Some

VI.

Some Romans are slain by an Ambush. Pisaurus is repaired. Belisarius writes to the Emperour for supplies. The Goths take Spoletum, and Adiffum by composition, besiege Rome, and block it up by Sea and Land. Belisarius unfortunate, or insatuated, returns to Epidamnus. The Emperour sends him an Army with John. Narfes the Eunuch levies an Army of Herulians; who by chance do great service against the Slavonians.

VII.

A digression of a counterfeit Chilbudius, a Roman Generall upon the River Ilter. A description of the Slavonians, and Antians; inhabiting the further side of the River Ilter.

VIII.

Valentinus and Phocas are slain before Rome, by the baseness of Bessas. Ships of Corne sent by Vigilius, Bishop of Rome, for Rome, are surprized by the Enemy. Pelagius, a Deacon, is sent Ambassador to supplicate Totilas, but prevails not.

IX.

The miserable Famine in Rome. John recovers Calabria, Bruttia, and Lucania. He defeats an Army of Goths about Rhegium. Totilas builds Towers, and a Bridge upon Tiber.

X.

Belisarius burnes one of the Towers with a Fire-boat; being ready to relieve Rome, is diverted, by a report of Isaac's taking, whose madness, and the baseness of Bessas spoiled the Action. Four Isaurians offer to receive in Totilas, Bessas negligently guarding it.

XI.

Totilas takes Rome by the Treason of the foure Isaurians. He spares slaughter, at the supplication of Pelagius: Whom he sends Ambassador to Justinian for Peace; and in the meane time spares the demolishing of Rome. A small defeat of Goths by Tullianus.

XII.

Totilas is diverted from destroying Rome, by the advices of Belisarius, and left it without any man in it. Martianus by a plot recovers Spoletum. John fortifies an Isthmus at Tarentum, and makes head. Totilas goes towards Ravenna.

XIII. Belisarius

XIII.

Belisarius repaires Rome, and defends it against Totilas; and after some time, beates him away. The speech of Totilas to the Goths in his owne Apology.

XIV.

John rescues the Senators and their Wives, confined in Campania, is beaten out of his Camp by Totilas, with losse of 100. men. The Emperour sends new Forces into Italy, Scyllæum, The bay of Tarentum, Thurium, and Croton.

XV.

The Forces sent by Belisarius to guard the passages are cut in pieces by Totilas, where Pharas is slain. Belisarius frighted with the newes, runnes a Ship-board. The Slavonians over-run Illyrium. Inundation of Nile; The great Whale. Russiana is taken by Totilas. Conon is killed by his Soldiers.

XVI.

Belisarius dares not relieve Russiana: and the Garrison yeelds it to Totilas upon their lives saved. A plot against the person of Justinian, by Artabanes, and others.

XVII.

Artabanes, and Arfaces endeavour to bring in Germanus, and his sonne Justinus into the plot against the Emperour. Marcellus, by deferring the discovery, hazards Germanus, and after by telling the whole truth, saves him. The Kings of the Francks coyne gold Staters, a thing not done by the King of Persia himself. No gold pieces will goe, no not among Barbarian Merchants, but of the Emperours coyne.

XVIII.

The Gepædes and Lombards spoile the Empire: Fall at difference: Demand ayd of the Emperour by both their Ambassadors. The Lombards arguments have more justice in them. But the Gepædes more reason of State.

XIX.

The Gepædes and Lombards make Peace without the Romans. Belisarius returns to Constantinople without honour. Of Ildeges a Lombard, who was coming to ayde Totilas, but returned. Ilaut, a revolter, does mischief in Dalmatia; and sacks Monecurum, and Laureata. Totilas besieges Rome, which is bravely defended by Diogenes.

K k

XX. Toti-

XX.

Totilas takes Rome againe by another Haurian Treason, but demolishes it not upon an occasion of being formerly refused allyance with the French King, because he durst not hold Rome, but demolish it. Paul, a Cilician, makes a gallant composition. Iustinian refuses to see the Goths Ambassadors for Peace. Centuncella agreed to be yeilded, if succours came not. Germanus, then Liberius, appointed Generall for Italy. Verus is slain.

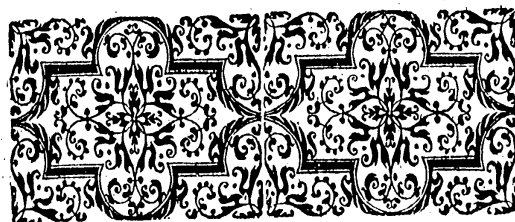
XXI.

The Slavonians spoile Thrace, and Illyrium, beate the Emperours Army, and commit savage murders. Rhegium yeilded to the Goths. Mesina besieged. After Liberius, and Artabanes, Germanus is made Generall against the Goths; who makes a powerfull preparation, frights away the Slavonians out of Illyrium, and dies at Sardice in Illyrium. John is appointed to lead the Army.

XXII.

Artabanes escapes a Storme at Sea. Liberius quits Syracuse. Totilas is perswaded by Spinus to leave Sicily. The Slavonians do much spoile; rout a Roman Army, and come up even to the Long walls in Thrace, a days journey from Constantinople. They are beaten home.

THE



THE
HISTORY OF THE WARRS
of the Emperour
JUSTINIAN.
Of the GOTHICK WARRE, the
Third BOOK.

CHAP. I.



THIS Belisarius, leaving Italy yet unsettled, brought Vitigis and Hlebad's children to Constantinople, with all the rich spoiles; accompanied only with Illiger, Valerianus, Martinus, and Herodian. Justinian was glad to see Vitigis and his Queen, admiring the Goths for their beautifull tall bodies. Theoderick's treasures (a goodly sight to behold) he took into the Palace, and in private exposed them to the view of the Senate, glorying much in the greatnesse of the things done. He shewed not the same to the People, nor allowed Belisarius a triumph, as after his conquest of Gelimor and the Vandals. Yet was Belisarius the discourse of all the world, having gained the honour of two unmatched victories, brought two Kings Prisoners to Constantinople; and beyond all expectation, made spoiles of Warre the rage and wealth of Genfericke, and Theoderick, the most illustrious of all the Barbarians. He brought backe also to the Roman State their owne wealth from the hands of their Enemies, and in a short time recovered the Dominion of almost one halfe of the Land and Seas thereof. It was a delight to the Constantinopolitans (and they could not be satisfied with it) to behold daily Belisarius passing from his house, and returning thither through the Market-place; His going in the streets being a kind of triumph; multitudes of Vandales, Goths, and Moores ever following him: and he was a beautifull personage, tall, and of the goodliest countenance that could be seen; To suitors ever easie of access, and milde as the meekest man. Both the Souldier, and the Countrey-man were ever infinitely in love with his Government, being to the Souldiers exceeding bountifull; to such as had mischances in fight, comforting their wounds with large summes, and to such as did bravely, giving chaines and bracelets for prizes of honour. If a Souldier in fight, lost his horle

or his Bow, or the like, presently he had another from *Belisarius*. And he was dear to the Country people, because he used such good husbandry and providence, that where he was General, none ever suffered violence, but all where his Army came had the strange fortune to grow richer; selling their commodities to the Soldier at their own rates, who guarded still their ripe Corns, to keep off Horse from spoiling them; Neither was any suffered to take away their ripe fruits. Besides he had a wonderful care of his chastity, never touching any woman but his Wife; and of so many faire Prisoners of the *Vandales* and the *Goths* (such as none ever saw the like) suffering not one to be brought into his sight, nor to come at him. He was of a very sharp wit, and excellent in a doubtfull case to devise the best way; valiant in War with cautionnesse, and bold upon advice of reason; ever either swift or slow in his undertakings upon an Enemy, according to occasion. In extremities resolute, full of hope, and free from perturbation. In prosperity hee was neither exalted, nor voluptuous: No man ever saw *Belisarius* drunk. And thus during his command in *Affrick* and *Italy*, he was still victorious, and Master of all in his way: And when he came home to *Constantinople*, his worth was yet more taken notice of; For being himselfe eminent in vertue, and exceeding all the Generalls that ever were in wealth, and in the strength of his Lancers, and Targettiers, he was terrible both to Commanders and common Souldiers. So that no man durst oppose his commands, but readily put in execution what he directed; both reverencing his worth, and fearing his power. For he had ready of the Retinew of his House 7000. Horsemen; choice men, and every one of them thinking himselfe fit to stand in the first rank at a Battaille, and to challenge the bravest of the Enemies. The ancient men of *Rome* at that siege seeing what those men did in the fights then, and taking it for a great wonder, said, That one mans Family ruined the power of *Theoderick*. Thus was *Belisarius* grown powerfull both in dignity and counsell, ever advising the Emperours best advantage, and cheerfully executing what was resolved.

But the other Commanders (being equall in power, and having no thought but upon their owne private gaine) made spoile of the *Roman* Subjects, and exposed them to the injuries of the Souldier. They apprehended nothing worthy themselves, nor had the Common souldiers obedient to their commands; and so committing many errors, the *Romans* affaires were in a short time ruined; and thus it was.

Ildebad hearing that *Belisarius* was gone from *Ravenna*, and upon his journey, recollected the *Goths*, and such *Roman* Souldiers as would revolt; was carefull of the Government, and diligent to recover the Dominion of *Italy*. At first he had with him but a thousand men, and no Towne but *Picenum*. But in a while all who were in *Liguria*, and *Venetia*, came dropping in to him.

There was in *Constantinople* one *Alexander*, chiefe Auditor of the publique Treasury, called *Logothetes* by the *Romans*, from the Greek. This mans practice was to inform against Souldiers for wronging the Treasury; and for such misdemeanors by bringing them to justice, he became of an obscure man eminent, and of a Beggar very rich. He raised as much money for the Emperour as any man; but was the greatest cause that the Souldiers were few & poor, and backward in dangers. At *Constantinople* they gave him a nick-name, *Psaldion*, for the dexterity he had to clip away the ring of the gold coyn; and though he made it lesse, yet to have it keep the circular form it had at the first. The instrument wherewith this is done, is called *Psaldion*, or clipping sheers. This man the Emperour sent into *Italy*, when he recalled *Belisarius*; And he in *Ravenna* set a foot Audits without reason, calling the *Italians* to account, who never toucht the Emperour monies, and some that never had publique employment, and charging them with wrong done to *Theoderick*, and the other *Gothish* Kings, and compelling them to repay what they had robbed, or fraudulently gained, as he alleaged. The Souldiers for their wounds and hazards he requited with slender accounts; whereby the *Italians* grew ill affected to the Emperour, and the Souldiers would not engage themselves into dangers; but turning wilfull cowards, advanced the Enemies affaires to a great height.

All the Commanders late still, but *Vitalius*, who had with him in *Venetia* many *Hernians*, and some other numbers of the Army; he would fight with *Ildebad*, fearing (what afterward came to passe) that his growing power might not so easily be restrained. The Battaille was valiantly fought neer the City of *Tarvisium*; but

but *Vitalius* had the worst; and suffering the losse of most of his men, with a few escaped by flight. Many *Hernians* fell, and *Visandus* their Leader. *Theodimund*, the Son of *Mauricius*, the Son of *Amundus*, a young man, was in much danger of being lost, but escaped with *Vitalius*. This Battell made *Ildebad* famous with the Emperour, and all men; But afterward *Uraas* fell foule with him, upon this occasion. *Uraas* had a Wife, for Wealth and Beauty, the chiefe of her Nation. She went once to the publick Bath bravely dreit, and with a goodly Trainee; where seeing *Ildebad* Wife in a mean Habit, she howed not to her, as to the Kings Consort, but slighted, and scoff'd at her; for as yet her Husband was in a low Condition, as having not been Master of any Kingly Revenue. But the Queen vexed with this grosse Affront, came weeping to her Husband, desiring him to right her, having suffered from *Uraas* Wife things not to be endured. Whereupon *Ildebad* first accused *Uraas* to the *Goths*, of purposing a Revolt; and afterward killed him treacherously, and was hated for it by the *Goths*, who liked not this killing of *Uraas* without Examination; and they gathered together, and railed upon *Ildebad* for this foule Act; yet none of them were willing he should suffer for it. One among them, named *Vilas*, by race a *Gepede*, and a Lancer of the Guard to the Emperour, was a Suter to a very faire Woman, and infinitely doted upon his love. But being sent upon some Service, *Ildebad* the mean while gave his Mistress to another in marriage; either ignorantly, or upon some motive: Which *Vilas* hearing at his coming from the Army, and being naturally impatient, could not beare the disgrace, but resolved to kill *Ildebad*; whereth he thought too to gratifie all the *Goths*. He observed his time as the King sealed the chiefe men, when many use to stand by him, especially his Guards. The King reaching his hand to a dist, and bowing with his face upon the Couch, *Vilas* suddenly strook him with his Sword upon the neck, that the meat being between his fingers, the head fell off, and amazed all the Company. Thus was the Murther of *Uraas* revenged upon *Ildebad*; and the Winter ended, and the sixth yeare of this War, written by *Procopius*.

* Insipit An-
nus 7. bell.
Goth. in anno
15. Justiniani.

CHAP. II.

Among the *Goths* was one *Erarick*, a *Rogian* by Nation, but he had gained a great power with the *Goths*. The *Rogians* are a *Gothish* Nation, formerly a free People; but *Theoderick* made them and some other Nations his Confederates, and mingled them all together, and used them jointly against the Enemy. But these taking no Wives of any other Nation, preserved their Name in a Posterity of the whole blood. And the State being in trouble upon the Murther of *Ildebad*, they proclaimed *Erarick* King; which the *Goths* disliked, whose hearts were now quite down, and their hopes frustrated. For *Ildebad* was a man able enough to have recovered the Dominion of *Italy*; but *Erarick* did nothing to purpose; and having reigned five Months, he was slain in this manner. *Totilas*, Nephew to *Ildebad*, (a wife and a Valourous man, and in much Esteemation with the *Goths*) commanded then the *Goths* in *Tarvisium*; and hearing how *Ildebad* was slain, sent to *Ravenna* to *Constantianus*, offering upon assurances of indemnity to deliver up *Tarvisium*, and the *Goths* under his Command. *Constantianus* most gladly gave Oath, as *Totilas* desired, and a day was appointed for receiving into the Town men sent by *Constantianus*, and to put the *Gothish* Garrison into their hands. All the *Goths* were weary of *Eraricks* Government, finding him not capable to make a War with the *Romans*; and they railed on him as a hinderer of many good Designs they were ready to act, when they killed *Ildebad*. In conclusion, by common consent they sent to *Tarvisium*, exhorting *Totilas* to the Government. They felt the misse of *Ildebad*, and turned their hope of Victory upon *Totilas*, his Kinsman, hoping there in what they desired. He told them plainly his accord with the *Romans*; and that if they shall kill *Erarick* before his day of Assignment with the *Romans*, he will follow them, and do as they desire him. The *Goths* upon this resolved the ruine of *Erarick*. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army secure, and enjoying their Enemies troubles,

troubles, neither drew together, nor had any designe upon them. But *Erarick* assembling the *Goths* propounded the sending Ambassadors to *Justinian*, for such a peace as was once resolved to be made with *Vitigis*: namely, that the *Goths* holding all beyond the *Poe*, should quit the rest of *Italy*. The *Goths* all approved the Motion; and he sent *Caballarius*, and some other of his Friends Ambassadors, who were to pretend the negotiation, as aforesaid; but he gave them secret Instructions, to treat only with the Emperour, to give him a good Sum of money, and to make him a *Patritian*, upon condition of his delivering up all *Italy*, and his laying down the Royall Habit. The Ambassadors coming to *Constantinople*, did according to his directions. In the mean time the *Goths* kill *Erarick* by treachery, and *Totilas* takes the Government, as was agreed. *Justinian* advertised hereof, both of the accident of *Erarick*, and that *Totilas* was made King, he could no longer contain from sharply reproving the Commanders: whereupon *John*, *Vitalianus* Sisters Son, *Bellias*, *Julianus*, & the rest, leaving Garrisons in the Townes, drew together at *Ravenna*, where were *Constantianus*, and *Alexander*. They resolved in Counsell to lead the Army first against *Verona*, which is in *Venetia*, and having taken the same, to go against *Totilas* and *Picenum*. The Army was gotten together 12000. men, under eleven Commanders; and *Constantianus* and *Alexander* in chiefe. Being come within seven miles of *Verona*, they encamped before it; the City being compassed with faire Champions, reaching as far as *Mantua*, which is a daies journey from *Verona*. In *Venetia* one *Marcianus*, a principall man, dwelling in a Castle not far from *Verona*, and well affected to the Emperour, sought means of delivering the City to the *Romans*. He was acquainted with one of the Watchmen, to whom he sent a Friend, and perswaded him for money to receive in the Emperours Army. The Watch-man promised, and *Marcianus* sent some to the *Roman* Commanders to negotiate, and to let them know the Agreement, and to enter the Town by night with them. The Commanders thought it best to send one of themselves before with a few; if the Watch-man open d the Gate, to make it good, and then the rest to bring the Army in without hazarding. All refusing the danger, *Artabazes* an *Armenian* chearfully undertook it; a very gallant Souldier, who was Captain of those *Persians*, whom *Belisarius* brought to *Constantinople* with *Blischemes*, after his taking the Castle of *Sisaurum*. He settled a 100. men of the Army, and late in the night got neer to the Town. The Watch-man opened the Gate; some stood still and sent for the Army, others mounted the Walls and slew the Sentinels, coming unexpected: And the *Goths* perceiving the mischief, ran out at another Gate, and retired to a high Hill over against *Verona* (from whence one may discern all done in the City, and number the men in the Streets, and it hath a large Prospect into the Champian) and here they stayed all night. The *Romans* being within five miles of the City, would go no further; the Generals disputing about the Booty of it; and while they were thus brabbling for the spoiles, the day grew bright. The *Goths* from the Hill discovering the Enemy in the Town, and how great a way the Army was from it, ran in at the same Gate they ran out; the *Romans* within being not able to possesse it: who advising together fled to the Battlements, where the *Goths* in multitudes assailed, and they stoutly defended, and did wonders; especially *Artabazes*. The *Roman* Commanders, when they had disposed the Wealth of *Verona* among themselves, marcht against the Town with the Army. But finding the Gates shut, and the Enemy strongly opposing, they forthwith ran away, though they saw their Companions upon the Walls fighting, and calling to them to stay for them. So that *Artabazes*, and the rest being opprest with multitudes, and despairing of Succour, leapt from the Walls; and himselfe, with such as lighted upon smooth ground, came safe to the Camp, but they that fell upon stony ground, perisht all. The *Roman* Army past the *Poe*, and came to *Faventia*, which is a City of *Emilia*, standing 15. miles from it. *Totilas* when he heard what had happened at *Verona*, sent for most of that Garrison, and with his whole Army being 50000. he marcht against the Enemy. The *Roman* Commanders hercof advertised, held a Counsell; where *Artabazes* spake thus.

"Fellow Commanders, let us not despise the Enemy, as inferiour in numbers; nor as being to fight with men cowed by *Belisarius*, go on with resolution. False conceits

"conceits have deceived and undone many, and their unseasonable despising an Enemy dissolved their Forces. The former ill successe of these men invites them to some better Fortune; Fortune by making men desperate, brings them to an excessse of daring. I speake not this by guelle, I have learnt their Courage by mine own late danger. And let none be offended with me for extolling their power, having been with a few with me beaten by them. Mens Valour is seen as well when they are more, as when they are fewer then those they fight with. My Opinion therefore is, to guard the passage of the River, and when the *Goths* are halfe past over, to fight with them rather, then now with their whole body. And let no man think that there is no honour in such a Victory. Honour and disgrace receive their names from the Event. Men commend the Victors, not searching into the manner of the Victory. *Artabazes* so spake; But the Commanders contradicting one another, did nothing they should do, but there staid, and did nothing. The *Goths* came neer, and being ready to passe the River, *Totilas* spake thus unto them. "Friends and Country-men; other Battells begin upon the shew of equality in the Armies to fight, but we now stand to fight, having a Fortune most unequal. If they be beaten, they have means to fight with us again, having numbers of Souldiers in their Garrisons, all *Italy* over, and expecting forthwith the seconds of another Army from *Constantinople*. But if the same befall us, the hopes and name of our Nation is lost; being already from 200000. reduced to 50000. yet is it fit that you be put in mind, that when you took Arms with *Ildabud* against the Emperour, you had but 1000. men together, and no place left but the Town of *Picenum*. But no sooner were you Conquerours, but your Armies and Townes augmented: And if you now do bravely, I hope (the War proceeding probably) we shall vanquish the Enemy. It is the Fortune of Conquerours ever to grow in numbers, and power: So that resolve to meet the Enemy chearfully, and stoutly; knowing, that if you get not the honour of this day, you can never possibly fight again. Moreover our Enemies Injustice is to embolden us in this Battell. The *Italians* subject to them they have so opprest, that they need no other punishment for their Treason against the *Goths*: So (in a word) have they found all manner of mischiefs from their new Guests. Now what is more easily caught then an Enemy, who stands not found with God? Their feare of us also may encourage us; we going against no other men then those, who being in the midst of *Verona*, quitted it without reason, and ran away shamefully, none pursuing them. *Totilas* having used this encouragement, commanded 300. men to passe the River two miles and a halfe off, and to get behind the Enemy; and (the Fight being begun) to shoot at their backs, and being in confusion to gall them. Himselfe with the rest past there the River, and went against the Enemy. The *Romans* encountered them, and both marching faire and softly, and being neer each other, *Valivris*, a *Goth*, tall, and of a stern Countenance, and very Valiant, rode out from the rest between the Armies, armed with Corset and Helmet, and challenged any *Roman* to fight with him. *Artabazes* accepted the Combate. Both rode against each other, and charged their Lances; *Artabazes* preventing, ran *Valivris* into the left side, who having his mortal wound, and sinking backward, his Lance resting upon the ground and at a great stone, kept him from falling: *Artabazes* with eagernesse thrust his Lance into his belly, not thinking he had his deaths wound already; and the head of *Valivris* Lance standing upright, lighted upon the Corset of *Artabazes*, and gliding over it, pierced his neck, and cut one of the Arteries: He bled instantly in abundance, but feeling no pain, gallopt to the *Roman* Camp, and left *Valivris* dead upon the place. The blood could not be stancht, so that the third day he dyed, and stagger'd all the hopes of the *Romans*; for his being not able to fight in that Battell, was an extreame ruine to them. He attending the cure of his Wound without Arrow-shot, the Armies joynd Battell; in the heat whereof the 300. *Goths* at the *Romans* backs suddenly appeared; the *Romans* thinking them to be great numbers, were afraid, and ran away in confusion, with the Enemy at their heels; who took many Prisoners, and all their Ensignes, a thing never before happened to the *Romans*. The Commanders with some few ran into severall Townes for safety, and guarded the same.

CHAP. III.

Totilas forthwith sent forces against Florence, commanded by Bledas, Rodericus, and Valerius, who fate down before it. Justinus within it having laid in no provisions, sent to Ravenna, praying the Commanders to come to his succour. The messenger by night slept by the Enemy, and reported their Estate to the Roman Commanders in Ravenna, whereupon an army of good importance under Bessas, Cyprianus and John Vitalianus his Sisters Son, marcht to Florence. The newes of them raised the Goths siege, who retired to Mitala, a Town standing a dayes journey from Florence. The Roman army left with Justinus some few men, and went against the Enemy: Upon the way they advised to make choise of one of the Commanders of most account, suddenly to set upon the Enemy, and the rest to march after fair and softly; they cast lots, and fortune gave it to John; but the commanders would not stand to the agreement, so that John with his own troops only went against the enemy. The Goths understanding their coming, left the champion, and in fear and tumult ran up to a high hill: Johns Troops ran up also, and began the fight. The Goths valiantly opposed, and many brave men fell on both sides. Then John furiously giving upon the Enemy with a great shout, one of his life guard was slain by a dart, whereupon the Romans retired, beaten back: Then came up the rest of the Roman army, and in the plain put themselves in battallion, and made an halte: if they had set upon the flying Troops of John, and with them set upon the Enemy, they had gotten the day, and had them almost all at their mercy; but an unlucky rumor was spread that John was slain in the fight by one of his owne Life-Guard, so that they would stay no longer, but made a shamefull retreat, not retiring in a whole body, nor yet in Troops; but every man ran away as he could. Many of them perished, and they who escaped ran on for many dayes, none pursuing them, and at last every man as he could got into strong places, reporting to all they met, that John was slain: From thence forward they joynd not, nor had thought of making head; but every one kept within his walls, expecting a siege. Totilas gained his prisoners with his much humanity to serve him willingly against the Romans, and then ended the winter, and the seventh year of this war, written by Procopius.

Totilas then took in the Castles of Cefina and Petra, came into Tuscany; and the Towns there not yielding to him, he past the Tiber, but would not touch upon the Territories of Rome, but went into Campania and Samnium, and tooke without labour the strong Town of Beneventum, and layd the walls flat with the Ground, that the Romans coming from Constantinople might not from a fortified place infect the Goths. Naples refusing to receive him, notwithstanding his fair words (having Conon within, with a thousand Romans and Isaurians) he incamped before it with the most part of his army, and sent out some forces, who took in Cuma and other fortresses, from whence he raised great sums of money. The wives of some Senators he found in the same, who had no incivility used to them, but were dismissed with much curtesie: from whence he got a great fame of the Romans of discretion and humanity. He still sent out small parties (no Enemy appearing against him) and did things of good importance, taking Brutia, and Lucania, e Apulia, and Calabria. He took up the Tributes, and from the land-holders received the rents; disposing all things as absolute Master of Italy. The Roman army hereby received no entertainments, and the Emperour owed it huge summs; and the Italians mourned being reduced to so great danger. The Souldiers also grew more disobedient to their Commanders, and were glad to lye still in their Garrisons. Constantianus held Ravenna, John Rome, Bessas Spoleum, Justinus Florence, and Cyprianus Perugia; every one the place he had fled to. The Emperour hereof advertised, and esteeming it a great calamity, forthwith made Maximinus * Praefect of the Palace for Italy, that he might be over the Commanders, and to furnish provisions to the Souldiers. With him he sent a navy, having aboard an army consisting of Thracians under Herodian, and of Armenians under Phocas an Iberian, sisters Son of Peranius, and some few Huns they had with them. Maximinus from Constantinople, with his Fleet came up-

on the coast of Epirus, where he spent the time to no purpose, being no Souldier, a coward; and an extream delayer. Afterward the Emperour sent Demetrius Generall; who had formerly commanded a company of Foot under Belisarius: He arriving in Sicily, and hearing how Conon was besieged in Naples and in great want of victuall, had a mind to succour him speedily; but with so small an army being not able, he freighted a number of ships, (which he got together from all parts of Sicily) with corn and other provisions, making the Enemy beleive that he had a great army abroad, who indeed hearing of a huge navy coming from Sicily, expected a great army with it. If Demetrius had made directly for Naples, he had frighted away the Enemy and saved the city. But he was afraid to put in there, and failed on to the port of Rome, employing himself there to gather together the Souldiers; Who being already beaten by the Goths, and extreamly afraid of them, refused to follow him against Totilas. So that with those only he brought from Constantinople, he went towards Naples. Another Demetrius, a Cephalonian, an ancient mariner very skillfull, when he sailed with Belisarius into Affrica and Italy, grew famous for his skill, and the Emperour made him Procurator of Naples. In the beginning of the Goths seige there, being a man of a fount intemperate tongue, he used many disgracefull words against Totilas. The Famine there growing, and the mortality still increasing, with Conons consent he adventured in a small bark alone to go secretly to Demetrius, and hardly escaping, he met with Demetrius, and encouraging him, drew him to undertake the businesse. Totilas hearing of the Fleet coming back, prepared many Pinnaces livit of sail, and the enemy being upon the coast neer Naples, he set on them suddenly, amazed them, and put them to flight; killing many and taking more: They only escaped, who at first leapt into the cock-boats, among whom was Demetrius the Generall. The ships the Goths took with all their men and Lading, and there found Demetrius the Procurator of Naples, whose Tongue they cut out, and so let him go whether he would; such was the punishment of Demetrius for his intemperate language. Afterward came Maximinus with his Fleet upon the coast of Sicily, where he fate still in Syracuse, afraid of the war. The Roman commanders, and especially Conon from Naples (whom all provisions now failed) sent to him to come to their succours: He wore out the season in this cowardly fear; but at last fearing the Emperours meaces, and wearied with the revellings of all men, he staid himself; but sent the army to Naples under Demetrius, Herodian, and Phocas in the sharpest of the winter. The Fleet being neer to Naples a storm took them, so great, that Demetrius and the two other yielded to the Sea. The Waves would not suffer the sea men to use their Oares, nor do any other worke, neither could they hear one anothers call for the Tempest. Confusion had the victory, and the storme was the absolute judge, bringing them against their wills to the shoare, where the Enemy was incamped; who climbing up into their vessells, kill'd men and sunk ships none resisting: many prisoners they took, and the Generall himself, Demetrius, Herodian and Phocas, with some few putting in further from the Enemies campe, escaped.

CHAP. IV.

TOTILAS led Demetrius with a rope about his neck to the Town wall, willing him to perswade the besieged, not to perish, trusting in Groundless hopes, but by yielding to get free of their miseries; that no further succours could possibly be expected from the Emperour, and that their hopes and power was lost with that Navy. Demetrius spake all this unto them, and they being extreamly prest with famine, and all kind of necessities, and seeing the disaster of Demetrius, and hearing what he said, dispaired, and lamented, not knowing what to do; and their City was full of tumult and howlings, Totilas then calling them to the battlements, spake thus.

"Citizens of Naples, we do not now besiege you upon any quarrell we have against you; but to disengage you from Masters that hate you, and to have the power to recompente the service of every one of you to us, and his sufferings from

Incipit An. 8.
bel. Gothi.
Justiniani,
Anno domini
542.

Praefectus
pratorio per
Italiam.

“from the Enemy, you of all the Italians having shewed greatest affection to our Nation, and with most unwillingness come under the enemy; that now being necessarily to besiege you, we blush when we think of your fidelity, though we be sieged you not for your hurt. Think not therefore, as offended with the accidents of the siege, that you must be ever angry with us. They who study the Good of their friends, are not to be blamed by them, when they are forced to do them good by none of the gentlest means. And be not afraid of the Enemy, nor think by what hath past, that they will conquer at last: strange, unlookt for, and accidental things melt away in time. We have thus determined of you, to suffer *Conon* and his Souldiers to go free without harm, or losse, they presently surrendering the City unto us; and upon this we are ready to swear that the *Napolitans* shall be safe. Both *Conon* and the *Napolitans* accepted this offer of *Totilas*, being extremely prest with the Famine; but to comply with their faith to the Emperour, and having some hope of succours, they promised to surrender the City within thirty daies. *Totilas* to put such hopes out of their heads, assigned three Moneths, in which time he would not assault nor have any designe upon them. But the besieged not attending the day (though assigned accordingly) urged by their necessities, received a while after *Totilas* into the City. The winter also ended, and the eighth year of this war, written by *Procopius*. *Totilas* used humanity to the *Napolitans*, not like a Barbarian Enemy. For fearing least the languishing Romans with Famine, coming suddenly to eat their fill, might surfeit themselves with fullness; He commanded guards at the Gates, and the port, to suffer no man to go out, and with a provident sparingness he gave them food more scarcely then according to their appetite; adding thereunto every day unfeebly. Then having restored them to strength, he set open the Gates, and let them go that would. *Conon*, and such Souldiers as would not stay with him, he shipped, and bade them sail whether they pleased: They were ashamed to return to *Constantinople* but making towards *Rome*, the wind came crossly, and being not able to get away, they feared least *Totilas* might neglect his agreements, and do them mischief: but he perceiving their trouble, called them to him, comforted and cheered them, and invited them to joyne with the Goths, and buy what they wanted, or take it as from friends. The wind continuing contrary a long time, he furnished them with horses, waggons, and provisions, and gave them a convoy of Goths to *Rome*: But the walls of *Naples* he threw to the Ground; that the Romans might not (surprising the Town) infect the Goths from it: his desire being rather to determin the war at once by a battell, then to be ever skirmishing against artifices, and stratagems: yet he left a good part of the said walls standing.

There came to him at that time a Roman of *Calabria*, complaining, that one of his Life Guard had forced his daughter, a Virgin; he in great anger put the man in prison, not denying the fact, and was eager to punish him; but the chief Goths fearing in the mans behalf, being valiant, and a good souldier, assembled themselves in his presence, and besought him to pardon the crime; he mildly, and without any perturbation, made them this answer. “Fellow souldiers, I shall speak to you, not from any humour of cruelty, or delight in my countrymens misfortunes; but from my fear of some ill consequence unto us. I know that most men shift the names of things to their contrary; they call the inobservation of Lawes, Mercy; and hence all good things come to be corrupted, and confounded. On the contrary, to pinch upon Lawes too exactly, is perverse and greivous, and also to use specious names, as a velle to a licentious power, thereby to act wickedness with more security. But you I advise by no means to exchange your own safety for the guilt of another mans sin, nor to share in his impiety, having done no ill your selves: For to commit an offence, and to hinder the offenders punishment is equall. Consider thus the baseness now presented, and determine accordingly; you have the choice offered you, whether this man shall escape the just punishment of his offence, or our nation be preserved, and conquer in this war. Think what numbers of Souldiers we had in the beginning of it, how famous, how well experienced in war; in a word, our endless wealth, abundance of horse and armes, and all the strong holds of *Italy*, and these were important preparations for a War. But when under *Theodatus*, a man that valued riches more then right, we made God

angry

angry with us by our lawlesse living; how we sped you all know, and by what kind of men, and by how many we were beaten. Now God, having sufficiently punished our faults, frames our life to his own will, and conducts our affaires beyond our hopes. And being such now, and having vanquishd our Enemies, not proportionably to our powers, it will be more advantageous for us, to prepare a fair occasion of victory by doing that which is just, then by the contrary to appear envious of our own Good. For it cannot be, that he that practises wrong and oppression, should get honour in the day of battell: the fortune of the War is adjudged to mens good or bad lives. The chief Goths upon this speech of *Totilas*, ceased to intercede for the offender, and left him to him; who soon after put him to death, and bestowed his Estate upon the ravished maid.

In this mean time the Roman army preyed upon the Subjects, leaving no insolence unacted. Their commanders in their Garrisons with their Mistresses lived riotously; having the Souldiers disobedient, and full of all kind of disorders: between both the armies, the Italians suffered the hardest measures; the Enemy took their lands from them, and the Emperours army their goods: they were basely beaten for nothing, and perished for want of food. The Souldiers could not defend them from the Enemy, and were so far from blushing to see their miseries, that by their wrongs they made the Barbarians dear unto them. *Constantinus* troubled at this, wrote to *Justinian*, professing his disability to encounter the Goths: and the Commanders signed the Letter, being a confession of their base fear to fight.

Totilas also sent this Letter to the Roman Senat. When men ignorantly, or upon forgetfulness do wrong, the wronged are to be easie to grant pardon: The cause of the offence concurring in such, excuseth the heaviest of the accusation. But a man that does wrong upon malice, is not to be admitted so much as to plead; seeing he is to bear the blame not only of his fact; but of his intent. Which being so, what can you apologize for your actions against the Goths? Can you be ignorant of the favours of *Theoderick* and *Amalasuntha*? or can time wear them out of your remembrance? neither is possible. The benefits have not been mean, nor are of an ancient date; but in the most important things, and lately done. For the Greeks Goodness to their subjects, your selves have heard of it, and you have had triall of it, and you have known how the Goths and Italians have sped under them. What Guests and friends they have been to you, the Audits of *Alexander* may inform you, to say nothing of their Souldiers and Captaines; you have enjoyed their noble usage, by which their affaires are come into this case now. Think not this to be the reproaches of an insolent young man, nor the vaunts of a Barbarian Prince. I say not, that our subduing of these men is a work of my valour; but that due vengeance for the injuries done to you hath overtaken them. And how absurdly it shewes, that God should punish them for you, and yet you adhere to their folly, and refuse deliverance from the miseries arising from thence. Make therefore some introduction of an apology, and of our pardoning you; which will be, if while you have some hope (though a poor one) you chuse what is best for you, and repaire what you have done amiss against us.

Totilas gave this letter to some prisoners, to deliver to the Senators in *Rome*; which they did; but *John* forbade them to answer it. *Totilas* wrote many other Letters to them, wherein were strong oathes, that no Roman should receive hurt from the Goths. I cannot say who were the Messengers, all of them were in the night, & set up in the most publick places of the City, and discovered in the morning. The Roman Commanders suspected the Arian priests, and put them out of *Rome*. *Totilas* hereupon sent part of his army into *Calabria*, to summon the Castle of *Otranto*; and (the Garrison refusing to yield) to besiege it: Himself with his main forces went against the towns about *Rome*.

CHAP. V.

THE newes of these things troubled the Emperour; and though the Persian War lay heavily upon him, he was constrained to send *Belisarius* against *Totilas*; and the Winter ended, and the ninth yeare of this War, written by *Procopius*; when *Belisarius* went the second time into *Italy*. † Having but few Soldiers, (as being not able to withdraw his own Forces from the Army in *Persia*) he levied with his own money Voluntaries in *Thrace*, being assisted by the Emperours direction with *Vitalius*, Generall of *Illyrium*, lately returned from *Italy*, where he had left the *Illyrian* Cohorts; they both raised 4000. men, and came to *Salona*, determining to goe to *Ravenna*.

† *Insuper Annus*
10. Bell. Goth.
in anno 18. reg.
Justiniani, &
Anno Dom.
544.

“whom from his Soule he loves; whereby you shall be also eased of your grievances, and both perceive and feele his good affection towards you, then which what Wealth is more valuable. My coming therefore being to this purpose, it behoves you to endeavour the obtaining of that Fruit, which will arise from thence. If any of you have Friends, or Kinsmen with *Totilas* the Usurper, let him send for them, acquainting them with the Emperours intention. Thus you may find good both from a peace, and the Emperours Favour for me: I come not to pick Quarrels, nor to be an Enemy to the Emperours Subjects by my good will; But if some will still make slight the chusing their own good, and others take Armes against us; we must, though most unwillingly, use such as Enemies. *Belisarius* spake thus; but no Goth, nor Roman came into him; so he sent *Therimuth*, one of his Life-guard, with some of his own Retinew, and *Vitalius* with the *Illyrians* to attend the Townes there: *Vitalius* came to *Bon-*

being secure, to repair the Walls with stones, and earth, as they could. This they did; and *Totilas* upon the news came against them with a great Army. But failing to take the Towne, after much time spent in the attempt, hee retired to his Camp before *Auximum*: Where the *Romans* sallied no more, but kept close within their walls. *Belisarius* sent *Artasiras* a *Persian*, and *Barbation* a *Thracian*, two of his Life-guard, to guard *Rome* with *Bellus*, being there already, directing them not to fall away at all.

But *Totilas* finding *Belisarius* not able to fight with him, fell upon the strong Townes; in *Picenia* he block'd up *Firmum*, and *Asculum*: and so ended the Winter, and the tenth year of this War, written by *Procopius*.

When *Belisarius*, having no means to relieve the besieged Townes, sent *John* to *Constantinople*, making him swear to return speedily, and to importune the Emperour for an Army and money, horses, and armes; the Souldiers being few, and refusing to fight, because of their wants, the Treasury owing them much money. And he wrote of these particulars to the Emperour in these words.

"Most mighty Emperour! We are come into *Italy*, wanting men, horses, arms, and money; And without a competent preparation of these, no man can make warre. Our *Thracians* and *Illyrians* we behold here few, wretched, and stragling without Arms, and unexercised for any fight; The rest deficient, feartfull of the Enemy, with spirits dejected by their often beating, and not simple running away only, but quitting their Horses, and throwing down their Armes. To raise contribution in *Italy* is not possible, it being posselt by the Enemy: And being behind with the Souldiers for their Pay, we cannot lay commands on them, the debt taking away our confidence. And the most of those that served your Majesty are run to the Enemy. If nothing therefore needed, but the sending *Belisarius* us into *Italy*, the Warr is excellently prepared; for I am in the midst of *Italy*. But if you meane to vanquish your Enemies, there must be other preparations. No Generall can subsist without men to follow him. Above all things it behoveth therefore, that you send me mine owne Lancers and Targettiers, and those of *Hunnes* and other *Barbarians*, who must have present money.

Thus wrote *Belisarius*: But *John* staying long at *Constantinople*, effected nothing for what he came thither, but married the Daughter of *Germanus*, brothers sonne to the Emperour.

In the meane time *Totilas* tooke *Firmum* and *Asculum* by composition; and in *Tuscany* besieged *Spoleum*, and *Assisium*. *Herodian* commanded the Garrison in *Spoleum*; and that of *Assisium*, *Sisiphus* a *Goth*, but well affected to the *Romans*. *Herodian* agreed to render the Towne with himselfe and Souldiers within thirty days, if no succour came, and gave his sonne for Hostage. And the day prefixed being come, and no *Romans* appearing, *Herodian* and the Souldiers yielded themselves and the Town to *Totilas*. Some say that *Herodian* did this upon hatred to *Belisarius*, who threatened to question him for his rapines and oppression. *Sisiphus* in *Assisium* made some sallies, and in the end most of his men and himselfe were slaine; whereat the Town-men despairing, rendred the Towne. *Totilas* also sent to *Perusia*, threatening *Cyprianus* there, if he would not yeeld the Town to him, and promising him money to do it. Not prevailing with him, he practised with *Ulpian*, one of his Life-guard, for money to murder him; who watch'd him when he was alone, and having killed him, ran to *Totilas*. Yet the Garrison kept the Towne for the Emperour, and the *Goths* retired from it. Then went *Totilas* to *Rome*, and besieged it. To the Husbandmen of *Italy* he did no damage, letting them securely manure their Land, paying to him the rents and tributes reserved to the Treasury, or the Owners. At *Rome*, some *Goths* approaching the walls, *Artasiras* and *Barbation* (against the opinion of *Bellus*) sallied with some Troops, and killed many, routing the rest; whom pursuing too far, they fell into the Enemies Ambushes, where they lost most of their men, and escaped narrowly themselves, and afterward forbore to charge the Enemy, though they prest upon them.

Hence the Famine grew fore in *Rome*, no Victuall coming in by Land, and being shut from the Sea. For the *Goths*, after they had *Naples*, kept a kind of a Fleet of small Barques about the Islands of *Aeolus*, and other Islands in that Sea, which guarded exactly the passage of ships; that all from *Sicily*, sailing to the Port of *Rome*, fell among them.

Totilas

Totilas sent also an Army into *Emilia*, to take *Placentia* by force or composition, being the chiefe City of that Province, and well fortified, and standing upon the *Poe*, and only remaining obedient to the *Romans*. This Army summoned the Garrison to yeild upon composition; and not prevailing, fell to besiege it, finding they wanted provisions. And at the same time the Commanders in *Rome* were jealous of *Cetbegus*, a *Patrician*, that he betrayed them; who thereupon fled to *Constantinople*.

Belisarius fearing the losse of *Rome*, and of all the rest; and from *Ravenna*, and with so small an Army, to relieve them being not able, he resolved to rise from thence, and to surprize some places near *Rome*, from whence he might aide it in distress. He repented his coming to *Ravenna*, upon the persuasions of *Vitalius*, disadvantageously for the Emperours service; For being shut up there, he gave the Enemy free scope to advance their affairs. Either *Belisarius* chose the worst, that the *Romans* might have a michiefe; or he chose the best: but God crost it, purposing to favour *Totilas* and the *Goths*, and turning *Belisarius* good counsells to the quite contrary. So when Fortune blows a faire gale, mens worst counsells meete no disaster, being waisted by the higher power to all advantages. Unfortunate men either advise nothing well, their fate hiding from them all knowledge and right apprehension of things: Or advising well, fortune with a crosse wind turns their good advice to bad events.

But *Belisarius* left *Ravenna*, committing the guard of it to *Justinus*; and through *Dalmatia* came to *Epidamnus*, where he staid, expecting an Army from *Constantinople*, and by his letters acquainting the Emperour with his condition. Who sent him an Army of *Barbarians* and *Roman* Souldiers under *John*, the Nephew of *Vitalianus*, and *Isaac* the *Armenian*, Brother to *Aratius*, and *Narses*; who coming to *Epidamnus*, joynd with *Belisarius*.

He sent also *Narses* the Eunuch to the *Herullian* Princes, to obtaine aides of them for *Italy*. Many *Herullians* came along with him, under *Philimith* and others, to the confines of *Thrace*, there to Winter, and at the beginning of the Spring to be sent to *Belisarius*. With them was *John Phagas*. In this journey they did the *Romans* a great service by chance. A multitude of *Slavonians* had passed the River *Ister*, and sack'd the Towns thereabout, and taken abundance of *Roman* Captives. The *Herullians* fought with them, and though inferior in numbers, beate them, and killed many, and freed the captives, and sent them home.

CHAP. VII.

At that time *Narses* discovered the imposture of one naming himselfe *Chilbudius*, who had been a famous Generall of the *Romans*. This *Chilbudius* was first of *Isfinkian's* Retinew, a valiant Souldier, and so great a despiser of wealth, that it was his greatest riches to possesse nothing. *Justinian* in the fourth year of his Reign made him Generall of *Thrace*, and gave him the guard of the River *Ister*, to hinder the passage of *Barbarians*; the *Hunnes* formerly, *Antians* and *Slavonians* having come over, and done much mischief to the *Romans*. *Chilbudius* grew so terrible there, that in his three years continuance in that charge, not a *Barbarian* durst passe the River; and the *Romans* under *Chilbudius* invaded the other side, and killed and took many Captives. After three yeares he passed over the River with a small Army; the *Slavonians* in a Battaille sifly fought, killed many *Romans*, and *Chilbudius* the Generall. From thence forward the *Barbarians* came over at pleasure, and the Provinces lay open to them; all the *Roman* Empire in this not countervailing the valour of one man. After this the *Antians* and *Slavonians* fell out, and in a Battaille the *Antians* were vanquishd. Wherein a *Slavonian* took a pouth of the Enemy named *Chilbudius*, and led him home. This man in time became very affectionate to his Master, and valiant against the Enemy, having often fought singularly well, hazarding for his Master, and so getting a great reputation. About the same time the *Antians* entred *Thrace*, which they pillaged, and tooke

took many Captives; one of whom Fortune brought to a gentle Master. But the fellow being a knave, and cunning to deceive, and desirous withall to return to his owne Countrey, came once to his Master, and commended his humanity, which God (he said) would reward, and himselfe would not be ungratefull to so kind a Master; but if he would follow his advice, he would make him a rich man. For among the *Slavonians* was one *Chilbudius* the *Roman* Generall, unknown, and reputed a slave; whom if he would ransom, and conduct into *Roman* Land, he should get the Emperours favour, and a great reward. Thus this *Roman* periwaded his Master, and with him went into *Slavonia*; there being truce then between them, and safe intercourse. Hee paid the ranfome to this *Chilbudius* Master, and took him home; where he ask'd the man if he were *Chilbudius* the *Roman* Generall. He told him all the truth; that he was an *Antian*, and taken Prisoner by the *Slavonians* then Enemies, but now being restored to his Countrey, he claimed freedome according to the Law.

The man who had laid out his money, stood mute, and vexed to fall from his hopes thus. But the *Roman* cheered him up, and to out-face the truth, that it might not cross his return home, confidently said that it was *Chilbudius*; but being among *Barbarians*, he was afraid to reveale himselfe; Were he once upon *Roman* ground, he would be proud of the name, as he had reason. In the end the busines came to the knowledg of all the *Antians*; who stird in it, pretending a publike interest, and imagining to make a great advantage, of having *Chilbudius* the *Roman* Generall.

These people both *Antians* and *Slavonians*, are not under a Prince, but anciently are a Democratie: whence all things are brought to the common vote. They have almost the same Laws and customes: They hold one God, who makes the lighting, and is only Lord of all things. To him they sacrifice Oxen and other victims. They acknowledge no destiny to govern among men; when Death threatens either in a sickness, or in a Warr; they promise if they may escape, to offer to God a sacrifice in recompence for their life: And if they escape, they pay their vow, and think they have bought their safety. They worship also Rivers, Nymphs, and other Spirits, to whom they sacrifice too; and by those sacrifices make their predictions. They dwell in poor wretched Booths, scattered, and still shifting their habitations. In fights the most part serve on foot, with Shields and Javelins, having no Coferets, and some not so much as a Coate, or Mantle; but they tye up their Trousers above their Privities, and so enter into the fight. They both use one Language, and that a very barbarous one: And they differ not in shape, being all tall and very strong. Their haire is neither very white, nor yellow, nor yet black at all, but inclining to red. They live hardly, and slovenly like the *Hunnies*; wicked they are not, nor cunning, but in their simplicity much of the *Hunnish* disposition. They had both formerly but one name, and were called *Spori*, because they pitch their booths scatteredly; and so they take up much space of Land, holding the most part of the other side of the River *Ister*.

But then the *Antians* in their Assembly urged the said man to acknowledge himselfe to be *Chilbudius*, and denying it, threatened him. In the meane time came Ambassadors to them from *Iustinian*, who offered to plant them in *Turris*, an ancient City built by *Trajan*; which had been sack'd by *Barbarians*, and layen long waste. *Iustinian* offered them this City, and the Countrey about, formerly belonging to the *Romans*, and to plant them in it with his powers; and besides to give them great summes of money; Conditionally they should keep a perpetuall league with the *Romans*, and hinder the *Hunnies* from over-running the Empire that way. They liked the Proposition, and promised to do so, if the Emperour would make *Chilbudius* his Generall, to settle their Plantation, affirming that man to be *Chilbudius*: And the fellow exalted with these hopes, had now a mind to it, and took the name upon him. So he was sent to *Constantinople*, and upon his way thither, *Narjes* met him; and upon speech with him, found him a counterfet; yet he spake Latine, and had many marks of *Chilbudius*, which he cunningly assumed. *Narjes* kept him close Prisoner, and at last got out of him all the matter, and tooke him with him to *Constantinople*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

IN the mean time *Belisarius* sent *Valentinus*, and one of his life Guard named *Phocas*, an expert Souldier, with forces to the Haven of *Rome*, directing them to guard the cattle of *Portus*, with the Garrison already there, commanded by *Innocentius*, and by excursions from thence to infest the Enemies camp. They accordingly sent word to *Bessas* in *Rome*, that they were ready to give a sudden alarme to the Enemies quarters, praying him when he saw the fight begun, to ride out to second them with some of his choice men; that so both together might do some service upon the Enemy. *Bessas*, though he had 3000 Souldiers, liked it not: yet *Valentinus* and *Phocas* with 500 charged of a sudden, and killed some. The besieged saw the stir and tumult, but sallied not; so that the other retired safe to *Portus*. Again they sent to *Bessas*, complaining of his unbecoming sloth, and that they would make another Excursion, praying him to charge at the same time with all his army; but he refused to hazard a sally. So *Valentinus* and *Phocas* resolved to charge with greater forces. But a Souldier of *Innocentius* ran away to *Totilas*, advertizing him how from *Portus* he would be assaulted the next day. *Totilas* laid ambushes in their way, into which the next day they fell, and with the losse of most of their men were slain themselves; few escaped to *Portus*.

Vigilius Bishop of *Rome*, being then in *Sicily*, sent some ships laden with corn, by some means to be put into *Rome*. The Enemy saw them coming into the harbour, and hid themselves in houses, to surprize them so soon as they put to land; which the Garrison in *Portus* perceiving, from the battlements they waved their Garments to those in the ships, to come no neerer, but to turn some other way. But they understanding not their signes, took them for rejoycings at their coming, and inviting into the harbour; and the wind being fair they soon got in. There were Roman passengers aboard, and *Valentinus* a Bishop; and the Goths from their Ambush seized upon the ships, none resisting, and put all to the sword save the Bishop, whom they brought prisoner to *Totilas*: and he, after he had questioned what he would, cut off his hands, charging him that he had not spoke truth. And then ended the Winter, & the eleventh year of this war, written by *Procopius*.

Vigilius also, Bishop of *Rome*, left *Sicily*, being sent for to *Constantinople* by the Emperour, and having staid long in *Sicily* upon that occasion.

In *Placentia*, the besieged Romans wanting victuall fell to food abominable, and in the End to eat one another; so that they rendred upon Composition. *Rome* also was destitute of all provisions; where was *Pelagius*, a Deacon of the same, who had long dwelt in *Constantinople*, much favored by *Iustinian*, and was grown rich; and lately come to *Rome*, he spent most of his riches upon men in want in this siege, and for his bounty got a great fame; being famous before through all *Italy*. The Romans having suffered under the famine incredibly, sent this *Pelagius* to *Totilas* to obtain some few dayes of cessation, conditionally, that if during the fame, no succours came from *Constantinople*, to render themselves upon a Composition. *Pelagius* accordingly came to *Totilas*, who saluted him with much reverence and curtesie, and first spake to him thus. "Almost all Barbarians reverence Ambassadors, but I besides, have from my youth honored vertuous men like your self. And I know that the honouring or disgracing an Ambassador, is discerned not by fair countenances and hollow-hearted complements, but by true and reall dealing; he is most honored who hath the plain truth told him, and is so dismuit: and he most affronted, who carries home nothing, but fained, deceitfull words. So that *Pelagius*, there are three things, which if you ask not, you shall obtain all the rest; and it is good you should not mention them, least being the cause of your own effecting nothing, you lay the blame on us; the not asking things futable to the condition of affaires, producing commonly want of successe. This then I say, move not for any *Sicilian*, nor for sparing the walls of *Rome*, nor for restitution of your fugitive servants. For it cannot be, that the *Goths* should favour a *Sicilian*, that these walls should stand, or that our Souldiers should return again to be slaves to their Masters. And I will tell you my reasons of these propositions, that they may not seem to proceed from

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from a willfullnesse. *Sicily* hath been ever happy, rich, and most fruitfull, not supplying only the Inhabitants; but transporting also to you of *Rome*, yearly sufficient for your uses; whereupon you besought *Theoderick* not to place Garrisons in it; least it might decay in the Liberties and happinesse thereof. Things being thus, upon the coming of a Fleet of Enemies upon the Coast, not comparable to our powers, the *Sicilians* neither advertized the Goths, nor shut their Gates, nor opposed them in any sort, but with all alacrity received them with open armes, like perfidious slaves, who long had watcht an opportunity to run from their old masters to strangers. Hence the Enemy issued and got all *Italy*, surprizing *Rome*, and maintaining it against more then a yeares siege, with the abundance of corne brought out of *Sicily*. Thus it stands with the *Sicilians*, whom the *Goths* cannot pardon, the hainousnesse of their crimes making them incapable of mercy. These walls when the Enemy had once got into, they could never be drawn to a battell in open feild: with stratagems and circumventions they eluded our powers, and became strangely Lords of all we had: And now we must prevent the like hereafter. Men ignorantly undone, to fall again into the same ruin whereof they had experience before, is not to be attributed to the croffnesse of Fortune, but to their own grosse Folly. Besides, the demolishing your walls is your own advantage; Neither part hereafter being to be shut within them, and starved by the besieging adversary. So that both will put it to the fortune of a battell, and you without incurring danger, will be the prize of the victor. Touching your fugitive slaves, who have fought for us, and have our promise not to abandon them to their former Masters, if we should now betray them, even your selves will never trust us; it being impossible that he that neglects his Engagements to men of all the most to be pityed, should be constant to any: It will be a Character of his falsehood to all that meet him. To this Speech of *Totilas*, *Pelagius* thus answered. Great Sir, having intimated your respect of my Person, and of the quality of an Ambassadour, yet have you ranckt both in the basest condition. I conceive him to affront more his Friend, and an Ambassadour, who resolves to send him away without his businesse, then he that strikes, or otherwise abuses him. Ambassadors come not to receive honours from those who admit them, but to get dispatches for their good that sent them. It is better they were affronted at first, and at last effect that they come for; then after many Caresses, to return without their hopes. So that to what purpose should I supplicate you in these things, or importune one that denies us, before he heare us? Only this I must say; that you shew what mercy you mean to use to the *Romans*, who have taken Armes against you; who resolve an irreconcilable hatred against the *Sicilians*, who never did it. But forbearing Supplications to you, I lift them up to God, who takes vengeance of men that despise Supplications. *Pelagius* having thus said, went his way.

CHAP. IX.

THE *Romans* seeing *Pelagius* come back without effecting any thing, were much troubled. The Famine grew sore, albeit the Souldiers Victuall was not yet all spent: But the People in multitudes came about *Bessas*, and *Conon*, weeping and howling, and said thus.

Our Fortune O Generals is such, that if we could do you any mischief, it were a Crime we could not be blamed for; our extreame necessity being our excuse. But being not able to take revenge, we come to bewaile our Calamity; And heare patiently our bold expression, weighing it by our sharp Sufferings. They who must despair of safety, cannot observe their duty in words, nor deeds. Think us not *Romans*, nor your Kinf-men, nor conformable to your State; nor to have cheerfully received the Emperours Army, but ancient Enemies, and to have taken Armes against you, and to be vanquishd in fight, and made your Prisoners by the Law of War. Yet furnish your Captives with Food, not sufficient for our need, but so much as may keep us alive to do you Service. If you please not

not to do this, yet vouchsafe to manumit us, and free your selves from the trouble of burying your Slaves. If this neither may be afforded, kill us, deprive us not of an honest end; envie not to us the sweetest of all deaths, but with one Act deliver us from a thousand miseries. *Bessas*, and *Conon* told them, that to supply them with Victuall was not possible, to kill them was impious, and to let them go, unsafe. But they comforted them with an assurance of *Belisarius*, and an Army from *Constantinople*, and so dismiss them. The Famine it self grew, and destroyed, suggesting strange unnaturall Food. At first *Bessas* and *Conon*, who had laid up in store a great quantity of Corn for the Souldier, retrancht their own allowances, and sold Corn to the richer sort at huge rates; a bushell of Wheat for seven Gold Staters. Such whose Meanes could not attain to so costly feeding, paid a fourth part of the price, and had the bushell fill'd up with Branne, which their hunger made dainty food. An Oxe, such as *Bessas* Targetiers could get out and take, they sold for 50. Gold Staters. He was happy that could get a dead Horse to feed on. The poor multitude fed on Nettles, growing neer the Town Walls, and among the rubbish in the City; first seething them to avoid stinging. Such as bought Corn, and Branne, as aforesaid, when their money was spent, brought their Household-stuff to the Market-place, and exchanged it for a little daily food. In the end the Souldiers Corn being consumed, (I save some small quantity which *Bessas* had) and the *Romans* money spent, they all fell to Nettles; which food not sufficing Nature, and there being of it not enough to fill their bellies, their flesh pined away, their colour grew wan, and they lookt like so many Ghosts. Many walking, with their teeth chewing Nettles, fell suddainly dead. They did eat also one anothers dung, and many, when they could find no more Dogs, nor Rats to feed on, killed themselves. One having five Children hanging importunately upon him for meat, made no shew to lament, but restraining his passion, he willed the Children to follow him, and they should have meat. When he came to the Bridge over the *Tiber*, tying his Cloak about his face and eyes, he leapt into the River, his Children and many more looking on. Afterward the Commanders, for money, suffered such as would, to go out of the City; some few staid, the rest fled whether they could; the most of whom were so weak, that they dyed a Ship-board, or upon the high waies. Many the Enemy caught, and kill'd. To this was reduced the Fortune of the People and Senate of *Rome*.

Isaac and *John* being joyned with *Belisarius* at *Epidamnus*, *John* advised to crosse the *Jonian* Gulfe, and with the whole Army to try their Fortune by Land. But *Belisarius* liked it not; for more time would be spent, and some impediment might encounter them by Land. He would have *John* march through *Calabria*, and those Countries, to expell the *Goths* being few there; and having subdued all on this side the Gulfe, to joyne with him about *Rome*; where himselfe purposed to land with the rest of the Army. He considered how the least delay would ruine all at *Rome*, and that in five daies with a wind they might land at *Portus*; whereas from *Otranto* thither, would cost the Army 40. daies march. So he hoist Saile with a strong gale, and came before *Otranto*. The *Goths* seeing them, instantly raised their Seige, and went to *Brundisium*, standing upon the Gulfe, a daies journey from *Otranto*, with no Walls about it. They advertized *Totilas* of it, thinking that *Belisarius* would instantly passe the straits there; who prepared to encounter him, and directed the *Goths* in *Calabria* to guard the Passage there: But the wind coming faire, *Belisarius* left *Otranto*, and the *Goths* were secure and quiet in *Calabria*.

Totilas before *Rome* guarded the Avenues more strictly, to keep out Provisions. He made choice of a place about eleven miles below *Rome* upon the *Tiber*, where it is narrowest, and there laid a Bridge of Planks, reaching from one Bank to the other. At either end he built Towers of Wood, and put good Garrisons into them, to impede the passage of Barks from *Portus* to *Rome*. In the mean time *Belisarius* landed at *Portus*, and attended *Johns* Army. *John* past over into *Calabria*, undiscerned by the *Goths*, who were all at *Brundisium*: He took two Scouts of the Enemy upon the high way, and having killed the one, the other took him about the knees. And besought him for mercy, promising to be usefull to him; *John* demanded wherein; he said, he would bring him upon the *Goths* unlookt for. *John*

told him, he should not then faile in his request; but bad him first shew him where were any Horse-pastures; The *Goths* promising that also, went along with him. And first surprizing the Enemies Horses at their Pasture, such as were a foot leapt on them, being many of the best men. Then they gallopt to the Enemies Camp, who being unarmed, unprepared, and amazed with the suddennesse, were most of them cut off, using no resistance. Some few escaped to *Totilas*. *John* then animated the *Calabrians*, and reconciled their affections to the Emperour with faire promises of many advantages. He staid not in *Brundisium*, but surprized *Canusium*, a Town in the middle of *Apulia*, five daies journey to the Westward of *Brundisium*, in the way to *Rome*. About three miles from this Town is *Canna*, where *Hanniball* gave that great overthrow to the *Romans*. Here *Tullianus* the Son of *Venanius*, a *Roman* of great power in *Bruttia* and *Lucania*, complained to *John* of what the Army had done formerly against the *Italians*, and promised, if moderation were used hereafter, to reduce his Country-men to obedience and payment of Tribute; who revolted unwillingly to *Barbarians* and *Arrians*, forced by them, and extremely wronged by the Emperours Army. *John* promised all favour from the Emperour to the *Italians*, and *Tullianus* went along with him, whence the *Italians* were no more jealous of the Souldiers, and the most part of the Country on this side the *Ionian* Gulfe became Friends to them, and obedient to the Emperour. *Totilas* upon the newes hereof, sent 300. *Goths* to *Capua*; whom he directed, when they saw *Johns* Army march towards *Rome*, closely to follow it. Himselfe would take care of the rest: This Iopt *John*, (fearing to be encompassed by the Enemy) from marching further towards *Belisarius*; and he went into *Bruttia* and *Lucania*. *Recimund* an eminent *Goth*, was placed by *Totilas* with some *Goths*, fugitive *Romans*, and *Moors* to guard *Bruttia*, and the Straits of *Scylla*, and the Coast thereof, and to hinder the landing of Boats from *Sicily*, & the passing over thither. *John* suddenly fell upon this Army between *Rhegium* and *Bivonta*, and routed them using no resistance: They fled towards a Mountain hard of access and craggy. But *John* ran up with them, and before they could be settled in the fastnesses, killed most of the *Moors* and *Roman* Souldiers, stoutly defending themselves, and took *Recimund* and the *Goths* upon composition. And having thus done, staid in the Country; while *Belisarius* lay still attending his coming, and blaming him for not adventuring to passe by a Garrison of 300. men in *Capua*, having with him the choice of the *Roman* Army. But *John* despaired of getting by, and lay quiet at *Cervarium*, a place in *Apulia*.

CHAP. X.

SO that *Belisarius* fearing some desperate resolution of the starving *Romans*, studied meanes to Victual the City. Forces he wanted to fight with the Enemy; but he did thus. He tyed two Barks together, upon which he built a Tower of wood, higher then those, which the Enemy had at the Bridge; having by some Souldiers, pretending to run away, taken the exact measure of them. He lancht into the *Tiber* also 200. Pinnaces, having Walls made of boards full of loop-holes, to shoot at the Enemy. Aboard the Pinnaces he put Corn and other Provisions, and towards the Rivers mouth in places of advantage, he laid Horse and Foot by either Banck, who were to impede the Enemy, if he set upon *Portus*; which he committed to the Guard of *Isaac*, with his Wife, and what he had there, directing him not to stir, though he heard *Belisarius* were slain; but to keep close to his Guard, that upon any mischance, there might be a place of retreat; for other Fortresses there was none, all the Country thereabout being their Enemy. Himselfe aboard one of the Pinnaces, led the rest; and caused the two Barks with the Tower to be towed after. Upon the top of the Tower he put a Cock-boat full of Pitch, Rozin, Brimstone, and other combustible matter upon the Banck, where is the way from *Portus* to *Rome*, stood the Foot. He had sent the day before to *Bessas*, to make a general Sally, and to alarm the Enemies Camp. The like he had directed

him

him often before, but neither before nor now, would he perform his directions: for he had Corn yet for his own use left, sent formerly by the Governours of *Sicily*, sufficient both for the Souldier and the People. Of this he gave little to the People, but took most of it upon the account of the Army, and kept it to himselfe, selling it at huge rates to the Senators: So that he had no mind to have the Siege raised. But *Belisarius* rowed up the River with a strong stream against him: The *Goths* lying quiet in their Trenches. Neer the Bridge they came to a Guard of Enemies, and found an Iron Chaine fastned from Banck to Banck, which *Totilas* had put there, to hinder the passage to the Bridge. They shot, and killed some, and frighted away the rest, then took up the Chaine and rowed on to the Bridge, where they fell to work; The *Goths*, valiantly defending from their Towers, and many running in from the Camp. Then *Belisarius* brought his two Barks with the Tower on them close to the Enemies Tower, which stood into the water by the way from *Portus*. He caused them to fire the Cock-boat, and to shooove it down just upon the Enemies Tower, which instantly fell afire, and burnt with it selfe 200. *Goths* within it, and their Commander, one of the valiantest of the Nation. Mean while the *Romans* shot so thick upon the seconds which came from the Camp, that being also amazed at the Accident, they ran all away. The *Romans* laid hands on the Bridge, and had suddenly pulled it down, and gotten into *Rome*, none opposing; But Fortune was not so pleased. Some envious *Demon* plotted that, which ruined the *Romans* Affaires. The Armies being thus employed, the report (to the *Romans* mischiefe) came to *Portus*, how *Belisarius* had taken up the Chaine, and killed the *Goths* there. *Isaac* could not hold, but would have his share in the honour; and forgetting *Belisarius* Commands, he went hastily to the other side of the River where *Ostia* stands, and with a 100. Horse of the men left him by *Belisarius*, he charged the Enemies quarter commanded by *Roderick* a skillfull Souldier. And coming suddenly, he wounded many, and *Roderick* himselfe, and the *Goths* decaying him, to surprize his Troops, which happened. For *Isaac* entering the Enemies Trenches, and falling to pillage, the *Goths* returned, killed many, and took himselfe, and others Prisoners. Some Horse-men gallopt to *Belisarius*, and reported that *Isaac* was taken by the Enemy; Who alonsight with the newes, and not entailing the manner, but thinking *Portus* and his Wife to be lost, and all ruined, quiring the manner, but thinking *Portus* was now left for the Army to retire to, he had not a word and how no Fortresse was now left for the Army to retire to, he had not a word to say, a thing never happening to him before: And immediately he drew back his Forces, meaning to charge the Enemy unprepared, and by all meanes to recover the place; And thus the *Romans* retired without doing any thing. But *Belisarius* when at *Portus* he found the rashnesse of *Isaac*, and perceived his own Counsell perturbation, the vexation of it, and at the crosse Fortune put him into a Feaver, which afflicted him long, and brought him to death. But *Bessas* stil trading with his Corn, grew rich, hunger and necessity setting the prizes for him. His whole thoughts were upon it, neglecting the Guard of the Walls, or any thing tending to preservation; and the Souldiers might be as negligent as they pleased. Upon the Walls were small Guards, and those not attended. The Sentinels might sleep securely, none ever visiting them, to call them to an account, nor going the round, as is usuall. And the Citizens being few left, and they almost starved, would not keep any Watch: At last foure *Isaurians*, who stood Sentinels neer *Porta Asinaria*, at the time of night, when their turn came to watch, and their fellows to sleep, slipt down the Walls by Ropes tyed to the Battlements, and came to *Totilas*, undertaking to receive his Army into the City with ease: *Totilas* promised many Favours, and to make them rich if they performed it, and sent two Souldiers with them to view the place, where they said the City might be entred. They came to the Wall, mounted the Battlements by the Ropes; not a man speaking, nor taking notice. Being there, the *Isaurians* shewed them how nothing would oppose their coming up, nor encounter them being up; which they bad them to trust port to *Totilas*; who though he was glad of the report, yet he could not trust them, being *Isaurians*. Not many daies after they came again, urging him upon the same businesse, and he sent two others, who examined all exactly, and made their

their report, agreeing with the former. In the meane time some *Roman* Scouts met ten *Goths* neer the City upon the high-way, whom they took, and brought to *Bellias*: Who by enquiry learnt of them, that *Totilas* hope was to have the City betrayed to him by *Isaurians*. *Bellias* and *Conon* made flight of the advertisement; and the *Isaurians* coming the third time to *Totilas*, and he sending others, and one of his own Kinred with them, and they reporting still the same, he resolved the enterprise.

CHAP. XI.

THE same night he silently armed his forces, and led them to *Porta Asinaria*, willing four *Goths* valiant and strong to mount the Battlements with the *Isaurians*, at the hour when they were to watch, and the rest were to go to bed in their turns. They being gotten into the Towne, went to *Porta Asinaria* without meeting any; and with their Battleaxes cut in two the Timber posts upon which the Gates on each side hung, and wrench'd off the iron worke whereinto the Watch-men put their keys to open and shut them: And so having set them open, they received in *Totilas* and the Army. *Totilas* drew all to one place, not suffering them to scatter, affraid of some ambush from the Enemy. The City suddenly was full of tumult, and most of the *Roman* Souldiers fled with their Commanders out at another gate. Some took Sanctuary with other *Romans* in Churches. Of the Patricians, *Decius*, *Basilus*, and some others fled out with *Bellias*, having Horses; But *Maximus*, *Olybrius*, *Orfles* and others fled into St. *Peters* Church. Of the commons remained but 500. men, who took Sanctuary also, the rest were all gone away, or starved. *Totilas* being told in the night, that *Bellias* and the Enemy were running away, sayd, they brought him very good news, and that they should not follow them; For what should please a man more then his Enemies running away? In the morning *Totilas* suspecting now no Ambush, went to St. *Peters* Church to Prayer: But the *Goths* killed some in their way, about 26. Souldiers, and sixty Commons.

Totilas being in the Church, *Pelagius* came a suppliant to him with the Gospels in his hand, crying out, *O spare, my Lord! your owne people*. Now (quoth *Totilas*, scoffing) you come an humble Petitioner to me; Because God hath made me your slave, replied *Pelagius*. And now, O Master! spare your owne slaves.

Totilas wonne with his supplications, forbade the *Goths* to kill any more; but to make booty of their Goods, reserving the most precious for himselfe. They found much wealth in the Patricians houses, but most in the lodging of *Bellias*, who had heaped up those wicked prices of his Corn for *Totilas*: The *Romans*, even Senators, and *Rusticius* the Widow of *Baetius*, and daughter of *Symmachus* (a woman that ever laid out her Revenues upon the poor) went begging their bread of their Enemies, wandering from house to house, knocking at the doors, and craving sustenance without blushing.

The *Goths* indeavoured to put *Rusticius* to death, for bribing the *Roman* Commanders to break down *Theoderick*'s Images, in revenge of her Husbands and Fathers deaths: But *Totilas* preserved her, and protected all the Women from the Souldiers insolence, who were eager to ravish them; but not one was abused: For which his modesty *Totilas* got a great reputation. The next day he assembled the *Goths*, and spake thus;

"Fellow Souldiers! I call you together, not to make any new exhortations, but the same I have given formerly, and by entertaining which, you have found your greatest good: And do not now to this hearken carelessly. Advise conducting you to happinesse should never be tedious, nor many words seeme wearisome, since the fruits springing from them must not weary you. I say then againe, that the other day we had 200000. valiant fighting men together, were masters of infinite wealth, had abundance of Horses, and other preparations, and many wife old men, who in Warre are of great use. Yet were we beaten by 7000. *Greeks*, and senselessly deprived of our Empire, and all things else. But now being reduced

to

"to few, and those naked, poore, and unexperienced, we have vanquish'd the Enemy, being upward of 20000. men. The cause of this our successe I will tell you, though you know it already. The *Goths* then not valuing Justice, acted foule wrongs upon themselves, and their *Roman* Subjects: Which moved God (as could not otherwise be) to fight against them for the Enemy: Whom wee exceeding in numbers, valour, and other preparations, yet were we beaten by an unseen power. It is now in your power to keep your prosperity by keeping your justice. If you change, God will be your Enemy: Who afflicts not this or that race, or Nation; but the men to whom Justice is precious: In him it is no labour to transferr prosperity from one to another. Let man only resolve never to do wrong; To God all things naturally are in his free power. Observe therefore justice, and you shall for ever maintain your happinesse.

"Having said thus to the *Goths*, he called the *Roman* Senators to him, and bitterly reproach't them; That having received benefits from *Theoderick* and *Attila*, *rick*, been employed in all offices, managed the whole State, and made themselves rich; they had proved ungratefull to their Benefactors, by unworthily revolting to their own mischief, and had betrayed themselves by bringing *Greeks* into their Country. He urged them to say, what hurt the *Goths*, or what benefit the Emperour *Iustinian* had done them. They were deprived of almost all commands, wrung and tortured by the publique Tax-gatherers to accompt for their carriages towards the *Goths* in the Treasury: And being spoiled by the Warr, yet the *Greeks* made them pay their tributes, as in the times of Peace.

He objected many such things, as angry Masters use to their new made slaves. Then pointing to *Herodian*, and the four *Isaurians*: "You, quoth he, having been bred with us, could never yeeld up to us so much as one forsaken Town: but these have received us into *Spoletum*, and *Rome* it selfe. Be you therefore in the condition of slaves, and these who have been friends, and as Country-men to us, shall have your offices.

The Patricians stood silent at these words: But *Pelagius* interceded for them, as men ruined and unfortunate, till *Totilas* promised mercy, and let them goe. He sent *Pelagius*, and *Theodorus*, an Orator of *Rome*, to *Iustinian*, his Ambassadors, making them sweare to deale fairly, and to return into *Italy* so soon as they could: He instructed them to perswade the Emperour to make peace, otherwise hee should be compelled to lay *Rome* flat with the ground, to kill all the Senate, and to bring the War into *Illyrium*; And he wrote letters to the Emperour; who had the news already of the successes in *Italy*. When they came to him, they declared their instructions from *Totilas*, and presented his letter, of this tenor.

"You are fully advertised what hath happened to *Rome*, I doubt it not. But my reason of this Embassage is, to crave of you to entertaine the blessings of Peace your selfe, and to permit them to us. Whereof we have a faire precedent in *Asparius* and *Theodericke*: Who reigned together not long since; but they filled their Reigns with Peace and good things. If you be pleased to do the like, I will call you my Father, and you shall have the *Goths* your Auxiliaries against whom you please.

Iustinian read the Letter, and heard the Ambassadors, but instantly sent them away with this answer in writing to *Totilas*:

"That he had made *Belisarius* absolute Generall in this Warr, who had full power to manage all things concerning *Totilas* as he pleased. During this voyage of the Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, and back again, *Tullianus* in *Lucania* leav'd some Peasants, and guarded the Straits there, to hinder the Enemies entring to infect *Lucania*; With him were 300. *Antians*, left with him by *John*; being of all *Barbarians* the aptest to fight in a fastnesse. *Totilas* thought it not fit to employ all the *Goths* against them; But he sent numbers of Peasants in the company of some *Goths*, whom he commanded to attempt the passage. They fought, and much stirring there was, but by the valour of the *Antians*, and favour of the fastnesse, *Tullianus* in the end routed them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Totilas hearing of it, resolved to demolish Rome, and leaving part of his army in some towne thereabout with the rest to go against John and the Lucanians. He threw downe about the third part of the walls of Rome, and was ready to fire the fairest, and most eminent buildings, and to make Rome a sheepe pasture; but Belisarius advertized of his intention, sent Ambassadors to him, and wrote him this Letter, "It hath been the invention of wise men of old, affecting civility, to raise goodly buildings; and none destroy them but some dull men, not ashamed to leave to posterity such a mark of their disposition. And of all Cities under the Sun, Rome is confest to be the greatest and most famous; being not the work of one mans virtue, nor arrived to this beauty and bignesse in a small time. Many Emperours and excellent men, length of time, and excesse of wealth have drawn together materials from all countries, and rare artificers, and having so by little and little built the City as you now see it, they have filled it with monuments of all their virtues, and the violence done to the same is an injury committed against all mankind; taking from our progenitors the memorialls of their worth, and from posterity the sight of such goodly works. Know then, that one of the two must be, either you will be vanquishd by the Emperour, or get the better. If you be victorious, by having destroyed Rome; you have ruined, Great Sir, not anothers, but your own; by preserving which, you will be rich in the goodliest possession in the world. But if you draw the loosening lot; having preserved Rome, you have reserved abundant thanks from the conquerour: But by destroying it, herest your self of all pretence to favour. And you will get nothing by it, but a fame in the world futable to such a proceeding, which attends your Resolution herein either way. Whatsoever the actions of Princes be, such are necessarily the name they must bear from them. Totilas upon often reading this Letter, and pondring the advice, forbore further harme to Rome. And signifying to Belisarius his determination, he dismissd the Ambassadors. He encamped most of his army at Algidum, 15 miles from Rome to the Westward, to ly there and keep Belisarius fast in Portus, and himself and the rest went against John and the Lucanians. Some Roman Senators he led with him, and the rest with their wives and children he sent to Campania, leaving not a man in Rome. John hearing of Totilas coming, would stay no longer in Apulia, but ran into Otranto. The Patricians confined in Campania, sent commands by Totilas direction to their husbandmen of Lucania, to leave John, and to manure their Lands as formerly, which were declared to belong to their Landlords. Whereupon they forsook John, and went and lived peaceably at home. Tullianus also ran away, and his 300 Antians retired to Johns army. So all on this side the Jonian Gulse, save Otranto, became again subject to Totilas; and the Goths grown bold, stragled about in small parties; John sent forces out, and killd many of them, which caused Totilas to unite his army about mount Garganus, almost in the middle of Apulia, where he encamped in Hanniballs Entrenchment. In the mean time Martinus, a Constantinopolitan born, & one of the souldiers that escaped out of Rome with Conn, when it was taken, desired Belisarius that he might go to the Enemy, pretending himself a run-away, and he would do good service. Belisarius approving it, Martinus went to Totilas, who was glad of him, having heard much of the young man, and seen him do bravely in some single combats: Presently he restored to him his wife a captive, and one of his children (there being two) but reserved the other for a hostage, and he sent them with some others to Spoletum, whereof the Goths had demolisht the walls after their taking it by Herodian Treason, and put a Garrison there of Goths and Romans fugitives, into the place used for the hunting of wild beasts (called the Amphitheatre) which they had fortified. Martinus got some Associates, whom he perswaded to do some remarkable service, and so to return to the Roman army, and to the Roman Commander in Pirrusa, he sent for forces, discovering his designe to him. Othegandon, a Hunne, the commander there (Cyprianus Being murder'd by one of his own life-Guard, as afore said) marcht with some forces to Spoletum; whom Martinus seeing, with the

the 15 Souldiers he had got to joyn with him, he killed the Captaine of the Goths Garrison, and received the Romans into the Fort; they kill'd most of the Enemies, and brought the rest to Belisarius.

Who resolved thereupon to enter Rome, and with a thousand Souldiers he marcht to it. The Enemy at Algidum was advertized hereof by a Roman, and layed an Ambush neer Rome, which seeing, Belisarius set upon his troops, and a hot fight being, the Romans valour routed the Enemy, who after the killing of most of them, retired to Portus. Upon the sea-coast of Calabria, stands Tarentum, two daies journey from Otranto, in the way to Thurium and Rhegium. John, invited by the Tarentines, went thither with some few, leaving the rest in Otranto, the city he found great & unfortified, & conceived it impossible to man it. But finding to the northward of the City the sea to embay it self on both sides the Land, and to make it an Isthmus between, of two miles and a half broad; he cut the said Isthmus from the city with a wall and a deep ditch, and put in it the Tarentines and the inhabitants of some other Townes with a good Garrison. The Calabrians having gotten this refuge, thought of revolving from the Goths. In the mean time Totilas surprized Acherontis a strong Castle in Lucania, upon the confines of Calabria, and put into it a Garrison of 400 men. Then himself with his army went toward Ravenna, leaving some Goths in Campania, to Guard the Senators there confined.

CHAP. XIII.

But Belisarius undertook a design provident and bold, which seemed a kinde of madnesse at first, but proved a gallant work. He left a small Garrison in Portus, and with the rest of his army he went into Rome with a resolution to hold it. He could not in so short a time repair the walls, demolisht by Totilas; but he heaped stones one upon another rudely, without lime or the like between, only to give it the form of a wall; without it he pitcht good store of stakes; And a ditch he had formerly made round about, as I said before. The whole army working cheerfully, in five and twenty daies the breaches were filled up.

The Romans from the townes about flocked thither, as well desiring to dwell in Rome again, as to be supplied with Victuall which they wanted, and found there in abundance, imported by Belisarius up the River. Totilas at the newes, went instantly thitherward; Belisarius having not yet set up the Gates, which Totilas had broken down; and he for want of Artificers, could not build them again. The Barbarian Army encamped by the River of Tiber, and there lodged that night; the next morning they marcht furiously to the City-walls. Belisarius placed, where the Gates had stood, some of his best men, and commanded the rest from the Walls to maintain fight against the Assailants, and it was hotly fought; For the Goths, who hoped to take the Town at the first on-set, finding the businesse prove tough, and the Romans powerfully defending, grew angry, and their anger made them more venturous. The Romans also held out beyond expectation, the danger inducing them to be valiant. The Slaughter was great of the Goths, being annoyed by shot from the Walls. Both the Armies toyled hard, the Fight beginning in the morning, and ending at night. When it grew dark, the Goths returned to their Quarters, and spent the night in dressing their wounded men. The Romans kept Guards upon the Walls, and put the best men where the Gates had been, to guard by turnes, having pitcht before them many Triboli, that the Enemy might not ride in upon them. The Triboli, or Gall-traps are of this Fashion. They fit to one another the blunt ends of foure Iron Sprigs, of equall length, whose right lines make a triangle every way. These they throw upon the ground, and three of them stick fast; the other stand upright, and hinders the approach of horse and men: and if by chance they be turned over, the point that stood up before, pitches into the Ground, and another gets up instead of it, hindring a charging Enemy. But the next morning Totilas again assaulted, and the Romans defended in their former order. got the better, and growing bold sallied, and some chasing the retiring Enemy far from the Town, the Goths fell to compasse them, and to cut off their retreat; which Belisarius perceiving, sent out some of his own company, who brought them off:

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Women were taken Prisoners. One *Clementinus* a *Patritian*, fled into a Church, not accompanying the *Roman* Army; because having betrayed a Castle neer unto *Naples* to *Totilas*, he feared the Emperours indignation. *Orestes* also, who had been Consul, laid at his house for want of Horses to carry him away; *John* sent the Senators he found, and the 70. Souldiers into *Sicily*: But *Totilas* was vexed at this newes, and eager to have his revenge upon *John*; And he marcht against him, leaving only some of his Troops to guard the Camp before *Verulsa*: *John* had encamped his 100. men in *Lucania*, and sent out some to discover upon all the waies, that the Enemy might not surprize him. And *Totilas* guessing as much, and that *John* would not lye in his Camp, without his Scouts abroad; left the ordinary wayes, and marcht over the Mountaines which were many, high and craggy, and thought unpassable, that none would suspect his coming that way. *Johns* Scouts found the Enemy was thereabout, but no certainty they could learn; and fearing what came to passe, they rode back to their Camp, and with them arrived there the *Goths* in the night, *Totilas* being in a rage, and so not well advised, had the fruit of his impertinet anger. His Army was ten times greater then his Enemies; and it is evidently best for a stronger Army to make an open fight; so that he should have charged the Enemy in the morning (to take from them the benefit of the dark to hide themselves) and so he had taken them all as in a net. But he giving way to his anger, set on them in the dark night. They used no resistance, being taken most of them asleep; yet the *Goths* killed not many, they having the means in the dark to slip away unseen, leaving their camp, and running up to the next mountains. *John* escaped amongst the rest, and *Aradius*, Captaine of the *Herninians*. Almost 100. *Romans* were slain: There was with *John* one *Gilacius* an *Armenian*, commanding some few of his Country-men, who spake neither *Greek*, *Latin*, nor *Gothish*, but *Armenian* only; some *Goths* lighting upon him, ask'd him who he was: (They forbore to kill any in the dark, lest they might kill their owne) He could make no other answer, but that he was Generall *Gilacius*, having learnt the title of his place in *Greek*, by hearing it often named. The *Goths* finding him an Enemy, took him Prisoner, and soon after killed him. *John*, and *Aradius* with their troops gallopt amain to *Otranto*: And the *Goths* afterward pillaging the *Roman* Camp, retired. Things being thus in *Italy*, the Emperour upon the importunate letters of *Belisarius*, thought good to send more Forces thither.

First, he sent *Bacchius*, the sonne of *Perennis*, and *Syngis*, *Solomons* sisters sonne, who with some few came to the rest of the Army. Afterward he sent *Vernus* with 300. *Herninians*, and *Varaxes* an *Armenian* with 80. *Roman* Souldiers. He caused also *Valerianus*, Generall of *Armenia*, from thence to goe into Italy with his guard of Lanciers, and Targettiers, being above a thousand men. *Vernus* first arrived at *Otranto*, where leaving his Ships, and not joyning with *Johns* Army, he rode forward with his men. He was no serious man, but an excellent Drinker: and consequently rash, and unadvised. He encamped neer to *Brundisium*: Which *Totilas* hearing; Either quoth he, *Vernus* is very strong, or very foolish. Let us go to him; either to make tryall of his power, or to make him sensible of his folly. Accordingly he went against him with a great Army; But the *Herninians* seeing them, fled into a Wood, where the Enemy compassed them, and slew above 200. *Vernus* and the rest were ready to be caught; but it chanced that *Varaxes* and the *Armenians* came suddenly to an Anchor upon that shore; and *Totilas* suspecting some great Forces aboard, rode away with his Army, and so they escaped, with much joy to the ships. *Varaxes* put into *Tarentum*, whither soone after came *John*. The Emperour had written to *Belisarius* of a great Army sent, with which he was to joyn in *Calabria*, and to give Battall to the Enemy. *Valerianus* also was come neer the *Ionian* gulf, but would not passe over, fearing that the Souldiers and their Horses would want provisions now towards the Winter tropick. He sent unto *John* 300. of his men, and promised in the beginning of the Spring to be with him.

But *Belisarius* upon persuall of the Emperours letters, chose of his best men 700. Horse, and 200. Foot: And leaving the Guard of the places about *Rome* to the rest under *Conon*, he made for *Sicily*, thence purposing to put in at *Tarentum*. He left at his left hand the place called *Scyllium*, where the Poets say, that *Scylla* did abide. Not that any such savage Woman was, as they tell it: But in that part are of old many

many small rocks like whelps, and they are to this day called *whelp* little Dogs. At first names were given thus to signifie the things. Then fame spreading them among men ignorant of the truth, caused many false conceits: And time at length became the powerfull Author of some fable, suborning, for Witnesses of things that are not, Poets, by licence of their art. So anciently the Natives of *Corcyra* have called their Easterly promontory *Cynocephale*, the head of a Dog; Whereupon others would have the Islanders headed like Dogs. Some *Pisidians* are called *Lycorantes*, not because they have heads like Wolves, but because the mountaines there are called *lycos* the head of a Wolfe. But to return from whence I digressed.

Belisarius endeavoured to make directly for *Tarentum*. There is a coast in forme like a halfe moon, the Sea embaying it selfe farre into the land; the compass whereof being 125. miles, neer to the mouth of the Bay are *Croton* to the Eastward, and *Therium* to the West, And about the middle of it is *Tarentum*. A storm being in their teeth, and the wind blowing high, and the waves being great, being unable to saile on, they cast Anchor in the Haven of *Croton*: Where *Belisarius* finding no Fortresse neere, nor how to supply the Army with provisions, staid with his Wife and all the Foot, intending to send for *Johns* Army. His Horse he commanded to march higher, and to quarter themselves upon the entrances of the Countrey, giving them for Commanders *Pharus* the *Iberian*, and *Barbation*, one of his Life-guard; Thinking that so they might best get provisions for themselves and their Horses, and keep off the Enemy in fastnesses. For there the mountaines of *Lucania* reaching into *Bruttia*, and meeting at a strait, make two narrow passages; the one called in Latine *Petra sanguinis*, the bloody rock; the other *Labulla*, or *Lambula*. Here by the Sea side stands *Ruscia*, where the *Thurians* ships ride. Seven miles and a halfe above this, the ancient *Romans* built a strong Castle, which *John* had long possessed, and placed a Garrison in it.

CHAP. XV.

THE Horse sent by *Belisarius* met Forces of the Enemy sent by *Totilas* to attempt that Castle: With these they fought, and though much inferior in numbers, they routed them, and killed above 200. The rest ran away to *Totilas* with the newes. The *Romans* encamped in the place; and being ill governed, and victorious, lived carelessly, neither lying together in one body, nor keeping guards upon the two passages; but lodging too securely farr asunder, and all the day stragling for Provisions, without sending out Scouts, or advising upon any course of safety. *Totilas* being thereof advertised, went against them with 3000. chosen Horsemen: And coming unlooked for upon them, being in no order to fight, but stragling, he amazed and routed them. *Pharus* encountered the Enemy, and did valiantly; whereby some escaped, but himselfe, and his company were slain. This the *Romans* took grievously, having their hopes in these, being extraordinary good men. *Barbation*, of the Life-guard to *Belisarius*, ran away to *Croton* with the newes, reporting that the *Goths* would be instantly there. *Belisarius* exceedingly grieved, ran to his Ships, weighed anchor, and with a faire wind came the same day before *Messina* in *Sicily*, distant from *Croton* 87. miles, being right over against *Rhegium*.

About this time an Army of *Slavonians* passed the River *Ister*, and did infinite mischief in *Illyrium*, even to *Epidaunus*, killing and captivating all and of all ages they found, and taking the spoile. They took many strong Castles, none to defend them, and ranged about every where without controule. The Commanders of *Illyrium* waited upon them with 15000. men, but never durst come neer them.

In that Winter were many terrible Earth-quakes in *Constantinople* and else-where; all in the night; that the Inhabitants feared to be over-whelmed, but no hurt was done. The Nile also swelled 18. cubits, drowning all *Egypt*: In the Countrey of *Thebaic*, and the up-lands, the waters abated in the reasonable time, and gave the people means to sow, and husband the ground as was usuall. But they retired not from

from the lower grounds at all, but covered them all the seed-season, which never happened before: To some grounds the water returned again, and rotted all the seed put into the ground during the abatement. So that the people were much troubled with the strangeness of it, and most of their cattle perished for want of food. The great Whale was then also taken, which the *Constantinopolitans* called the *Porphyrion*. It had troubled them, and the Townes about them above fifty years at times; drowning Ships, and catching men from aboard, and carrying them away. *Justinian* could by no endeavour get this Monster taken. But now a great number of *Daulphins* coming upon the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, and espying the whale, fled from him, the most of them to the mouth of *Sangaris*, where the Whale overtook some of them, and devoured them: But either hunger or anger provoking him to pursue neer the shore, he fell into the mud, where tumbling and thriving, hee was more engaged; and the Inhabitants hearing of it, ran downe, and hewed him with their Axes; but not being able to kill him, they drew him ashore, with great ropes, laying him upon Waynes, and found him thirty cubits long, and ten broad. They cut him in pieces, and some presently ate them, others pickled them up. The newes of the over-flowing of *Nile*, and this Whale, added to the Earth-quake which they had felt, filled the *Constantinopolitans* with prophesies of strange events; Men using skill in present perplexities, and disturbances to make groundlesse conjectures of things to come.

But leaving sooth-sayings, and the interpretation of prodigies; doubtlesse the flood lying so long upon *Egypt*, caused for the present much calamity; and the killing of the Whale was the riddance of a great mischief; But some say it was not the *Porphyrion*, but some other Whale.

But to return to my matter. *Totilas* understanding that the *Romans* in *Rusciana* were very scarce of Victuall, fate down close by it, to take it before it could be relieved. And then ended the Winter, and the 13. yeare of this Warr, written by *Procopius*.

When the Emperour sent 2000. Foot into *Sicily*, and commanded *Valerianus* instantly to repair to *Belisarius*, He passing the Gulfe, found at *Otranto* *Belisarius* and his Wife *Antonina*, who then sailed to *Constantinople*, to entreat the Emperesse *Theodora* for some better supplies to her Husband in this Warr. But she found her dead, having lived in the Empire 22. yeares, and three moneths. In the mean time the Garrison in *Rusciana* capitulated to yeild up the Castle about Midsummer, if in the mean time they were not succoured; provided they have no hurt done them. In it were many *Italians*, men of quality, and *Theopheron*, brother to *Tullianus*, and of the *Romans* 300. *Illyrian* Horse-men, whom *John* had left there under *Chalazar* a *Hunne*, one of his Life-guard, and a very good Souldier, and *Gedilas* a *Thracian*: *Belisarius* had sent 100. Souldiers to this Castle, who with those appointed by him to guard *Rome*, killed their Commander *Conon*, for selling the Corn and other victuall at *Rome*, to their prejudice. They sent some Priests to the Emperour, protesting, that if he granted not abolition of this fault, and payed them their arrears by such a day, they would immediately revolt to *Totilas*. The Emperour did what they desired.

CHAP. XVI.

BE LIS ARIUS sent then for *John* to *Otranto*, and with him, and *Valerianus*, and a Fleet he had got together, he failed to succour *Rusciana*. The Garrison there discerning the Fleet, took courage, and refused to yeild, though the day assigned were at hand. But a storm disperfed all the Ships, the coast being Harbour-lesse; and in the Haven of *Croton* they met all, and made for *Rusciana* again. The *Goths* seeing them, leapt on Horse-backe, and stood upon the shore to oppose their landing, set in front by *Totilas* against their fore-ships; some with their Lances, others with their Bows bent. The *Romans* seeing it, durst come no neerer, but lay at hull far off in the Sea; And at length despairing, turned about

about to Sea-ward, and came again to an Anchor in the haven of *Croton*: Where they resolved in counsell, that *Belisarius* should make for *Rome*, and Victual it, as he could; and that *John* and *Valerianus* should land, and ride into *Picenia*, to impede the Enemies sieges of the Towns there; hoping also to draw *Totilas* towards them, with the raising of the siege of *Rusciana*. *John* with his Troops being 1000. men, did accordingly: But *Valerianus* was afraid, and by the *Ionian* Gulfe failed for *Ancona*, thinking so more securely to get into *Picenia*, to joyn with *John*. *Totilas* raised not his siege, but sent 2000. selected Horse-men into *Picenia*, to joyn with other *Goths*, and to beate away *John* and *Valerianus*. But the Garrison in *Rusciana* (their Victuall being absolutely failed) sent *Gedilas* the Lancier, and *Theopheron* the *Italian* to intercede for their lives, and pardon for their fault. *Totilas* promised it to all, save *Chalazar* only, who had formerly broken faith with him; & so received the Castle, and put to death *Chalazar*, cutting off his hands and privy members. The Souldiers that would, he kept in equall ranck with *Goths*, and left them their goods (as he used in all places) And such as would not, he dismit, stript, and unarmed, not desiring any to serve him unwillingly: And 80. of them quitted their goods, and came to *Croton*; the rest staid; of whom the *Italians* had their goods taken away afterwards, but no hurt was done to their persons.

Antonina finding the Emperesse dead at *Constantinople*, besought the Emperour to send for her Husband home: Which she easily obtained, the *Persian* War pressing fore. In the mean time there was an attempt against the Emperours person, which began, and was defeated in this manner. *Artabanes*, who slew the Tyrant *Gontharis* in *Africke*, was eager to marry *Projecta*, the Emperours sisters daughter; He was betroathed to her, and she affected the match; not for love of his person so much, as in her gratitude to a man, who had revenged the murder of her Husband *Arebindus*, and rescued her a Captive, and ready to be put into the loathed bed of *Gontharis* the Tyrant. Both thus consenting, *Artabanes* sent *Projecta* to the Emperour; and being made Generall of *Africke*, besought the Emperour with some pretences, to send for him to *Constantinople*; Hoping thereby to effect the marriage, and to get many advantages, and even to put for the Empire.

Men thus getting fortunes which they looked not for, yet look still further; and foment their rising hopes, till they fall from the happiness they have. The Emperour granted his desire, and sent for him to *Constantinople*, and made another Generall of *Africke*, as is said in my former relations. And being a tall comely personage, liberall, and of few words, the *Constantinopolitans* loved him, and admired him for his deeds. And the Emperour respected him with the best, made him Generall of the Forces in *Constantinople*, and Commander of the Confederates, and enrolled him a Consul. But he could not marry *Projecta*, by reason he had a former Wife, his Country-woman, whom he married young, and shook off long before upon some exceptions for slight matters, wherein women offend their Husbands. And she, while *Artabanes* fortunes were not yet made, fate quiet at home; But he being grown famous for his Actions, and great in his fortunes, she would suffer no longer the dishonour; but became sutor in *Constantinople* to the Emperesse for her Husband to be restored to her. The Emperesse, ever inclinable to assist distressed women, brought her to live with her Husband, much against his will: And *Projecta* was married to *John*, the sonne of *Pompey*.

Artabanes was wild at this misfortune; and that having done so great service to the *Romans*, they had not onely barred him from his betroathed Wife, but put him to lead his whole life with a woman that hated him; the greatest vexation which the soule of man can suffer. And so soon as the Emperesse was dead, he presently sent away his Wife. *Germanus* also, the Emperours brothers sonne, had a Brother named *Bovades*; Who was lately dead, leaving his main estate to *Germanus* and his sons, and to his own only daughter, so much only as law compelled. This daughter the Emperour protected, which troubled *Germanus*.

There was also in *Constantinople* *Aspacas*, an *Armenian* of the race of the *Aspacides*, and kindred of *Artabanes*. This man was taken lately in a manifest practise of Treason with *Chosroes*, King of *Persia*. The Emperour punished him onely with some few lashes upon his back, and made him ride through the City upon a Camel: some few lashes upon his back, and made him ride through the City upon a Camel: taking nothing from him, nor so much as banishing him the Court. Yet was he discontented

contented for what befell him, and he devised mischief against the Emperour and the State; finding likewise his Cozen *Artabanes* discontented, he provoked him more, surprizing him with cunning words, and chiding him. "That he was grown a coward and effeminate in an untimely time. He was valiant to rescue others, and to pull down Tyrants, and had killed without any provocation *Ginbaris* his friend, and a feaster. But that now he lay still poorly and heartlesse; while his country languished under a perpetuall Garrison, and unusuall taxations, having lost his Father treacherously slain under colour of a Treaty, and having his kinsmen made slaves, and scattered through the whole Roman Empire. Yet *Artabanes* (quoth he) thinks it enough to have a Roman Generallship, and the bare title of a Consul, and me your kinsman you can behold suffering base things, without condoling with me; but I pity noble Sir your own sufferings in both your wives, both her you have lost, and her you must live with. And surely there is no cause neither upon deliberation nor fear, that can discourage a man from killing *Iustinian*, who sits at midnight without his Guards, discoursing with some old Prelates, and busie in endless scanning the *Christians* Oracles. None of his kinsmen will oppose you *Germanus* the most powerfull, and his Sons, young men enraged against *Iustinian*, (I verily think) will joyn with you; that so the business will even do it self. For they have been more wronged by him than we, or any *Armenian*. *Arfaces* with such inchantments as these, finding *Artabanes* yielding, imparted the matter to one *Chanaranges*, a *Perfarmenian*, a handsome youth, but nothing serious; and having brought him and *Artabanes* together in the same resolution, he left them, promising to draw *Germanus* and his Sons into the plot.

CHAP. XVII.

JUSTINUS, the elder of them, was young (his beard newly sprouting) but valiant and sharp witted; and not long before was made Consul. *Arfaces* went to him, telling him, that he would willingly meet him in a certain Church. Being met, *Arfaces* prayed him to assure him by oath, that he would not reveal their conference to any but to his Father. When he had sworn accordingly, he fell to chide him. "That being the Emperours nearest kinsman, and seeing Petisloggers and common fellows holding all the great offices, himself at these years would endure so long the affairs to be managed by mean men. That the Emperour did not only despise him, but even his Father, a man attained to the height of virtue; and suffered *Iustinian* his Brother still a privat man. That he could not get the estate of *Boraides* his Uncle, who had made him his heir by his will; but was deprived of the most part of it: and he would despise them more, so soon as *Belisarius* was returned out of *Italy*, who was reported to be in the midst of *Illirium*. With such allegations he incited *Iustinus*, and discovered the conspiracy between him, *Artabanes* and *Chanaranges*. The young man was amazed and troubled to hear him, and plainly told him, that neither himself nor his Father could ever joyn in such an Action. *Arfaces* reported the success to *Artabanes*, and *Iustinus* acquainted his Father with the discourse, who communicated it to *Marcellus*, Captain of the Palatine Guards, and demanded his opinion if he should reveal it to the Emperour: *Marcellus* was a grave, austere man, of few words, an Enemy to jellings, and loose fashions, of a rigid life, and a stranger to all pleasures; but precisely just, and a zealous Lover of Truth. He would not have the matter revealed to the Emperour as yet. You (quoth he) to be the Informer, is not convenient. Upon your least private conference with the Emperour, *Artabanes* will suspect his plot to be discovered, and then *Arfaces* running away, you will remain without proofe. And my self never use to beleive any thing before punctually examining it, nor to report it to the Emperour. I would gladly hear the discourse my self, or that some of mine might hear the men speaking clearly in this subject. This advice *Germanus* bade his Son *Iustinus* to put in Execution: Who having so flatly denied *Arfaces*, would not speak of it to him again; But he askt *Chanaranges*, if by the privacy of *Artabanes*, *Arfaces* lately came to him. I durst not, quoth he, to such a man, open my self; but if you have any thing to say

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in it, we will advise, and happily may do something. *Chanaranges* after conferring with *Artabanes*, told *Iustinus* as much as *Arfaces* had done, and *Iustinus* promised all he desired, and to draw in his Father. And a day was appointed for *Germanus* to confer with *Chanaranges*, and *Germanus* entreated *Marcellus* for some confident of his to be an ear witness of *Chanaranges*. He sent *Leontius* who married the daughter of *Arbanusius*, a right honest man, who would be sure to report the truth. Him *Germanus* placed in his dining room behind the hangings, and himself with his Son *Iustinus* staid in the room, where *Leontius* heard *Chanaranges* plainly declaring the conspiracy between himself, *Artabanes*, and *Arfaces*. Then they fell to discourse, that if they should kill the Emperour while *Belisarius* was upon his way, their design would not succeed; for if they should make *Germanus* Emperour; it was likely that *Belisarius* would come against them with an army, which he might levy in *Thrace*, and they should not be able to keep him off. It were better to defer the action till the coming of *Belisarius*, who being in *Constantinople*, and with the Emperour in his Palace, they might enter at evening suddenly with their daggers, and kill *Marcellus* and *Belisarius*, together with the Emperour, and so manage their business as they pleased. *Marcellus* being hereof advertized by *Leontius*, yet forbore to report it to the Emperour, least with too much haste he might unadvisedly ruin *Artabanes*. But *Germanus* revealed it to *Buzes* and *Constantianus*, fearing, that which hapned, to be suspected for his delay. But *Belisarius* afterward being reported to be near at hand, *Marcellus* revealed the Treason to the Emperour; who caused *Artabanes* and his Complices to be committed to the common Prison, and to be examined by some principall Officers. The conspiracy being manifest, and reduced into writing, the Emperour summoned the Senate to the place within the Palace appointed for hearing causes. They, albeit they heard the plain confessions of the Prisoners, yet had involved *Germanus*, and *Iustinus* in the crime; if the Testimonies of *Marcellus* and *Leontius* had not cleared them: who deposed, and *Buzes* also and *Constantianus*, that *Germanus* had hid nothing from them, but demeaned himself, as aforesaid. So that the Senat acquitted him and his Son, as having in nothing offended the State: But coming to the Emperours chamber, the Emperour stormed, and was much inflamed against *Germanus*, for his slownesse in the discovery; and two principall Officers seconded his opinion to please him, and they seemed much offended with *Germanus*, and to kindle more the Emperours anger, being officious to ingratiate themselves by other mens miseries. The rest stood amazed without a word speaking; yielding, by not opposing. *Marcellus* only saved him by speaking truth, taking the blame upon himself, and urging vehemently, that *Germanus* discovered it to him timely, but himself searching more narrowly into it, revealed it with the latest. And thus he pacified the Emperour, and got a great fame for using his virtue in a time of so great need. *Artabanes* the Emperour removed from his office, and did him no other harm, nor any of the rest; they were retrained, but not dishonorably, nor in the common prison, but in the Palace.

The Barbarians at this time were cleerly masters of all the West, and this Gothick war was now come to this, that the Romans who at first won all afore them, had now consumed their men and money to no purpose, had lost *Italy*, and stood looking upon *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, shamefully waited by Barbarians their next borderers. In the beginning of this war, the Goths gave to the Franks all *Gallia*, subject to them, being not able to fight with both, as I have said. This the Romans hindred not, but *Iustinian* confirmed the Gift, that he might not be crost by a war from these Barbarians; nor would the Franks have thought their possession sure, if the Emperour had not put his Seal to the Act. Hereupon the Kings of the Franks got *Marseilles*, a colony of the Phocæans, and all the Sea townes, and were Masters of that Sea: And now they sit in *Arles*, beholding the horse-races there, they coyn Gold Staters out of the Gold mines in *Gaul*, not with the stamp of the Roman Emperour (as the custome is) but with their own Images. The King of *Persia* coynes silver monies as he pleases, but it is not lawfull for him, nor any King of Barbarians to put his own stamp upon a Gold Stater, though he be a greater Master of Gold; for such money they cannot put away, though they trade with Barbarian Merchants. But the Franks seeing *Totilas* prevail, seized the most part of *Venetia*; the Romans had no power to resist, nor the Goths to make war upon both.

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CHAP. XV III.

THE *Gepedes* also took *Syrmiu*, and almost all *Dacia*, so soon as *Justinian* had taken them from the *Goths*; making the *Romans* their Captives, and going still onward spoiling the *Roman* Provinces; so that the *Emperour* paid them no more the Pensions they anciently received of the *Romans*. To the *Lombards* also he gave the City of *Novara*, and the strong places in *Pannonia*, and other Townes, and great sums of Money, who thereupon left their own Country, and planted by the River *Ister* near unto the *Gepedes*: and pillaged likewise *Dalmatia*, and *Illyrium*, to *Epidaurum*; leading the People Captive: of whom if any chanced to run away, and get home, these *Lombards* being in league with us, freely ranging in the *Roman* Provinces, and discovering any of their Fugitives, laid hold of them as their Slaves, and haling them from their Parents, led them back with them without any opposition. The *Hernians* also had given them by the *Emperour* places in *Dacia*, neer the City of *Singidon* where now they inhabit, and from thence over-run and spoile *Illyrium* and *Thrace*: Some of them turned *Roman* Souldiers, and were ranked with the Confederates. And these *Hernian* Ambassadors, when they come to *Constantinople*, receive their full Pensions, without much attendance, notwithstanding they ranck dayly the *Roman* Subjects. And thus all these *Barbarians* shared among them the Spoile of the Empire.

Not long after the *Gepedes*, and *Lombards*, being Neighbours, became Enemies, and a day was appointed for a pitch-field between them. The *Lombards* inferior in numbers, and holding themselves to be over-matcht, resolved to invite the *Romans* to aide them in the Battell; the *Gepedes* also having truce with us, were desirous the *Romans* would joyne with them, or stand neutrall: And both of them sent Ambassadors to *Justinian* for aide. *Thorisin* was then Prince of the *Gepedes*, and *Andouin* of the *Lombards*. The *Emperour* heard their Propositions, not together, but severally. The *Lombards* having first access, spake thus.

'Great *Emperour*, we are amazed at the impertinency of these *Gepedes*; who having acted so many great wrongs upon your Dominions, come here to offer the foulest scorne that can be, in thinking you easie to be deceived, and so coming to make use of your simplicity. But we desire you Sir, to consider their intentions in this friendship; so will you deale the more securely for your Empire, and judge more safely of the Future by what is past. If their ingratitude had been shewn only to other Nations, you might expect from us long discourses, and foreign testimonies to convince them thereof. But you have the experiment now even in your own selves. The *Goths* formerly held all *Dacia* tributary, whom the *Gepedes* dwelling on the further side of the *Ister* so feared, that they never durst attempt to pisse over the River. But being in truce with the *Romans*, and their great Friends, and in that Title receiving large yearly Pensions, as well from former *Emperours*, as your selfe; what Services have they done you for the same? They can alledge not one. When they knew not how to wrong you, their disability, not good intent, kept them quiet. Beyond the *Ister* you would not meddle, and from this side the feare of the *Goths* restrained them. And can disability be called gratitude, or good nature? Can a firm Friend be known, while he wants power to transgresse? No Sir, It is a mans power only that expresses his nature and intentions, good or bad; his ability to do what he list, laying his disposition to the publick view. For these *Gepedes* no sooner saw the *Goths* gone out of *Dacia*, and you busie with your Enemies, but the wicked wretches intruded every where upon your territories. Their baseness herein what words can expresse? Have they not despised the *Roman* Empire? broken the sacred Lawes of Truces, put scornes upon their Benefactors, and violated that Empire, whose Slaves they would be proud to be, if you had any leisure for them. They hold *Syrmiu*, and vaunt all *Dacia* to be theirs; in what War having been ever victorious, either for you, with you, or against you? or of what Battell having made that Province the prize? Nay, being ancient Mercenaries, and receiving your Monies, as hath been said. Then, a more lewd proceeding then this Ambassage of theirs

theirs was never. Now when they see us quarrelling with them, they have the face to come to *Constantinople*, and to the *Emperours* presence, whom they have so much abused; and peradventure in their abundant impudence will intreat your aide against us, who have shewed our selves so affectionate to you. If they come to restore what they have unjustly intruded into, you must impute it to the *Lombards*, the chiefe Causes of their repentance; a constrained feare of whom, must thank those who made the doing it necessary. But if now neither they will part with what belongs not to them, what an excesse of ill nature is this? Let this suffice, O *Emperour*, to be spoken in a *Barbarian* simplicity, with words not reaching the matter. And do you, Sir, weigh well, what hath been uttered more faintly then the occasion requires; and do that which may be best for the *Romans*, and your own *Lombards*; considering also, that you shall do well to joyne with us, who are of the same Orthodoxall Religion; and to oppose these, being *Arians*. The *Lombards* for spake, and the next day the *Gepedes* Ambassadors were brought to the *Emperour*, and said in this manner. It is right and fit, O *Emperour*, for men demanding aides, first to shew, that they ask things reasonable and just, and good for those who are to aide them, and so to speak what concerns their Ambassage. It is plain therefore, that we are wronged by the *Lombards*, in that we have endeavoured to end our differences in a course of justice; and we striving to have a legall way, cannot be said to use violence. And that the *Gepedes* exceed the *Lombards* in multitude and goodness of men, what need many words to them that know it? And we think no wise man will run into evident danger, by siding with the weaker, when he may get a Victory by joyning with the stronger. The *Gepedes* moreover will assist you against your Enemies, upon obligation of gratitude for what you now shall do for them, and with the greatness of their power are likely to make you Masters of your Foes. Consider also, that the *Lombards* are but lately in amity with you; but the *Gepedes* are of your ancient acquaintance and alliance; and Friend-ship grown with time is not easily dissolved. It is good for you therefore to make us your Confederates, being both powerfull, and firm to you. These just reasons may draw you to this Confederacy; but see the dispositions of these *Lombards*. Being intreated to end the quarrell legally, by no means they will consent, out of a groundlesse over-weening. But the War being ready for a Battell, now they shrink, being conscious of their own weakness, and fly to you, importuning you without reason to fight for them. And these Theeves alledge, to provoke you to a War, our holding *Syrmiu*, and some other places in *Dacia*: Whereas in your Empire are so many Cities and Countries, that you seek for men upon whom to bestow some of them to dwell in. To the *Franks*, to the *Hernians*, and these *Lombards* you have given so many Townes and proportions of Land, that they cannot be numbred. And we being bold in your Friend-ship and Favour, have done what your selfe would have to be done. And whosoever hath a mind to part with a thing, esteemes him the worthier man, who from a free Spirit is aforehand, and of himselfe takes the benefit, then him that gets it as a courtesie; if the Giver set the valuation of the thing so, as not to insult upon the Receiver; but as being bold upon him, as of an assured Friend: Which is the case of the *Gepedes* with the *Romans*. And which you taking into consideration, we desire you in the first place to joyn your powers to ours against the *Lombards*, according to the Leagues with us; and if not, to stand neutrall. By thus advising you shall do justly, and expediently for the *Roman* Empire.

CHAP. XIX.

BUT *Justinian* after a long consultation herein, dismiss the *Gepedes* with a refusal, and swore a League with the *Lombards*; And he sent them 10000. Horse under *Constantinus*, *Ruzas* and *Avatius*, assisted by *John* lately come out of *Italy*, who by the Emperours direction was to return into *Italy* with his Troops, so soon as the Battell with the *Gepedes* was fought. There were also with them 1500. *Herulians*, commanded by *Philimuth* and others. The rest of the *Herulian* Forces being 3000. and lately revolted from the *Romans* (as I have said formerly) were on the part of the *Gepedes*. Some of these led by *Aordus* their Princes Brother, a party of the *Romans* marching to the aide of the *Lombards* met, routed them, and killed *Aordus*, and many more. But the *Gepedes* understanding the *Roman* Army to be neer, compounded the quarrell with the *Lombards*, and a Truce was concluded without the *Romans*; who being thereof advertised, were troubled, being not able to go on, nor to return back: and they feared lest the *Gepedes* and *Herulians* should make a joynt in-road into *Illyrium*, and spoile it. So they lay still, and advertised the Emperour. Thus much by way of digression, concerning these occurrents.

But *Belisarius* was now returning to *Constantinople*, with no honour. In five yeares space he never marcht up into the land of *Italy*, made no expedition, but was all the while in a perpetuall flight, sailing from one strong Sea-Town to another, which gave the Enemy meanes to captivate *Rome*, and all the rest. He abandoned *Perusia*, the chiefe City of *Tuscany*, which was taken by assault while he was in his way home. Being come to *Constantinople*, and now grown extreame rich, and much respected for his former Victories, he made his continuall aboad there. Before his Voyage into *Africa*, God gave him a cleer presage of his good Fortunes. He had Land in *Panteichion*, the Suburb of *Constantinople*, right over against the City; where immediately before his expedition against *Gelimor*, and *Africk*, his Vines were very full taken, and many Vessels were filled with the Wine thereof, which had their bottomes buried in the ground, and their tops fast closed with Clay in the Wine-Cellar. Eight months after the Wine workt out of the Vessels, forcing out the Clay, and made the Cellar a puddle. The Servants wondred at it, filled many Flaggons with it, and stopp'd up the Vessels again, and concealed the Accident. But the same happening often, they acquainted their Master withit; and he shewed it to divers of his Friends, who divined from thence much happinesse to be coming to his House. This thus happened to *Belisarius*. But now *Vigilius*, Bishop of *Rome*, and the *Italians* at Court being many, and of good quality, besought the Emperour to vindicate *Italy* with all his power. Above all *Goths* pressed him, being a *Patrician*, and late *Cosull*, and newly arrived at *Constantinople* for this purpose. The Emperour promised to take care of *Italy*, but he spent the most of his time about the Chritians Controversies, endeavouring to settle the same.

During this War *Ildiges*, a *Lombard*, came with forces as far as to *Venetia*, upon this occasion. *Faces*, late Prince of the *Lombards*, had *Risulphus* his Brothers Son, who by the Law was to succeed him; but *Faces* plotting the Succession for his own Son, charged *Risulphus* with some groundlesse Crime, and banished him. *Risulphus* fled to the *Varnians*, leaving two Sons behind him: These *Barbarians* *Faces* hired to kill *Risulphus*; and one of his two Sons dyed: but *Ildiges*, the other, fled to the *Slavonians*. Not long after *Faces* dyed, and the Government came to *Valdarius*, his Son; who being a Child, *Andovius* was made his Protector, and attaining thereby to great power, he got the absolute Government to himselfe: And shortly after the Child dyed. When the *Lombards* and *Gepedes* were in War, *Ildiges* brought to the *Gepedes* such *Lombards* as followed him; and many *Slavonians*, hoping that the *Gepedes* would restore him to the Government. But when the Truce was made, *Andovius* demanded *Ildiges* of the *Gepedes*, now his Friends. They would not betray him, but they bad him be gone, and save himselfe. He with his own followers and some few *Gepedes* went again to the *Slavonians*, and from thence marcht towards *Totilas* with about 6000. men; And in *Venetia* meeting

Romans

Romans led by *Lazarus*, he killed many of them; yet would not joyn with the *Goths*, but passed the *Ister* again, and retired to the *Slavonians*. About the same time also *Ilaut*, one of the Life-guard to *Belisarius*, and Valiant, being left in *Italy*, revolted to *Totilas*, who sent him immediately with a Navie, and Forces into *Dalmatia*. He at *Moncurus*, a Town upon the Sea neer *Salone*, at first was familiar with the Townes-men, as a *Roman*, and appertaining to *Belisarius*: But suddenly he put them all to the Sword, and sackt the Town. The like he did at *Laureata*, a Cattle upon the Sea Coast. *Claudianus*, Governour of *Salone*, sent Forces against him in *Pinnaces*; who at *Laureata* fought with the Enemy, and had the worse, ran away, and left their Pinnaces in the Haven; which *Ilaut* took, together with other Ships laden with Corn and Provisions; and having killed and spoiled all they found, he returned to *Totilas*: When the Winter ended, and the 14. yeare of this War, written by *Procopius*.

Afterward *Totilas* with his whole Army besieged *Rome*, where *Belisarius* had left three thousand of his best men under *Diogenes*, one of his Lifeguard, a discreet man, and a good Souldier. And the siege lasted long; the besieged with the advantage of their valour marching the whole *Goths* Army: *Diogenes* also diligently attending his Guards, and by sowing corne within the Walls, preventing want of Victuall; and valiantly repelling the many assaults of the *Goths*, who being masters of *Portus*, absolutely blockt up *Rome*. *Justinian* also (*Belisarius* being returned to *Constantinople*) intended to send another Generall with an Army; which if he had done, he had certainly vanquisht the *Goths*; *Rome* being in his obedience, and having an Army there to joyne with his Succours from *Constantinople*. First he commanded *Liberius*, a *Patrician*, to be in readinesse; then other businesse intervening, he grew cold. After a long time spent in the siege of *Rome*, some *Italerians*, who guarded Saint *Pauls* Gate, discontented for want of pay for many yeares, and seeing the advancement of their Countreymen, who formerly betrayed *Rome* to the *Goths*, and the wealth they had gotten, came to a secret conference with *Totilas*, and agreed at a day assigned to betray the City to him. At the day *Totilas* launched into the *Tiber*, about the first watch of the night, two small Vessells with Trumpeters aboard; whom he directed, having rowed up neer the City walls, to sound their Trumpets. Himselfe closely put his Army in readinesse neer unto Saint *Pauls* Gate; and to prevent the *Romans* slipping away to *Centumcella* (the onely Fortresse they had left thereabout) he layd ambushes upon the way, to cut them off as they fled.

Justinian Anno 15. bell. Goth. in ann. 23. Justinianicus. Ann. Dom. 549.

CHAP. XX.

THEY in the small Vessells being come neer to *Rome*, sounded their Trumpets, as they were directed: wherewith the *Romans* amazed, suddenly in feare and tumult left each man his Guard, and ran to succour there, where they suspected the Enemy would assault. Onely the *Isaurian* Traytors continued upon their Guard, opened the Gate, and received in the Enemy. Much slaughter there was; & many ran out at other Gates, and in their way to *Centumcella* fell upon the Enemies ambushes, and were cut in peices. Some few hardly escaped; and *Diogenes* himselfe, after receiving a hurt. *Paulus* a *Silician*, who had at first commanded *Belisarius* his Retinue, and now commanded a Party of Horse, had the guarding of *Rome* committed to him with *Diogenes*; and the City being taken, ran with four hundred Horse to *Adrians* Tombe, and posselt the Bridge leading to Saint *Peters* Church. The *Goths* Army at break of day gave on upon these men; whom the *Romans* sustained, had the better, and killed many, being crowded in a narrow place. *Totilas* hereupon stayd the fight, and besieged them, thinking to take them by famine. *Paul* and his four hundred endured that day, and all night without eating. The next day they thought of feeding on their Horses, but being loath to meddle with such uncouth food (though much pinchd with hunger) late in the evening they fell to debate it, and exhorted one another valiantly rather to end

end their lives by an honourable death; charging the Enemy suddenly, and killing as many as they could: So they embraced and kissed one another, as being instantly all to perish. *Totilas* was afraid of men resolute to dye, least despairing of their owne safety, they might do some desperate mischeife; and he sent to them, of two Propositions to chuse, either to quit their Horses and Armes, and to sweare never more to serve against the *Goths*, and so to returne to *Constantinople*; or keeping what they had, to serve with the *Goths* in equall condition. The *Romans* glad of the Proposition, at first chose to go to *Constantinople*; but afterward, as ashamed to march away on foot, and unarmed, and fearing to be cut off by ambushes in their way, murmuring also for their many years arrears owing to them by the *Roman* Treasury, they joyned with the *Goths* Army. *Paul* onely, and one *Mindes*, an *Isaurian*, besought *Totilas* to send them to *Constantinople*, having Wives and Children in their Countreys, without whom they could not live. Whom *Totilas* commended for dealing plainly, and gave them provision for their journey, and a Convooy. The rest of the Army being in Churches about three hundred, took assurances and yielded to *Totilas*. Who would not now demolish any more of *Rome*, nor quit it, but intended to plant there *Goths* and *Romans* together, both Senators and others, upon this occasion. He had lately demanded of the King of the *Franks* his Daughter in marriage; who rejected the motion, saying, That he neither was, nor ever would be King of *Italy*, having taken *Rome*, but not able to keep it, having demolished part, and quitted the rest to his Enemies. So that now he brought in Provisions, and commanded to re-edifie what was beaten downe at his first taking of *Rome*. And he sent for the *Roman* Senators, and other *Romans* confined in *Campania*; held the solemnity of the *Greenisham* Games, and then prepared for a Voyage into *Sicily*: He put in readinesse four hundred small Vessels for a Sea-fight, and many great Ships sent out of the East by the Emperour, and taken by him with their men and ladings. He sent also *Stephanus* a *Roman* his Ambassador to the Emperour, desiring Truce, upon condition, that the *Goths* should serve him against any other Nation. But *Iustinian* suffered not the Ambassadour to come into his presence, nor regarded the Proposition: Which *Totilas* understanding, prepared first to attempt *Cenuticelle*, and then to go into *Sicily*. *Diogenes* commanded the Garrison there, being reasonably strong. The *Goths* besieged it, and *Totilas* sent to *Diogenes*, either to put it to a Battell instantly, there being no hope of succours from the Emperour; of whose disability to continue War with the *Goths*, the successe at *Rome*, after so long space given, was a sufficient Argument; or else to chuse either to joyn with the *Goths* Army upon equall termes, or to quit *Cenuticelle*, and to go safe to *Constantinople*. *Diogenes* and the *Romans* refused the Battell, neither would mingle with the *Goths* Army, nor live without their Wives and Children; And chusing to be sent to the Emperour, they said, they had yet no honest excuse to surrender the Town; and therefore desired time to signifie their Estate to the Emperour, that receiving no succour from him, they might render the Town, and be gone, not without some pretence. *Totilas* approving this, a day was assigned, and 30. Hollages were given on both sides; and the *Goths* raised the Siege and went for *Sicily*. Before they passed the straits there, they attempted *Rhegium*, where the Garrison was commanded by *Thurimuth* and *Himerius*, left by *Belisarius*; who having many good men within, kept off the Enemy assaulting, and sallying had the better; but being inferiour in numbers, they afterward lay still. *Totilas* blockt up the Town with part of his Army, hoping in time to take it for want of Victuall. He sent also Forces, who took the Castle of *Tarentum*: And at the same time the *Goths* in *Picenia* had *Ariminum* betrayed to them. *Iustinian* hereof advertised, made *Germanus* his Brothers Son, absolute Generall in the Warre against the *Goths*, commanding him to be in readinesse. The *Goths* in *Italy* were much troubled at the report of it, (*Germanus* being very famous in the World.) And the *Romans*, especially the Army, getting hart and hope, held out more firmly against their toiles and dangers. But the Emperour (I know not why) changed his mind, and appointed *Liberius* a Citizen of *Rome* for the Service; who made himselfe ready, add was expected instantly to saile away with the Army. But the Emperour changed again, so that he too staid at home. Then also *Ferns* having gotten together many of the valiantest Souldiers, had a Battell with

the

the *Goths* in *Picenia*, not far from *Ravenna*; wherein after the losse of many, and doing valiantly, himselfe was slaine.

CHAP. XXI.

ABOUT this time a party of some three thousand *Slavonians* came over the River *Ister*, none oppoling them, and past the river of *Enrus*: then they severed eighteen hundred in one party, and the rest in another. The *Roman* commanders in *Illyrium*, and *Thrace* fought with them severally, and were beaten, with losse of some men, the rest shamefully running away, though the *Barbarians* were far the fewer. They incountred also *Asbades*, who had been of the Emperours Life-Guard, and advanced to the place of a Candidate, and who commanded now troops of horse anciently Garrison'd in *Tzaurulum*, a Castle of *Thrace*, good men. Him the *Slavonians* defeated, and killed most of his men shamefully running away: They took him prisoner, and soon after cut thongs from the skin of his back, and threw him into a flame of fire: Then without controule they pillaged all *Thrace*, and *Illyrium*, and took many castles, having never before assaulted a wall, nor presumed to come to an open field. They never durst before this time forrage the *Roman* Territory, nor ever past the *Ister* before. But after their victory against *Asbades*, they pillaged all to the Sea, and took *Topirum*, the first Sea Town of *Thrace*, by assault, having a Garrison in it, being distant twelve dayes journey from *Constantinople*. They took it thus. The most of them hid themselves in the fastnesses neer the Town; and some few alarm'd the *Romans* upon the battlements; who thinking them no more then they saw, sallied: The *Barbarians* seemed afraid, and ran away; and the *Romans* being far from the Walls, the Ambushes rose, and put themselves between them and the Town: and the flyers turning head, the *Romans* were charged on all sides, and all cut in peices.

The inhabitants deprived of the Souldiers, yet resisted the Enemies assault, as they could, pouring down boyling oyl and pitch, and throwing down great stones, that they had almost beat off the danger: But the *Barbarians* with a multitude of arrows forced them from the battlements, and with their scaling ladders took the City by assault. They killed fifteen thousand men in it, and sackt it. The women and children they made slaves, having formerly spared no age nor sex but killing still all they met from the time they entred *Roman* Land. So that all *Thrace* and *Illyrium* was scattered with dead bodies unburied; they killed not the people with Swords nor Lances, nor in any usuall manner; but they pitcht stakes into the Ground with sharp ends upward, and set the poor wretches upon the same at their fundaments; then forced them downwards, and the stakes up into their Entrailles. They stuck into the Ground also four posts, to which they tied their prisoners hands and feet, then knockt their heads with clubs, and killed them like so many Dogs, or Snakes. Others they shut up in houses with such cattell as they could not drive home into their country, and without mercy burned them together. In the end, being drunck with abundance of blood, both the parties of these *Slavonians* were pleased to make prisoners of those they met, and to returned home with innumerable captives.

In the mean time the *Goths* assaulting *Rhegium*, were bravely beaten off by the Garrison, *Thurimuth* doing very valiantly. *Totilas* understanding that their victuall grew scarce, left part of his army to block it from provisions, and so to compell the Garrison to yeild in time; and himselfe crost the straits into *Sicily*, and set upon *Messina*. *Domentiolus* the commander, sisters Son to *Buzes*, sallied, and had not the word in fight; but afterward kept themselves quiet within the walls, and the *Goths* plundred all *Sicily*, none resisting them. In the mean time *Thurimuth* and *Himerius* yielded themselves and the Castle in *Rhegium*, (when their victuall was all gone) yielded themselves and the Castle by compulsion to the Enemy. The Emperour, at the newes of these successes, gaby ther'd a fleet, & put an army aboard of foot, under *Liberius*, whom he required to sail with speed for *Sicily*, and to save the Island. But *Liberius* being an extream old man, and no souldier, the Emperour repented, and sent *Artaabes* for *Sicily*, remitting his crimes, and making him Generall of *Thrace*. He gave him no great forces, but directed

Magistrum militum per Thraciam, An ordinary officer: his employment now was for the time only.

directed him to command the fleet with *Liberius*. Afterward he sent to call home *Liberius*, and again made his Nephew *Germanus* absolute General against the *Goths*, giving him no great army; but furnishing money for him to raise an Army of good importance in *Thrace* and *Illyrium*, and from thence to march into *Italy*. He commanded *Philimith*, Leader of the *Hervians*, to accompany him into *Italy*, and *John Vitalianus* his Nephew, who had married the daughter of *Germanus*, and was General of *Illyrium*, where then he resided.

Germanus was ambitious to get the honour of vanquishing, the *Goths* and the good fortune to recover both *Affrick* and *Italy* to the Empire. In *Africa* where *Stotzas* had usurped, he overcame him and the mutiners unexpectedly, and reduced the Province as it is in my former relations. And *Italy* being now reduced to the Estate I have described, he desired the Glory of recovering that also. His wife *Passara* being long since deceased, he married *Mattasanthia*, Daughter of *Amalasuntha*, the daughter of *Theoderick*, her former husband *Vitigis* being lately dead. He hoped that the *Goths* would be ashamed to lift their armies against this Lady, remembering the Reigns of *Theoderick* and *Atalarick*. Moreover freely disbursing the Emperours money, and his own more, he levied quickly, and unexpectedly, a very gallant army. The best *Roman* Souldiers left their ordinary commanders (whose Lancers and Targettiers they were) and followed *Germanus*; together with many *Constantinopolitans*, *Thracians*, and *Illyrians*; wherein *Iustinus* and *Iustinianus* his Sons used much care and diligence. He pickt the best out of the horse Troops, garrison'd in *Thrace*, and many *Barbarians* about the *Ister* were drawn by the fame of *Germanus*, and brought much money with them, and joyned with the *Roman* army. The Prince of the *Lombards* promised to send him a thousand men well armed. Report as in all human things, made all this in *Italy* much more, and the *Goths* were afraid, and troubled withall. To make war now against the posterity of *Theoderick*: And the *Roman* souldiers there, sent to signifie to *Germanus*, that so soon as they saw him in *Italy*, and his army intrenched, they would immediately joine with him. The remainder also of the Emperours army in *Ravenna*, and some other Towns, took courage, and resolved to guard their Towns firmly for the Emperour. Nay, those who had been beaten with *Vernus* and others, and went now stragling, hearing that *Germanus* was upon his way, they rallied themselves in *Istria*, and staid for the said army. *Totilas* then at the day assigned, sent to *Diogenes* to surrender *Centumelle*, according to the capitulation. *Diogenes* answered that he had no power now, *Germanus* being declared absolute General, and not far off with his army; and he desired him to send him his hostages, and he would restore those given by the *Goths*, and so he dismiss the messenger, and carefully guarded the town, expecting *Germanus* and his army. And thus the winter ended, & the 15 year of this war, written by *Procopius*.

While *Germanus* was drawing his army together, and exercising his Troops at *Sardice*, a City in *Illyrium*, and making a powerfull preparation for this warr, a Troop of *Slavonians*, greater then ever formerly, past the *Ister* into the *Roman* territory, and came to *Nasium*: The *Romans* took some few straglers of them, bound them, and askt them upon what design these *Slavonians* were come over the River? They said it was to sack *Thessalonica*, and the Towns about it. The Emperour upon this advertizement, wrote to *Germanus* to defer his Journey into *Italy*, and to defend *Thessalonica*, and to beat away the *Slavonians*; who grew afraid when they heard from their prisoners that *Germanus* upon this staid still at *Sardice*, whose fame was great among all the *Barbarians* upon this occasion. During the Raige of *Iustin*, his great Uncle, the *Avians*, who inhabite next unto the *Slavonians*, past the *Ister*, and invaded the *Roman* territories with a great army. *Germanus* was lately made General of *Thrace*, and in a battell with these Enemies killed them almost all, which got him a great reputation, especially among these people. So that fearing him now, and supposing him to have a very great army, as being sent against the *Goths*, they forbore their intents against *Thessalonica*, and went over the mountains of *Illyrium* into *Dalmatia*, not daring to appear in the Champaign. And *Germanus* despising them, directed his army to be in readinesse, within three daies, to begin the journey into *Italy*; but he suddenly fell into a sicknesse, which made an end of him. And so was *Germanus* quickly lost; a vertuous man and very valiant; both an excel-

lent,

lent General, and a daring Souldier. In peace and prosperity a constant observer of Lawes and good Government: He was a most upright Judge, and to men in need he lent great Sums, without so much as talking of any Interest. In the Palace and in the Forum severe and stern, but at home and at his Table pleasant, free, and gracious, where he had power: he prevented the Errours and innovations of the Emperours Court: And he never contented nor conversed with the mutinous *Venets*, and *Prasini*, *Constantinople*, though many great men ran into that absurdity. The Emperour was much grieved at this sudden Accident, and commanded *John Vitalianus* his Sisters Son, with *Iustinianus*, one of the Sons of *Germanus*, to lead the Army into *Italy*. They went into *Dalmatia*, meaning to winter at *Salona*, it being not possible in that season to compasse the *Ionian* Gulfe into *Italy*; and they wanted Ships to crosse it.

CHAP. XXII.

LIBERIVS, who heard nothing of these alterations, put in at *Syracuse*, besieged by the Enemy. He forced his way into the Haven, and put his Army into the City. *Artabanes* also at *Cephalenia*, hearing how the Fleet with *Liberius* was gone for *Sicily*, crost the *Adriatique* Sea thitherward; and neer the Coast of *Calabria*, met with a great storm full in his teeth, which so scattered the Fleet, that he thought most of his Ships to be cast upon that Coast, and in the hands of the Enemy. But a strong gale turn'd them back into *Peloponnesus*, and some were cast away, others escaped. The Ship wherein *Artabanes* was, lost her main Mast, and being abandoned to the Tide, and Waves, and in much danger, put in at the Island of *Malta*, and by this meanes he was unexpectedly preserved. But *Liberius* being not in case to sally, nor fight with the Enemy, and the Victuall in *Syracuse* failing, stole from thence into *Panormus*. *Totilas* in the mean time ranackt all *Sicily*, carryed away great quantities of Corn, Horses, and Cattell, and putting the same aboard his Ships, and the whole wealth of the Island, returned suddainly into *Italy* upon this motive. He had made one *Spinus* of *Spoleum* his Assessor, who residing in *Catana*, an unfortified Town, was taken by the *Romans*. *Totilas* desirous to ransom him, offer'd for him an eminent *Roman* Lady; but they refused to take a woman in exchange for a man, holding the Dignity of Quaestor. *Spinus*, fearing to perish among the *Romans*, promised them for his liberty to persuade *Totilas* to leave *Sicily*, and to transport his Army into *Italy*. They upon his Oath for true performance, restored him to the *Goths*, and accepted of the Lady. He being come to *Totilas*, said; "That the *Goths* further stay in *Sicily* was to no purpose, having already pillaged the Island: That he understood for certain among the Enemy, that *Germanus* was dead; and that *John* his Son-in-Law, and *Iustinianus* his Son were in *Dalmatia* with the Army, levied by *Germanus*, and immediately to come into *Liguria*, who might take all the *Goths* Wives and Children Prisoners, and pillage their Goods; whom they should do well to oppose, by wintring securely at home, and if they vanquish them, they shall with more ease fall again in the next Spring upon *Sicily*, not expecting hostility. *Totilas* upon this advise left Garrisons in foure strong Townes, and past into *Italy* with all his Booty.

John and the Emperours Army meant to winter at *Salona*, and from thence with the first of the Spring to march by Land to *Ravenna*. But the *Slavonians*, both those who formerly foraged the Empire, and others, spoyled again with full liberty the Provinces. Some suspected *Totilas* to have hired them, to divert the Emperour with new businesse from putting the *Gothick* War into a better order. But whether to gratifie *Totilas*, or otherwise, certainly these *Slavonians* did desperate mischiefs in *Europe*, dividing themselves into three parties, & not sacking Townes, but wintring in them, as in some Province of their own, and fearing no Enemy. The Emperour sent at last an Army against them, under *Constantianus*, *Aratius*, *Nazares*, and *Iustinus* the Son of *Germanus*, and *John Phagas*, and other Captaijes; & made *Scholasticus* an Eunuch of his Palace, Commander in chiefe. This

P p

Army

Incipt annus 16 bell. Goth. in an. 24 Iustiniani & ann. dom. 550.

Army met one of the *Barbarian* parties about *Adrianopolis* in the mid-land of *Thrace*, five daies journey from *Constantinople*. The *Barbarians* being clogg'd with an innumerable booty of men, Catell, and other Weake, durst not come on; And the *Romans*, though eager to fight, dissembled it. The *Slavonians* were encamped up on a Mountain, and the *Romans* in the plain; who there besieged them; till the Souldiers murmuring at their Generals, that they had plenty of Provisions themselves, while the Common Souldier wanted Food, and so they delayed to fight with the Enemy; the Generals were constrained to come to a fight which was hotly fought; But the *Romans* were beaten, and many of their best men slain; and the Generalls escaped narrowly with the rest. The Ensigne of *Constantianus* the *Slavonians* took. And now despising the *Roman* Army, they went on; and foraged the Province called *Africa*, or *Suburbana*, which was never foraged before; So that they found great Booty in it. They pillaged in many places of the Country, and came up to the *Long walls*, a daies journey from *Constantinople*. But the *Romans* fought afterwards with part of them, routed them, and after much slaughter rescued great numbers of *Roman* Captives, and recover'd the Ensigne of *Constantianus*. The rest with the remainder of their Booty went home-ward.

Finis Lib. 3. Bell. Goth.

THE



THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
FOURTH BOOKE
OF THE
GOTHICK WARRE.

Chap. I.

THIS Booke is a supplement of the former History. Pontus Euxinus. Honey bitter in *Trapezond*. The River Boas takes the name of *Acampsis* in the Sea. *Abfarus*, or *Apfirtus*, *Christians*. *Scunia*, *Suania*. The *Phasis*: *Jafon's* fleece.

II.

Mount Caucasus. The *Hunnes* about it. The *Alans*. *Portæ Caspiæ*. No *Amazons*, but *Hunnish wives*, accompanying their husbands to war. The *Abasgians* cruel covetous Kings; they turne *Christians*. The *Bruchians*, *Zecchians*, *Sagines*. *Sebastopolis*, and *Pityuntium* demolished. *Gothi Tetraxitæ* anciently *Christians*: *Justinian* sends them a Bishop, as to the *Abasgians*. Their first Issue upon the Empire by occasion of hunting a Stag.

III.

The *Caturgurian Hunnes* joyne with the *Goths* called *Tetraxites*, to infect the Empire. The description from the *Cimmerian Straits* to the mouth of the River *Ister*. *Phasis*, not *Tanais*, divides Europe and Asia. The Lake of *Mæotis* not the Mother of the *Euxine Sea*.

IV.

Chosroes desires to have Lazica, from whence to invade the Romans of Europe by land. A battell in Lazica, where Dagilthæus defeats the Persian army, with the death of Chosroes their General.

V.

The revolt of the Abasgians, Bessas is made General of Armenia. Sends John Guzes against the Abasgians; who subdues them, Apulia revolts, and is reduced by John Guzes.

VI.

Anatozadus punished by Chosroes his Father with deformity. Tribunus an honest Physician. Ildigunas the proud Persian is again sent Ambassador. The siege of Petra: And of the leather Rammes devised by Sabirian Hunnes.

VII.

Petra is taken by the valour and counsell of Bessas, and John Guzes, and by an accident of fire. The obstinate valour of the Persians in the Cittadell, where all are consumed. Bessas by this recovers his lost Reputation at Rome.

VIII.

Memeroes seizes upon Lazica with an army, through the negligence and Avarice of Bessas. He frights away a Roman army, and sits down before Archæopolis: The Romans are persuaded by their Commanders to sally.

IX.

The Romans by a brave sally beat the Persians from Archæopolis, and kill 4000 men. The Castle of Cætelis. Justinian buys and gives peace by making the Romans in a manner Tributaries. Ildigunas, the Persian Ambassador, hath excessive presents. Extraordinary heats in the Winter.

X.

Uchimerium is betrayed to Memeroes, who is absolute Master of the Field; and invites Gubazes to yield, who refuses. Silk Worms are brought first by Monks out of India in their Bags. Memeroes is re-inforced in Lazica, but does nothing.

XI.

Africa quiet. A Panick scare makes a Truce between the Gepædes and Lombards. Caturgarian Hunnes invade the Empire; And the Uturgurians their Country, which draws them home; and some of them are planted in the Empire, which the Uturgurians take ill.

of

XII.

of the Britians, and Varnians, who were vanquished in Fight, and their King taken Prisoner by a valiant Maid, whom he married. A Fable of the transporting Soules into Brittia. I suppose this Brittia to be that peninsula of Cimbrica Chersonesus, where the Angles did inhabit before their invading Brittany.

XIII.

Narces is made General against the Goths, which was presaged by an Oxe. Totilas repents his despoiling Rome. Of the Ship of Æneas, then a Monument in Rome. Corcyra is Phaacia. The Ship of Uliſſes, and that placed by Agamemnon at Geræstun.

XIV.

The Goths plunder Corcyra, and Epirus. The Sea-fight at Ancona, and Victory of John. Sicily is recovered by Artabanes. Justinian will have of no accord with the Goths.

XV.

Theobald, the Son of Theodebert, King of the Francks, will not abandon the Goths. The Goths take Corfica, and Sardinia. The Slavonians spoil the Empire. Justinian hath a double treatie with the Lombards, and Gepædes.

XVI.

Great Earthquakes in Greece. The Siege of Crotona is raised. Narces marches from Salonæ into Italy, and comes to Ravenna. His gallant Army, and his own Virtue is described. The Francks refuse his Army passage through Venetia; so he resolves to march by the Italian Coast, having Boats to make Bridges for his men to passe.

XVII.

A Digression of Ildigifal a Lombard, basely murdered, where they fled for refuge. Uldrilas, after his bragging Letter, is slain; and Narces passes the River at Ariminum, to meet Totilas.

XVIII.

XVIII.

The Armies of Totilas and Narces meet. Gallant Service done by 50. Romans, defending a Hill. The Captaines make Speeches to their Souldiers, and order the Battell.

XIX.

Cocas is slain in Duell by a Roman. Totilas after some Gallantry, to spin on the time (his 2000. men he laid for, being come up) begins the fight, wherein the Goths are defeated, and Totilas slain.

The

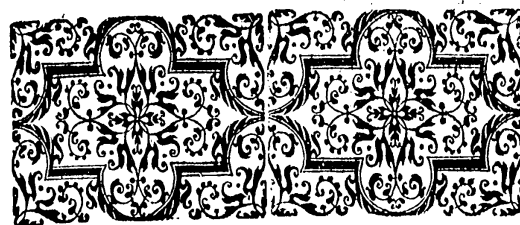
XX.

The Lombards are sent home. Teias is made King of the Goths. The Vengeance against Ulihus at Perusia. Rome taken by Dagisthaeus. The Victory of Narles banefull to the Roman Citizens. Ragnaris breaks his Faith concerning the yielding of Tarentum, and is overthrown by Bacurius. Portus, Nepa, Petra-pertusa taken in. The Francks will joyne with neither side.

XXI.

The Armies prepare to fight. Of mount Vesuvius, and the torrent of fire there. The Goths flye to Mons Lactis: but being from thence starved, they give Battell, which lasted two whole daies. The miraculous Valour of Teias, who is slaine. And the Goths compounded for their Lives, and Goods, and to quit Italy.

THE



THE
HISTORY OF THE WARRS
of the Emperour
JUSTINIAN.
Of the *GOTHICK* VVarre, the
Fourth *BOOK*:

CHAP. I.



MY discourse hath hitherto been distributed and accommodated to the severall places where the actions were done, and is publisht throughout the whole *Roman* Empire. But now I cannot compile the same in that manner, nor insert into a History already publisht succeeding Occurrents; but must write in this Tract apart, touching these Enemies, and the *Persians*, what hath happened since the Edition of my History; and so the discourse thereof cannot be but mixt. The Occurrents untill the fourth year of the *Quinquenniall* Cessation between the *Romans* and the *Persians*, were formerly related. The yeare following a *Persian* Army invaded *Lazica*; under *Chorsanes* a *Persian*, and an experienced Commander, accompanied with *Alans*. This Army encamped it selfe in a Province of *Lazica*, named *Muchiriste*, by which the River of *Phasis* runs, not navigable there, but to be past by Men and Horses; and they entrencht to the right hand of it some distance off.

But that the Readers may have a cleer notion of *Lazica*, and of the people about it, and not converse with things obscure to them, like men fighting with shadows: I have thought it seasonable here to discourse, what kinde of people dwell upon the *Euxine* Sea; conceiving, that the Ancients who have written thereof, have not handled it exactly; speaking of *Tzanians*, whom they make to border with the *Trapezuntians*, and name *Colchians*; and calling the now *Lazians* by another name; being in both mistaken. For the *Tzanians* are high in the Land, and border upon *Armenia*, having steep Mountaines in the way to it, a vast and desart Countrey, deep Torrents, and Hills thick with Wood, and unaccessible Valleys;

all

all which are between them and the Sea. Nor can the *Colchians* be other then the *Lazians*, seeing they dwell now upon the *Phasis*. They have onely changed their name, as many other Nations. And since those Writers many ages have innovated much, by the transplanations of people, and successions of Princes, and altered their names. All which I am to take notice of, omitting both fabulous and old obsolete things; as upon what part of the *Enxine* Sea the Poets bound *Prometheus*, (Histories and Fables being different workes) but to set downe punctually both names and things notorious in those parts.

This Sea begins at *Constantinople*, and *Chalcedon*, and ends in *Lazica*. Within it on the right hand is *Bithynia*; then *Honorias*, and *Paphlagonia*, where stand *Heraclea* and *Amasris*, Maritime Townes. Next to them are the *Pontick* Nations, to the borders of *Trapezond*, where are *Sinope* and *Amisus*, Sea townes; not far from *Amisus* is *Themiscyrus*, and the River *Thermodon*, where they say was the *Amazons* Campe; of whom more anon. The territory of *Trapezond* reaches to *Susurmana*, and *Rixcum*, which stands upon the coast in the way to *Lazica*, two dayes journey from *Trapezond*. In all the Territory of that City of *Trapezond* the Hony is bitter: To the right hand of these Cities are the Mountaines of *Tranica*, beyond which is the *Roman Armenia*. From those Mountaines descends the River of *Boas*, through infinite Thickets, and a Woodland Countrey, into *Lazica*, and disimbogues into the *Enxine* Sea; then it quits the name of *Boas*, and takes that of *Acampsis*, because it bends not, nor yeilds to the current of the Sea. For the stream is so strong and troublous, that running far into the Sea, the Ships sayling that way keep off at Sea, not able to hold on their course, and cut thorough that swift streame.

Next to *Rixcum* are Mountaines dividing *Lazica* from *Roman Land*, and inhabited by free Nations, and a Village called *Athens*; not so called from a Colony of *Athenians* (as some suppose) but from *Athena*, in ancient time Lady of that Countrey, whose Tombe remains to this day. Next to *Athens* is *Archabis*, and *Asparus* an ancient City, three dayes journey from *Rixcum*, in old time named *Aspyrus*, from a man of that name slaine by the plots of *Medea* and *Jason* neer unto that place; but many ages and successions of men have corrupted the memory of that act, and changed the name into *Asparus*; on the East side of which City stands yet the Tombe of that *Aspyrus*. It was anciently very populous, and had excellent Walls, and a *Circus*, and a Theatre, and such other Ornaments of a great City. But of those antiquities nothing now remains but the Pavements: By this it appears strange, that any should affirme that the *Colchians* were borderers to the *Trapezuntians*. For *Jason* was thought not to have fled home into *Greece* with *Medea* and the Golden fleece, but to have gone the quite contrary way to the *Phasis* and furthest *Barbarians*. In the Raigne of *Trajan* some say a *Roman* Legion was there garrisoned even to *Lazica*, and *Suania*. But now the Inhabitants are subject neither to the *Roman* Emperour, nor King of *Lazica*: But onely that being Christians, the Bishops of *Lazica*, appoint them * Preilts. They are in amity with both, and convoy their Ambassadors to each in small Barks, which they use; but to this hour they pay tribute to neither. To the right hand of this Countrey are steep craggy Mountaines, and a Desert reaching very farre: Above it is *Perfarmenia*, and the *Roman Armenia*, reaching as far as *Iberia*. From the sayd *Asparus* to the City of *Petra*, and Marches of *Lazica*, is one dayes journey, where the *Enxine* Sea ends; which Sea makes there a halfe Moon, and the passage crossing the same is about sixty nine miles.

All behinde the end of the *Enxine* is *Lazica*, next to which is *Suania*, and *Suania*, both subject to the *Lazians*. They have Princes still of their owne Nation; but when any of them dye, the King of *Lazica* appoints another in his roome. On one side of this Countrey are the *Mislians*, reaching almost to *Iberia*, to which they have been anciently Subjects, and dwell upon the Mountaines, which are not wilde nor barren, but abounding with all commodities, and the people are good husbands, especially for Vines. Over this Countrey hang very high Mountaines, thick with Wood, and hard to be past, extending almost to the *Caucasian* Mountaines. Beyond them Eastward is *Iberia*, reaching to *Perfarmenia*. Between these Mountaines descends the *Phasis*, springing from Mount *Caucasus*, and disimboгуing into the

the middle of the sayd halfe Moon at the end of the *Enxine*, whereupon some hold that it divides the two Continents, having *Asia* on the left hand, and *Europe* on the right. On *Europe* side are the *Lazians* dwellings, having on the other side no Towne nor Fortresse but *Petra*, lately built by the *Romans*. The Countrey people hold that the Golden Fleece was kept on *Europe* side, but in my opinion they are mistaken: For *Jason* had never gotten away with *Medea* and the golden Fleece unless by *Aetes*; if the Kings Pallace, and Houses of the *Colchians* had not beene separated by the River from the place where the Fleece was kept; which may appear also by the Poems written on that subject. The *Phasis* (as I have sayd) thus enters into the further end of the *Enxine*, and at one point of the sayd halfe Moone stands *Petra* on *Asia* side: Over against which, on *Europe* side, is *Asplia*, a Countrey of the *Lazians*; the people whereof are Christians, as all the rest before mentioned.

CHAP. II.

About *Asplia* stands Mount *Caucasus*, so high, that neither Raines, nor Snowes touch the top of it, being higher then any Clouds. From the midd to the foot, it is perpetually covered with the Snow; the foot of this Mountain being as high as the very ridges of other Mountaines: Some parts of the said foot of *Caucasus* run out to the West, and North-ward, even to *Illyrium* and *Thrace*; other parts of it to the East and South-ward, reach to the two straits, which let in the *Hunnish* Nations upon the *Romans* and *Persians*: The one of the straits is called *Tzur*, the other is called the *Caspian* Gates. The Countrey extending from Mount *Caucasus* to the *Caspian* Gates the *Alans* hold, subject to none, but as Confederates they serve the *Persians*, against the *Romans*, and all the World. Under Mount *Caucasus* dwell the *Sabirian Hunnes*, and some other *Hunnish* Nations. From hence, they say, issued the *Amazons*, and made a Camp at *Themiscyrus*, by the River of *Thermodon*; neer where now stands the City of *Amisus*. But now no Monument is left of any *Amazons* in the Countries about Mount *Caucasus*. *Strabo* and some others have spent much discourse about them: But they seem to speak most truly, who think that there was never any such Mannish race of Women; nor that Nature, in Mount *Caucasus* only, swerves from its sacred Lawes; but that the *Barbarians* of those parts, making an expedition against *Asia*, brought their Wives with them, whom they left in a Camp neer *Thermodon*: And that themselves over-running much of *Asia*, were encountred, and so defeated, that none escaped to the Camp; and that there the Wives being put to it by the feare of the People adjoining, and by their want of Victuall, put on mens faces, and armed themselves with furniture left behind by their Husbands, and with the same performed some commendable Actions, compelled by necessity, till they were all slain. This is my Opinion, and that the *Amazons* were Wives who went to War with their Husbands; the experiment whereof hath happened in our time. And commonly the additions which descend to Posterity, are the Images of those which were before. For the *Hunnes*, in their in-roads upon the *Romans* often coming to a Battell, wherein some of them were slain; and the *Romans* searching the dead bodies, have found Women among them. Other Armies of Women were never; neither infesting *Asia* nor *Europe*. Neither was it ever heard that the *Caucasian* Mountaines had all their men wasted at any time. And so much touching the *Amazons*.

Beyond *Asplia*, and the other point of the aforesaid halfe Moon, is *Abasgia*, to the *Caucasian* Mountaines. The *Abasgians* were formerly subject to the *Lazians*, and had two Princes of their own Nation; one seated in the West, and the other towards the East. They did worship, till my time, Groves, and Woods, and in a *Barbarian* simplicity esteemed Trees to be Gods. But they suffered much from the covetousnesse of their Princes; who took violently from the Parents such Children as were beautifull, and made them *Eunuchs*, and sold them to the *Romans* at great prices; then killed the Fathers, least they might revenge their Childrens abusing,

* Or Bishops
iepus,

and that they might not have suspected Subjects. And thus the poor Wretches were ruined by the fatal handiwork of their Children: And hereby most of the Eunuchs of the Imperial Palace were *Abasgians*. But in the now Raigne of *Justinian* all hath been changed for the *Abasgians* to the milder and more civil. They have received the Christian Religion; And the Emperour sent *Euphratus* his Eunuch expressly to admonish their Princes, to force out 'no more the virility of humane nature with Iron,' and the *Abasgians*, bold upon this injunction of the Emperour, have opposed that course; which made it formerly their greatest feare to be Fathers of handsome Sons. The Emperour also built for them a Church dedicated to the Mother of God, appointing them * Priests, and causing them to be instructed in the Christian rites. They also deposed both their Princes, and became a free State. Beyond the *Abasgians* towards Mount *Caucasus* are the *Bruchians*, and the *Alamans*. Towards the Sea Coast are the *Zecchians*, to whom anciently the Roman Emperour gave their King, but now in nothing they obey the Romans. The Country of the *Sagines* is next, wherein formerly the Romans built two Castles upon the Sea-coast; *Sebastopolis* and *Pityus*, distant from each other two daies journey, and there put the first Garrison of Souldiers in those parts. Before, the Roman Cohorts were Garrison'd by the Sea-side, from *Trapezond* to the *Sagines*, but then held only these Castles, where were Garisons till my time. But *Chusroes*, King of *Persia* (the *Laxians* having drawn him into *Petra*) intended to send an Army to surpris those Castles; and the Romans within them hearing it, burnt them, and threw down the Walls, and fled to the opposite continent by Sea to *Trapezond*, whereby they dammish indeed the Romans, by demolishing those Castles, but they prevented the *Persians* from being Masters of the Country; who forth-with went back to *Petra*, without doing any thing.

Beyond the *Sagines* are many Hunnish Nations in a Country called *Enlysa*, possessed by those Barbarians in the Maritime and mid-land parts thereof to the Lake of *Meotis*, and River of *Tanais*, which disembogues into the said Lake, and the Lake into the *Euxine* Sea. Anciently the Inhabitants were called *Cimmerians*, but now *Uturgurians*. Beyond whom to the North-ward are innumerable races of *Antians*: where the Lake begins to disembogue, are the *Goths*, called *Tetraxites*, observers of the Christian Religion, no men more. The Natives call this disembogure, *Tanais*, which reaches from *Meotis* to the *Euxine*, and running along 20. daies journey; and they call the wind which blowes from thence, *Tanaites*. These *Goths* whether they were *Arrians*, as the other *Gothish* Nations, or otherwise instructed in Christianity, I cannot say, nor do themselves know; but they profess the same with much simplicity, and without disputes. Lately they sent foure Ambassadors to *Justinian*, for a Bishop to be given them, as to the *Abasgians*: And the Emperour dismiss them with satisfaction in what they desired. The said Ambassadors in their public audience, exprest no other cause then that, for feare of the *Hunnes*: But being admitted privately, they acquainted the Emperour with what might advantage the Romans (all Barbarians having ever some piques with their Neighbours.) The planting of these *Tetraxites* in that Country was thus. Anciently multitudes of *Hunnes*, then called *Cimmerians*, kept their Heards in the same, and were governed by a King. One of their Kings had two Sons, named *Uturgur*, and *Caturgur*, who after their Fathers decess, divided the Kingdome, and gave their names to their severall Subjects; and they are yet called *Uturgurians*, and *Caturgurians*. They have all the same addictions, and converse not with the Nations dwelling on the other side of the Lake of *Meotis*, and the *Cimmerian* straits, fearing the passage, though very easie, because they never had tryed it. On the said other side near unto the shore of the said Lake and straits, were formerly seated the *Tetraxite* *Goths*, and not far from them the *Gothi*, and *Visigoths*, and *Fandales*, and all the other *Gothick* Nations, anciently named *Scythians*, as all the other Nations of those parts, with some difference in some of *Sarmatians*, *Melanclenians*, and other names. These People have a tradition, if it be true, that some *Cimmerian* young men hunting a Stag, it took the water; and that they either eager upon their sport, or driven by some Spirit, followed the Stage to the opposite shore: where the same (whatsoever it were) suddainly vanished, as having appeared to no other end, but to bring a mischief upon the Inhabitants there. The

young

young men, (they say) though they mist their game, found matter for warre and booty. And returning home told the *Cimmerians* how the passage was fordable; who instantly took armes, and in multitudes past over to the other side. The *Vandales* were gone before, and seated in *Africa*; and the *Visigoths* were in *Spain*. So they fell upon the *Goths*, who dwell in the *Champion*, killed many, and chased away the rest. Such as elcaped past the river *Ister* with their wives and children into the Roman territory, where they did much mischief. Afterward the Emperour planted them in a country of *Thrace*; and sometimes they aided the Romans in the quality of Confederates, receiving yearly pensions: whereby it appears, that the *Goths* came not as men conquer'd, but upon the articles of a League. (The Romans calling Leagues after a war, *Federati*.) Sometime also they made causeless war upon the Romans, till under *Theoderick* they removed into *Italy*.

CHAP. III.

But (as I said) the *Hunnes* having slain many of them, and driven away more, posselt their country: And the *Caturgurians* sent for their wives and children, and are planted there to this day; receiving from the Emperour yearly pensions, yet passing continually the River *Ister*, and over-running the Empire, being both confederates, and Enemies. The *Uturgurians* returned home with their Prince, where still they remain. They past the *Cimmerian* straits again against the *Goths*, waited, as aforesaid: Who at first stood fenced with their shields against the Enemy in battell, being confident in their power, and the strength of their country: And themselves are the valiantest Barbarians in those parts; and the straits (where about dwell these *Gothi*) from the Entrance out of the Lake of *Meotis* presently spreads into a Bay, imbracing most of those people, and hath one only narrow passage over. The *Hunnes* meant not to spend much time there; and the *Goths* could not hope to hold out long against such a multitude; so they came to a Capitulation, that the *Goths* should go over and dwell with them in the opposite Continent, (where now they are) and be in perpetuall League with the *Uturgurians* upon equal tearms. Thus the *Caturgurians* hold the other side of the Lake, and the *Uturgurians* their former country, never troubling the Romans; but secluded by many nations, they observe an unwilling peace. Beyond the Lake, and the River *Tanais*, the *Caturgurian* *Hunnes* have a large country, all beyond that way, is posselt by the *Scythians* and *Taurians*: part wherof is yet named *Taurica*, where stood the Temple of *Diana*, of which *Iphigenia*, *Agamemnon*'s daughter, was cheife Priest. The *Armenians* say, that that Temple stood in *Celezene*, a country adjoining to them; and that the Inhabitants thereof were then called *Scythians*; grounding themselves upon that which I related formerly concerning *Orfles*, and the city of *Comana*. Thus many things happening other-where, or peradventure no where, men are fond to attribute to their owne countries, and are angry if all men yeild not to their conceits.

Next to the aforesaid Nations is *Bosphorus*, a maritime city, lately become subject to the Romans. From *Bosphorus* to *Cherson* a maritime City also, and formerly subject to the Romans, all between is posselt by Hunnish nations. *Cepi* also, and *Phanaguris*, two cities, were formerly under the Romans, almost untill our time; but the neighbouring Barbarians took them and utterly ruined them. From *Cherson* to the mouth of the *Danubius*, or *Ister*, is ten daies journey, all inhabited by Barbarians.

The River *Ister* Springs from the mountaines in *Gaul*, and skirting by *Italy*, and descending through *Dacia*, *Illyrium*, and *Thrace*; it disembogues into the *Euxine* Sea. From the mouth of the River *Ister* unto *Constantinople* all belongs to the Roman Emperour. This is the whole circuit of the *Euxine* Sea, from *Chalcedon* to *Constantinople*. How many miles it contains, I cannot say; so many Barbarians inhabiting the coasts (with whom the Romans have no commerce, unless it be upon Ambassages) and they who formerly pretend to have taken the measure of it, not speaking exactly. Certaine it is, that from *Chalcedon* on the right hand side of the *Eux-*

ing, to the River *Phasis* is two and fifty daies journey; and one may conjecture that the other tide differs not much.

And here I think it not unreasonable to set down the dispute among the Learned, concerning the bounds of *Asia* and *Europe*. Some think the River of *Tanais* doth sever these two continents, and alledge that division to be naturall. For the Sea coming from the western lands to the Eastern; the *Tanais*, from the North crosses between *Europe* and *Asia*; and the *Egyptian Nile*, from the South between *Asia* and *Africk*; others reject this reason as weak, saying, that the Straits of *Caliz* distinguish at first these two continents, and that the *Mediterranean* still leaves *Africk* and *Asia* on the right hand, and *Europe* on the left, till it come to the Ends of the *Euxine* Sea. But the *Tanais* springs in *Europe*, and disembogues into the Lake of *Maotis*; and the lake falls into the *Euxine*, not into the end of it, nor into the middle; but further. Now all to the right hand of the *Euxine* is attributed to *Asia*. Moreover the River *Tanais* springing from the *Rhiphaean* mountains, which are confessed by themselves and the ancients to be in *Europe*; and the Ocean being far distant from these mountains, the land behind them on both sides must necessarily be *European*. Where then begins the River *Tanais* to distinguish the continents? If some River must divide them, it can be no other then the river *Phasis*, which descending directly opposite to the Straits of *Caliz*, cuts between those two continents; as those Straits also have them on each side of it; opening from the Ocean to the midland Seas. And the *Phasis* likewise entering at the end of that part of the midland Seas, called *Pontus Euxinus*, manifestly receives from the Sea the continuation of dividing the Earth. This last opinion challenges antiquity, as well as the other. For indeed, men possess of some ancient learning in a thing, commonly have not the patience to search long touching the truth of it, nor will endure new opinions. To them ever the ancienter the things are, the truer they seem, and they deride all of their own time as despicable. But the question now is not about Intelligences, and Intelligibles, nor such obcurities; but of a River and a country, which time could neither change nor conceal: Neither herein is there any thing can hinder a diligent searcher from finding the truth. And yet *Herodotus*, an ancient writer L. 4. saies, that the Earth is in one peice; but distinguish in three parts and names, viz. *Africk*, *Asia*, *Europe*; and that the *Egyptian Nile* cuts *Asia*, *Africk*; and the *Celestian Phasis*, *Asia* and *Europe*; and he taking notice also of the other opinion concerning *Tanais*, hath these words. I cannot guess from whence three names are given to the Earth, (being one peice) and those of women. Nor why the bounds thereof are set to be, the *Egyptian Nile*, and the *Celestian Phasis*, or (as some say) the River of *Tanais*, Lake of *Maotis*, and *Cimmerian* Straits. The Tragedian *Aeschylus* also in beginning of his Tragedy called *Agamemnon*, calls *Phasis*, the boundary of the land of *Asia*, and *Europe*. Another opinion there is among the Learned, that the Lake of *Maotis* doth make the *Euxine* Sea, spreading part to the right side of it, part to the left; and is therefore called the mother of the *Euxine*. The ground of their conjecture is, because a current of this sea comes from the place called *Hieron* like a River, to *Constantinople*; and so they thinke the *Euxine* to end at *Hieron*. But against this down is alledged, that the Ocean is still the same, and ends no where before it arrive at *Lazica*; unless men will argue from variety of names, the one being called *Pontus*, the other *Thalassa*, both signifying the Sea. And the current from *Hieron* to *Constantinople* is no proof, many things happen in Straits of the Sea, not subject to common reason, and none can expresse the causes of them. *Aristotle* himself, a most learned man, went purposely to *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, to consider the Straits called *Eurippus*, and the naturall reason, why the tyde there comes sometimes from the west and sometime from the East, according to which all ships made their course; and if with a tyde from the East, the ships steer'd on, and then the stream came against them (as often happens there) instantly they were driven back again; and others came on from the West with the tide, though they had no wind at all. The *Stagirite* revolving this long in his mind, grew weary of his life, and therefore lay ended it. In the Straits likewise between *Italy* and *Sicily*, with a seeming contrariety to reason, a current puts in from the *Adriaticque* Sea, where as the tyde is from the ocean and *Caliz*, and sudden *Floods* without any apparant reason cast away many ships. Whence the Poets say the swallowing up of ships by *Charybdis*. And all this happens thus

thus strangely in Straits, because the tyde is contracted in a narrow passage between two lands, and so falls into those necessities, whereof no reason appears: And so the coming of a current from *Hieron* to *Constantinople* is no argument that the *Mediterranean* and *Euxine* Seas have there their endings. The said reason hath no naturall foundation; but there also the narrowness of the Straits must carry it: And the fishermen of that coast find that current to *Constantinople*, to be only upon the upper part of the water (which is seen by us) and towards the bottom quite contrary: Where sinking their Drags, they find them carried up to *Hieron* by the tyde below. But in *Lazica* the Land beats the tyde directly back again (whereas by all other shores it passes on side-long) and there only causes it both to stay its course, and to retire; as if the Creator had there fet its limits. The Sea touching that shore runnes no further, and rises no higher, though from all sides supplied with numberlesse Rivers, and some great ones; but back it goes, as being extended to its just measure, and keeping its bounds and limits in (as it were) by the awfull necessity of some Law, the articles whereof it is careful not to transgress. These are their arguments, whereof every man may judge as he pleases.

CHAP. IV.

BUT why *Chosroes* was so desirous of *Lazica*, having sayd something before, I will now relate what most induced him, having thus described the aforesayd Countries, and thereby made my discourse more clear. The *Persians* often had invaded the *Roman* Territories under *Chosroes*, and done mischeifes there not to be expressed: But they got little by it, but came home still with much losse of their men and estates, whereupon at their returne into *Persia* they murmured against *Chosroes*, calling him the ruiner of their Nation. Once coming home out of *Lazica*, and being fallen into some desperate extremities, they were ready to mutiny; and had slain him, if he had not foreseen it, and warded it, by giving the principall of them with faire words. And being desirous to finde some real Apologie, he was studious to procure some notable advantage to the *Persian* Empire. He attempted the City of *Daras*, but was repulsed (as I have layd) and he despaired to get it, either by surprize, the Guards being well kept, or by a siege. There being still in *Daras* all Provisions layd up in store for a long time: And besides neer it rises a Spring in a Rocky ground, which makes a pretty River, descending directly into the City: an no Enemy can divert it, nor force it another way, by reason of the Rocks. Being within the City it goes round about it, and having filled their Ponds and Cisternes, it goes out againe, and close unto the Town-walls falls into a bottomlesse pit, and is seen no more, nor hitherto knowes any man where it rises againe. This pit was not alwayes there; but it happened thus, long after the building of *Daras* by *Anastasius* the Emperour. By reason of this naturall situation of the place, they who besiege it are afflicted with much want of water: So that *Chosroes* failing in this attempt, thought of taking some other *Roman* Towne; but farr within the *Roman* Territories to sit downe before any City, leaving so many strong places at his back, he thought it impossible. For this reason he layd *Antioch* flat with the ground, and quitted the *Roman* Territories, so that his thoughts mounted after hopes further off, and full of difficulty. For hearing how the *Barbarians* seated on the left hand of the *Euxine* Sea, about the Lake of *Maotis*, doe without controule over-run the *Roman* Provinces; he thought also by having *Lazica* to passe unto *Constantinople* it selfe, without crossing the Sea, as well as those *Barbarians*. And for this cause the *Persians* strive to get *Lazica*. But to returne from whence I digressed.

Corianus with the *Persian* army entamped by the River of *Hippis*, and against them *Gubazes* King of *Lazica*, and *Dagisthan* commander of the *Roman* army, led their forces of *Romans* and *Lazians*. They past the said River, and being there encamped, they consulted whether they should stay there, or receive the Enemy marching them, or should march against the Enemy; and by giving demonstration of the cou-

rage, and by beginning the fight, charge them with lesse apprehension of danger themselves, and abate the Enemies spirits. This counsell prevailed that they should charge them, and on they went: But the *Lazians* refused to joine with the *Roman* Troops, who, they sayd, were not to fight for their Countrey and dearelt pledges, themselves adventuring for Wives and Children, and their native soyle: So that being overcome, they should be ashamed to look upon their Wives; by which necessity, valour (in case they had none) would grow in them. And they would have the first charge, least the *Romans*, who could not have an equall eagerneesse to theirs, should in the fight break their orders. *Gubazes* being glad to see his *Lazians* so gallant, called them together at some distance from the *Romans*, and spake thus.

"Country-men! I know nor whether it be fit to use exhortations to courage, "your forwardnesse provoked by necessity not needing any: The danger is about "Wives and Children, and your Countrey, and for all which the *Persians* now in "vade you. And none will willingly suffer others to take their estates from them "by force, nature compelling men to contend for their right. You know how "nothing will stop the *Persians* avarice, if once they get power. They will not now "rule over you onely, and lay tributes, and in other things make you subject; but "ruine and transplant you, if they have the better in this Warr. We cannot forget "what *Chosroes* lately attempted against us: And let me not so much as mention "the tryall of the *Persians* in that kind: nor let ever the name of the *Lazians* be "extinguished. Our fight with them will not be difficult; we have often fought "with them, and vanquish'd them. And there is no hardnesse in things, we have "been used to; the toilsomenesse thereof being spent in our former practise. So "that we must not apprehend an Enemy often beaten; as being now not so valiant as they were before; and a spirit once dejected, commonly neve rising again. "With these considerations therefore, encounter the Enemy with courage. Having thus said, he led them on. The army was thus ordered. The *Lazian* horse were set in the front, and a good distance behind them came on the *Roman* horse, commanded by *Philegagus* a *Gepede*, a valiant man, and by *John* the *Armenian*, surnamed *Guzer*, formerly spoken of by me, an extraordinary good souldier. In the rear came *Gubazes*, and the King of the *Lazians*, and *Dagiftheus*, the *Roman* Generall, with their foot; that if the horse were routed, they might escape unto them. *Corianes* on the other side sent a thousand choice men well arm'd to discover, himself marching after them, and leaving only some few to guard the camp. The *Lazians* being foremost, and coming to the businesse, gave the lye to their former confidence. For lighting suddenly upon the Enemies Avant-coureurs, they being unable to withstand them, came galloping all back in confusion, and mingled with the *Roman* Horse; glad to fly to those, with whom before they made scruple to be ranckt. Both the Cavalleries being neer, they joyned not battell, but each, when the Enemy came on, gave back, and set on them retiring, and so spent much time in renewing charges, and in quick turns and returns. In the *Roman* army was one *Artabanes* a *Parthian*, revolted lately to the *Roman* army, having secured his faith by the killing of a hundred and twenty *Persian* souldiers. He got access to *Valerianus*, then Generall of *Armenia*, and desired of him fifty *Romans*, with whom he went to a Castle in *Persarmenia*, guarded by a hundred and twenty *Persians*; who received him with his men, not knowing of his revolt. This Garrison they killed, and returned to *Valerianus*; and *Artabanes* appearing by this sure and firm to the *Romans*, served them in their wars. In this encounter he put himself between the armies accompanied with two *Romans*; against them came some Enemies, whom *Artabanes* charging killed a *Persian*, valiant, and of a strong body, and threw him from his Horse to the ground. A *Barbarian* standing next, strake *Artabanes* with his Sword upon the head, but no mortall blow. One of *Artabanes* two Companions, a *Goth*, while the *Persians* hand was yet over the head of *Artabanes*, thrust him into the left flank and killed him. The thousand that were sent out at this retired, and stayd for *Corianes*, and the rest of the Army of *Persians* and *Alans*, and soon after they joyned: Then came up the Infantry both of *Gubazes* and *Dagiftheus* to the Horse, and the fight came to handy blowes. *Philegagus* and *John* finding themselves too weak for the Enemies horse, and having seen what the *Lazians* could do,

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lighted, and caused the *Romans* and *Lazians* to do the like; and with the foot they stood in a deep battallion opposite to the Enemy and charging with their Lances. The *Persians* being not able to charge the Enemy being on foot, nor to break their Battallion; and their Horses flying back, troubled with the heads of the Lances and noise of the shields, they trusted with the multitude of their arrowes to break them. The *Romans* also, and the *Lazians* let fly their arrowes, and they coming thick, many were slain on both sides. The *Persians* and *Alans* discharged oftner; but the arrowes for the most part rebounded from the *Romans* shields. *Corianes*, the *Persian* Generall, was shot into the neck (by whom it was not known) of which he dyed instantly; and his death swayed the victory to the *Romans* side: For he falling from his horse, forthwith the *Persians* ran away to their camp. The *Romans* pursued, killed many, and hoped to take the Enemies camp at first assault; But an *Alan* a strong man, & very expert to shoot backward and forward, put himself into the narrowest entrance into the Trenches, and stopp'd the invaders a long time; untill *John Guzer* killed him with his Lance, and then the *Romans* took the Camp. Many *Persians* there perished, the rest returned home as they could. This was the successe of that *Persian* invasion of *Lazica*. Another army also came, and victualled the Garrison in *Petra*; and then retired home.

CHAP. V.

IN the mean time the *Lazians* at *Constantinople* accused *Dagiftheus* of Treachery, and favouring the *Persians*; and that by the persuasions of the *Persians* he forbore to assault that part of the Walls of *Petra*, which fell down, and that the while the Enemy fortified the breach with sack-fuls of Sand laid one upon another: And that for money, or negligently he lost his opportunity, by putting off the assault, which he could never after recover. The Emperour upon this confined *Dagiftheus* to his house, and made *Bessai*, lately come out of *Italy*, Generall of *Armenia*; whom he directed also to command the Army in *Lazica*, sent thither before under *Perilus*, Brother to *Buzes*, and *Odonachus*, and *Babai* the *Thracian*, and *Uligangus* an *Heralian*. *Nabedes* also came into *Lazica* with an Army, but effected nothing worth the mentioning; save only a defection of the *Abasgians* from the *Romans* and *Lazians*; and upon the occasion of being there with an Army, the taking of sixty Sons of their principall men for Hostages; and the taking Prisoner in his way *Theodora* in *Apulia*, the Widow of *Opfites*, late Uncle to *Gubazes*, and King of *Lazica*. She was by birth a *Roman*, the Kings of *Lazica* having long used by the Emperours consent, to take Wives in *Constantinople*, and to make alliances with sundry Senators: And *Gubazes* himselfe was the Son of a *Roman* Lady. The reason moving the *Abasgians* to revolt, was this. After they had (as I said before) deposed their Kings, some *Roman* Garrisons were by the Emperour laid upon the Countrey, who sought to reduce it under the *Roman* Dominion, and exacted new things, using violent waies, which discontented the *Abasgians*; And least they should be brought into slavery to the *Romans*, they set up Kings again: *Opfites* of the Eastern part of the Countrey and *Scaparius* of the Western. They were grown desperate of any good, and so chose rather to resume their former condition, though bad, then to retain the worse which succeeded; and fearing the *Romans* power, revolted secretly to the *Persians*. But the Emperour perceiving it, commanded *Bessai* to march against them: who sent some choice numbers of his Army under *Uligangus*, and *John Guzer*. One of the new Kings of *Abasgia* had been lately sent for into *Persia* by *Chosroes*, where he then was. The other drew the *Abasgians* together, and opposed the *Roman* invasion. Upon the confines of *Apulia* and way to *Abasgia*, is a high Mountain, beginning at *Caucasus*, and by degrees growing lower, till it ends in the *Euxine* Sea. At the foot of this Mountain the *Abasgians* have an ancient Castle of a considerable bignesse, where they beat off any Enemy invading, the place being a great fastnesse, not possible to force. It hath one passage only, leading to this Castle, and into *Abasgia*, not passable but by one man at once a foot. Under

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the said foot-path, is a deep Vally reaching to the Sea, and very stony; which hath gotten a name suitable for the roughnesse, being called *Trachea*. The Roman Fleet came to the confines of *Abasgia*, and *Apstlia*, where *John* and *Uligangus* landed their Forces, leaving the Sea-men to waite on them neer the Shore. They marche afoot unto *Trachea*, and seeing the *Abasgians* in Armes, and guarding the foot path, they were troubled. In the end *John* left there *Uligangus* with halfe the Army, and himselfe with the rest went aboard the Barkes, and compassed the *Trachea*, so that he got the Backes of the Enemy. With Ensignes displayed he marche against them, who perceiving themselves charged on both sides, resisted not, but rettyred in confusion, so hamperd with their feare and amazement, that they hardly found their owne Countrey wayes, nor easily got cleer of them. The Romans on both sides had the execution, and killed many; and came running to the Cattle, where they found the Guards shutting the Gates; but not able to put them to, and so still receiving in the pursued and Pursuers, pell-mell, and not discerning *Abasgians* from Enemies, and by reason of the croud being not able to close the Gates, the *Abasgians*, who were so glad to get within the walls, were taken with the cattle. Yet the Romans, when they thought themselves masters of the Enemy, found a difficulty: for the houses standing close to one another, the *Abasgians* mounted the same, and shot down upon their heads, and defended themselves stoutly, out of fear and pitty of their wives and children, till the Romans set the houses on fire, and so became absolute victors. *Opstet*, King of the *Abasgians*, fled with some few to the neighbouring *Hunnes*, and to mount *Caucasus*: The rest were consumed to ashes, or made prisoners. The Romans took both the Kings wives, and all their children, demolisht the Cattle, and almost emptied the country: This was the successe of the *Abasgians* revolt.

But the *Apstlians*, being anciently subject to the *Lazians*, have in their country a strong Cattle called *Tzibulum*; which *Terdites*, Master of the Palace in *Lazica*, having offended the King, and being discontented, agreed to betray to the *Persians*, and getting some *Persian* forces ready, he went into *Apstlia*. Being neer the Cattle, he rode afore with his company of *Lazians*, and got in, the Garrison not distrustung a principall Officer of *Lazica*. And thus *Terdites*, so soon as the *Persian* forces came up, received them into the Cattle; and the *Persians* now held themselves Masters, not only of *Lazica*, but of *Apstlia* also; while the *Romans* being busie about *Petra*, and to encounter the *Persian* army, had no meanes to send succours. But the Governour of that Cattle had a fair wife, by birth an *Apstlian*, with whom the commander of the *Persian* forces fell fondly in love; and when with his temptations he could not gain her, he attempted to force her; which so iraged her husband, that he killed him, and sacrificed also his Company to their commanders lust, and took the Cattle to himself. Hereupon the *Apstlians* took occasion to revolt from the *Lazians*, charging them for not coming to their succours against the *Persians*. *Gubazes* sent against them a thousand Romans, and *John Guxer*, who with fair words brought them back to their former obedience to the *Lazians*. And thus was it concerning the *Apstlians*, and the castle of *Tzibulum*.

CHAP. VI.

ABOUT the same time, the cruelty of *Chosroes* toucht even upon his own blood. His eldest Son *Anatozadus* (which in the *Persian* language signifies, Immortall) had much offended him with his lewd courses, making no scruple to lye with his Fathers Wives. At first *Chosroes* chastised him with banishment, and confined him to the City of *Lapato*, seven dayes journey from *Ctesiphon*, in a Province of *Persia* called *Vazaine*, a very good country; and soon after fell sick so dangerously, that he was reported to be dead; being of a sickly constitution: and having Physicians about him still of all countries, and among others *Tribunus of Palastina*; a man famous for his art, and inferiour to none of his time, & moreover a wife and a godly man, and very honest. He had formerly cured *Chosroes*, &

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came out of *Persia* with many great presents; but at the making of the *Quinquennial* cessation, *Chosroes* intreated the Emperour, to let him have *Tribunus* with him for one year; Who having performed his attendance, *Chosroes* bade him aske what he had a mind to. *Tribunus* instead of wealth, askt of him the liberty of some Roman captives; and got 3000 freed, besides some men of quality, whom he demanded by name. By this act *Tribunus* got a great reputation among all men. *Anatozadus* hearing of his Fathers sicknesse, usurped, and rebelled; and though his Father were recovered, yet he put the City into revolt, and keenly pursued the Warr. *Chosroes* sent against him an army under *Fabrizius*, who won the battell; took *Anatozadus* Prisoner, and brought him to his Father. *Chosroes* blemished the young mans eyes, not by taking away the sight; but by distorting the eye-lids into much uglinessse, with irons red hot, applied to the out side of the Eye-lids being shut. This *Chosroes* did, to cut off his hope of his Kingdome, the Law permitting not any man with any blemish to be King of *Persia*, as I have said before.

Now also was the fifth year of the Cessation expired, and *Iustinian* sent unto *Chosroes*, *Peter* a Patritian, and his Master of the Palace with commission to conclude an absolute truce for the East. *Chosroes* dismiss him with promise to send one shortly to finish all, as should be best for both: And soon after he sent *Isidignus* again; a man supercilious and arrogant, and whose insolent puffing, and swelling was not tolerable to any Roman. He brought his wife and Brother with him, and a train so great, as if he were marching to a battell: He had also with him two principal *Persians*, who wore Diadems of Gold upon their heads. The *Constantinopolitans* murmured to see the Emperour honour him something more then according to the quality of an Ambassador. *Bradicus* the interpreter was not with him, whom they say *Chosroes* put to death, for presuming to sit at the same Table with the Emperour *Iustinian*, who (said he) would not have admitted an Interpreter to such an honour, if he had not betrayed the *Persian* affaires. Some say, that *Isidignus* charged him with secret conferences with the Romans. *Isidignus* now at his audience, said not a word of the peace; but complained of Transgressions against the Cessation; That *Arethas*, and the *Saracen* Confederates of the Romans committed spoiles upon *Alamundarus*, during the truce, and some other things of small importance.

In the meane time *Bessas* fate downe before *Petra* with the whole Army. The Romans mined in the same place where *Dagiftheus* formerly had done, and for the same reason: For the Walls are for the most part founded upon a Rock; but in some places upon earth. Towards the West they are upon an impenetrable Rock, but not very thick, a peice whereof *Dagiftheus* then, and now *Bessas* digged into; but the nature of the ground bounded their Mine, not permitting it to proceed further then it selfe. After the retreat of *Dagiftheus*, the *Persians* had mended the fallen piece of their Wall there, by filling up that which had been digged into, with pebble stones, and placing over it great beames, smoothed and tyed together to a pretty breadth. This basis of Timber was in stead of a foundation, and upon it was the Wall set: Which the Romans not knowing, thought their Mine to be quite under the foundation; and having voyded away much earth from beneath those timbers, they shook indeed the Wall, and a part of it suddenly sunk, but it inclined not to either side, nor had one stone disordered, but setled upright, whole and intire upon the digged ground, as if it had been let downe with an Engine; only it was lower then before: And so the Romans could not assault the Towne; *Mermereus* having formerly also with many hands raised all the Walls higher then ever. The Romans seeing the piece that sunck, and stood upright so, were much troubled. Mine they could no more, neither could they bring the Ram to the Wall, the ground being steep, and the Ram not being to be drawne but in even ground. In the Army then chanced to be *Sabirian Hunnes*, who inhabite about the *Caucasian* Mountaines, and are populous, and divided into many Principalties. Some of their Princes are ancient friends to the Roman Emperour, some to the King of *Persia*; who give Pensions in Gold to their severall Confederates, not yearly, but upon occasions. The Emperour to his Confederates had lately sent Gold for their ayde in this Warr: But the Messenger finding it unsafe to passe the *Caucasian* Mountaines, and by an Enemy with Money, came to *Bessas* before *Petra*, and from thence sent to the *Sabirians*, to send some to receive the Money, who presently-

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sent three of their Princes into *Lesica*, and these were with the Army at the assault. When they saw the *Romans* despairing, they devised a new Engine, never thought of by the *Romans* nor *Persians*, who notwithstanding have had excellent Artificers; and have often needed such an Engine to assault places in stony and steep ground: But it never came into their minds; Man's nature ever proceeding with time to new inventions. As these *Barbarians* suddenly made a new fashioned Ram, using no timbers uprict, nor lying a crossie, but in stead of them small Poles tyed and fitted together. They covered the whole Engine with Hides, and observed the perfect forme of an ordinary Ram, and in the midst placed the usuall beam, with a topp headed with Iron, to batter the Walls: It was made so light that it needed no men or cattell to draw and thrust it forward; onely forty men within it covered by the Hides, carried the Engine with ease upon their shoulders, and wended up the Ram and let it go against the Walls. Such Engines now were framed by these three *Barbarians*, taking Beames and Iron worke from the *Romans* Rams, which they could not bring neer the Walls, and forty men being put under each, they set it close to the Walls. On either side of each stood men well armed with Corlets and Morions, and with long Poles in their hands topt with great Iron Hooks, to draw off from the Walls the stones loosened and unjoynted by the strokes of the Ram. The *Romans* with many pushes of the same shook the Wall, and they with their Poles pull'd downe the loose stones, and quickly the Town was in the point of being taken. But the *Persians* upon the Wall set a wooden Tower (which they had long before prepared) full of their best men, having their heads and bodies all covered with Iron and with Corlets, and vessels full of Brimstone, and *Babylonian Pitch*, and *Naphtha*, a Drug used by the *Persians*, and by the *Gracians* called *Medean oyle*: These Vessells they fired and threw upon the *Romans* Rams, which failed little to be all set on fire, and were saved by the men having the long Poles, who cleared away the fire still; but long they could not think so to hold out, the fire being such, that where it toucht it instantly burnt, if not instantly cast off.

CHAP. VII.

BUT *Bessus* putting his Forces in Armes, caused scaling Ladders to be set to that part of the Wall which was sunck; And himselfe using no other exhortation but the example of his own Valour, being an old man above 70. yeares of age, he first mounted the Ladder. Here was a Fight so valiantly performed by both *Romans*, and *Persians*, as the like hath not been seen. The *Persians* amounted to about 2300 men, and the *Romans* were some 6000. On both sides almost all were hurt, that were not slaine: the *Romans* forced their ascent with all their power, and the *Persians* with much toyle, and after the killing of many on both sides, were very neer to have quite beaten off the danger. Many *Romans* were slain at the tops of the Ladders, the Enemy standing above them; and *Bessus* himselfe fell from the Ladder, whereat a great shout was made, the *Persians* from all parts shooting at him, and his Lancers standing all close about him, covering him, having their Murrions and Corselets on, and with their Shields, making the form of a Roofe over him, and keeping off the Arrowes, which clast upon their Armour, and snapt asunder. And all was full of clamour, panting, and toyle. The *Romans*, eager to bring off their Generall, shot thick at the Walls, and repress the Enemy. *Bessus* could not get up for the Shields that were held over him, and being an old man, fat and unweildy. Yet he lost not his Spirits, but in that great danger suddenly advised that which preserved himselfe, and the *Romans* Affaires. He directed his Lancers to drag him off by the legs, which they did, and went off with him, holding their Shields over one another, and drawing him away so far at once only, as not to be subject to the Enemies shot. *Bessus*, so soon as he was in a safe place, rose, and encouraging his Souldiers, gave on again, mounting again the Ladder himselfe; and the *Romans* following him did very valiantly. The *Persians* hereupon demanded time to quit the place, and to yeild it. But *Bessus* suspecting

it to be cunning, in the mean time to fortifie the Walls, said, that he could not stay the Fight; but he pointed to another part of the Walls, whether they might go with him, and partly while the Armies fought. They not entertaining the motion, the Fight was hotly pursued: Which continuing equall, another part of the Wall, where the *Romans* had formerly min'd, suddenly fell down. Many of both parts ran thither; the *Romans*, though divided, exceeded the Enemy in numbers, and prest hard upon them: And the *Persians* being charged in both places, and their fewnesse by being divided appearing, did not equally indure the charge. While the Armies were toying, and the *Persians* unable to repel the eagernesse of the *Romans*, and the *Romans* absolutely to force their entry; *John Guxes* left them fighting upon the ruined Wall, and with some *Armenians* his Country-men, mounted the Rock where the City was esteemed impregnable; and forcing upon the Guards there, killed with his Lance one of the gallantest *Persians*, and made the place accessible. In the mean time the *Persians* in the wooden Tower, kindled many Fire-vessells, by flinging the same thick, to burn the Engines and men in them, notwithstanding their long Poles. But a strong Southern wind blew against them, and withall set afire one of the boards of the Tower: They within it, being overtoyled, and full of tumult and disorder, perceived not the Accident soon enough, (their businesse taking from them their senses,) and the flame kindling by little, and little, and with the *Medean Oyle*, and the other materials, burnt all the Tower, and the *Persians* in it; who consumed into Coales, fell down, some within the Town, some among the *Roman* Engines. At the ruined Wall also the Enemy grew faint, and gave back, and the *Romans* entred, and then was *Petra* absolutely taken; only some 500. *Persians* retired to the Cittadell. The rest the *Romans* took, being 730 men, of whom 18. only were unhurt in the Fight. Many *Romans* also fell, brave men, and among them *John Guxes*, valiantly entering the Town, was killed with a stone. The next morning the *Romans* besieged the *Persians* in the Cittadell, and propounded offers of safety unto them, and to give assurances for the same: But they rejected them, and resolved to oppose, though they had no thought of subsisting long; but they chole to dye bravely. *Bessus* was desirous to draw them from this Opinion, and to perswade them to live. He commanded a *Roman* Souldier to speak to them to that purpose, as hee dictated it unto him; who being neer, said thus.

*Valiant Persians, what mean you thus to pull on your own destruction? using a senselesse endeavour to dye, and shaming the profession of Valour; which never opposes unresistible necessities, but wisely yields to the Conquerour. It is not dishonourable to obey your Fortune, and Live; Necessity having left no hope, excuses the dishonour, although we be put to the poorest Altions; pardon ever attending that which cannot be avoided. Insevident a danger, affect not therefore pride, nor sacrifice your lives for a little vaine-glory. Think how men once dead revive not again; but that the living may in time recompose themselves. Consult therefore your last consultation, and study your own good: Those Counsels are ever best, wherein the advisers have left it in their power to repent. We pity this your struggling under the Toake, and spare you, so fond to daye. And while you are wanton and foolish in a case of life; wee, as *Romans*, and *Christians*, commiserate you. If you live, the worst that shall befall you, will be to change your Common-wealth for a better, and to have *Iustinian* your Lord instead of *Chosroes*; and for this we give you our Faith. Murderer not therefore your selves, having means to live; It is not excusable thus to no purpose to be in love with dismall things, which is not to be valiant, but to be weary of life. The valiant man endures, while from his sufferings he expects advantage. Men commend a willing death, when some gallant hope is built upon it; But a precipitate end, is a rash and uselesse folly, and a vaine-glorious dying foolish: Wise men condemning such a fond pretext of brave spirit. Consider moreover, if herein you be not unthankfull to God; who if he would have you destroyed, would not have delivered you to men, who desire your preservation. Thus it is; and doe you advise, whether you be worthy to live or no.*

The *Persians* would not so much as afford attention to this Counsell, as men willingly deafe. By the Generals direction therefore the *Romans* threw fire into the Cittadell, thinking so to bring them to yeild. But they, though beholding the mischief, and knowing that certainly they would be all consumed, and having no

hope by resisting to escape, yet would not come into their Enemies hands; but perished all with the Cittadell; the Romans wondering at it. How serious a business *Chosroes* held *Lazica* to be, appeared by this his putting into *Petra* the choice and the bravest of his men, and by storing the same with so great a proportion of armes, that to every Roman souldiers share upon the pillage fell five mens furnitures, besides much burnt in the Cittadell. There was also found corn, and other salted provisions for five years siege: Wine there was none; but some Beveridge, and store of beans. The Romans wondered to find water coming from the *Aqueduct*, till they understood the mystery. For *Chosroes* having taken *Petra*, and placed a Garrison in it; foreseeing the siege, and that doubtlesse the Romans would attempt the *Aqueduct*, divided the water, brought from it to the City into three parts, by making a deep Sewer, and by building three severall *Aqueducts*; the one at the bottom of the Sewer up to the middle of it, covered with stones and Earth; above that a second covered also, and a third above Ground and visible. The Romans not understanding those close conveyances, spoiled the uppermost at the beginning of the siege, not working downward to the other, thinking the water did fail the City by what they had done; and from their loathnesse to work, their wits failed them. The siege continuing, the Romans understood by some prisoners, that the besieged had water from the *Aqueduct* still; whereupon digging, they found the second Conduit and cut it, and in their second Error were not admonished by their first. But now the city being taken, and finding the water still coming in, and from their Prisoners, hearing how it was done; they saw too late their Enemies providence, and their own negligence. The Prisoners *Bessas* sent all to the Emperour, and threw down the Walls of *Petra*, that the Enemy might put them to no more business about it: which the Emperour approved, & commended him both for his valour, and this wise counsell of his. Thus *Bessas*, by his good fortune, and the great valour shewed in this action, grew into a great reputation again: when he commanded *Rome*, there was great hope of him, having done very valiantly in former employments. After his ill fortune at *Rome* (the same being sackt by the *Goths*, and the whole strength of the Romans there being well nigh destroyed) yet at his return to *Constantinople*, the Emperour made him General against the Persians; though the world flouted the Emperours resolution herein, in committing the Persian war to an old man almost in his Grave, and one who had been so grossly beaten by the *Goths*; but notwithstanding this generall opinion, *Bessas* used the valour, and found the good fortune, I have said. So are humane affaires determined, not as men imagine; but as God swaves the Ballance: And this men call Fortune; finding accidentall things to succeed in a way by them not discerned, and so attributing a name of Fortune to things above their own reason.

CHAP. VIII.

IN the mean time *Mermeroes*, afraid of *Petra*, was coming with his army thither. So soon as the winter was done, and the season was fit; but hearing what was become of it, he staid his journey, knowing how on that side of the *Phasis* the *Lazians* had no Town, but *Petra*. So that he marche homeward, having pre-possessed the passages in *Lazica*, from *Iberia*: and he past over the *Phasis*, where he found it fordable, and over another River called *Reon*. Having now the *Phasis* to his right hand, he led his army to *Archaeopolis* (the chief city of *Lazica*) being most horse, and with eight Elephants, which the Persians use as a Tower to stand upon, and shoot upon the Enemies heads. The Persians indurstly also is worthy admiration; having made the way between *Iberia* and *Lazica* (which was unpassable for rocky places, covered with thick woods and bushes; that there was no going for a man a foot) now so plain and easie, that not only their Horses, but their Elephants may passe. There came also 12000 *Sabirian* Hunnes to *Mermeroes*; who fearing least their multitude would not obey him, but might do him some mischief rather, he kept 4000 of them, and sent the rest home with good store of mony: The Roman army mounted in all to 12000, whereof *Odonachus* and *Babas* two expert Commanders, had 3000. and the rest incamped neer the *Phasis* (with intention to succour any place where

where the Enemy should fall on) commanded by *Bonilus* & *Oligarius*: there was also *Varazes* the *Perfamenian* with them, wholate came out of *Italy* followed by 800 *Tzanians*. *Bessas* was retired into *Pontus* and *Armenia*, his Governement, meaning to toil no more, but to get what he could by his place; and by his avariciousnesse he again ruined the Roman affaires. After his victory at *Petra*, if he had made haile to fortifie the passages into *Lazica* from *Iberia*, the Persians had not entred *Lazica*, which he even as good as delivered to the Enemy by his neglect, and carelesnesse of the Emperours indignation. Who indeed used much to connive at the Errors of his chief Ministers, and they from thence committed many, both in the courses of their lives, and in their Governements. The two Castles of *Scanda* and *Sarapanis*, in *Lazica*, about the frontier of *Iberia*, standing upon two passages very hard to get through, the *Lazians* had demolisht. These Castles *Iustinian* in the beginning of the War guarded with Romans, taking out the *Lazians* formerly in it; but the Romans wanting victuall, and being not able like the *Lazians* to live long upon *Elymus*, a kind of pulle like mill-feed; the *Lazians* also being weary of bringing Provision upon their backs (there being no passage for horses) the Romans there abandoned them, and the Persians took them; but upon the truce restored them to *Iustinian* for the Forts of *Bolum* and *Pharangium*, as I have said before. But the *Lazians* having demolisht them now, the Persians repaired *Scanda*, and held it at this coming of *Mermeroes* into *Lazica*. And entering the same from *Iberia*, the first Towne you meet with in the Plaine, is *Rudopolis*, very assaultable; whereupon the *Lazians* demolisht it, fearing the Persian Invasion; so that now *Mermeroes* marcht on to *Archaeopolis*. But he would not sit downe before it, fearing the Romans Army at his back, encamping neer the *Phasis*. Towards them he went first, and passing by *Archaeopolis* told them, That he meant to make a visit to the Romans upon the *Phasis*, and that done, would come to them againe. They answered him bravely, and bade him go, and that if he spake once with the Romans there, he would never come back to them. But the Commanders of the Roman Army hearing the newes, and finding themselves too weak, went aboard their Barks, carrying with them what they could, and throwing the rest into the River. Soon after came *Mermeroes*, and was very melancholly to see the Romans Camp with not a man in it; he burnt the same, and in much anger led his Army back to *Archaeopolis*.

This City stands upon a kind of Rock, and by it runs a River descending from the next Mountaines. The Low Gate opens neer the foot of the Rock, and the ground to it from the Plaine rises onely, but makes no difficulty of access. The Gate opening toward the Rock is very hard to approach, having also for a great way thereabout great Thickets. The townes Walls were built up to the River, that they may draw up their water, having none within the Towne. *Mermeroes* was eager to assault, and finding it rising ground, not to be medled with by ordinary Rams, he caused his *Sabirians* to make Rams portable on mens shoulders, using the advantage of his Enemies experiment thereof at *Petra*, which he had heard of. And these *Sabirians* made such Rams as their Countrey-men in league with the Romans made then. *Mermeroes* set against the rocky part of the City the *Dolomites*, a people dwelling in the midst of *Persia*, among unaccessable Mountaines, and so not subject to the Persian, but free; and in the Persians wars they serve them for pay, being all foot men, with sword and shield and two Javelins; and are nimble to climb rocks, and to runne along the sides of mountaines, as upon plain Ground. These being there ordered, *Mermeroes* with the rest of his army assaulted at the lower gate, and with his new Rams, and his Elephants. Where the Persians and *Sabirians* galled the Romans with their shot, making them almost to quit the Battlements, and the *Dolomites* did as much on their side with their Javelins, that the Romans were in much extremity. *Odonachus* and *Babas* (were it to shew their own, or try the Romans resolution, or by some instinct) leaving some few upon the Battlements, drew together the rest, and sayd thus to them,

"Fellow Souldiers! you see our danger; but neverthelesse you must not yeild to it: Nothing preserves men despairing of life, but not to be in love with life: which fond love is commonly attended with destruction. Consider how in such a difficulty as this, it is not safe to resist an Enemy from the Battlements of a Towne: We may do it bravely, but the distance of place will not permit us to
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"use our valour : The best we can get, is, to get off and retyre : But if we fight body to body, courage is it gets the better there, and the Victory goes with valour. They who get the better from a Wall, gaine not much ; for the next day the danger renues as fresh as ever, and so they perish by little and little, and looke at last their defended Fortresses. But who overcome in a standing fight, are ever after secure. Taking this into our thoughts, let us make a brave sally, trusting in Gods assistance, and hoping well even from the despaire wee are in. God preserves those most, who have no hope left in themselves.

CHAP. IX.

ODO RACHUS and Babas having thus sayd, led out the Army : Some they left behinde, having suspicion of one of the cheife Inhabitants of the City, a *Lazian* ; who had been treated with by *Mermereus* in the heat of the assault, to set the City-Magazines on fire. *Mermereus* by this thought either to enter the Towne with lesse opposition, the *Romans* being busie to quench the fire, or if, being eager to defend the Towne, they neglected the fire, he should deprive them of their stores, and so easily in time get the Towne by Famine. The *Lazian* according to his promise to *Mermereus*, when he saw the assault at the hottest, fired the *Store-houses*. The *Romans* left behinde, seeing the flame rise, ran to it, and with much toyle, and some hurt, put it out. Those who sallied, frighted the Enemy with the suddenesse, and killed them without resistance. For the *Persians* suspected not sally from so few Defendants, and were scatter'd, and in disorder as upon an assault : Some with the Ramms upon their shoulders, and without their armes : others could do no Execution with their howes, the *Romans* at the first running up close unto them ; who sflaht with their Swords on all sides, and cut them in peices. One of their Elephants also, either wounded, or otherwise starting, flew back, and cast his riders, breaking the rancks, and driving the *Persians* backward ; while the *Romans* securely cut off all in their way. It may seem strange, that the *Romans* knowing so well the means of relinking Elephants, did nothing now ; confounded (it seems) with the present butinesse. The means is that, which was practised upon *Chosroes* at *Edeffa* : an Elephant there was brought close to the walls, with many of the gallantest *Persians* upon it : and appearing like a Tower, and the shot from it being made directly upon the Defendants heads, the taking of the town was certainly expected : when the *Romans* escaped this danger, only by hanging out a Hog from the Bulwark, which with his squeaking scared the Elephant so, that he turned about and retired fair and softly home. This now was omitted by the *Romans* ; but their good fortune supplied their negligence. Having mentioned here *Edeffa*, let me tell a strange prodigy which happened in that City a little before the breaking of the Perpetuall Peace ; which was, the delivering of a woman with a child having two heads : the events since have made the meaning manifest. For the East, and much of the *Roman* Empire besides, have been disputed by two Emperours ; but to return to the fight. The *Persians* being thus disordered, and they in the rear seeing the confusion in the van, and not knowing the matter, ran away in fear. The *Dolomites* also, who were upon high Ground, and saw all, ran away shamefully, and the overthrow was cleer. Four thousand *Persians* were slain, and three principall commanders, and four Engins were taken, which were sent to *Constantinople*. They lost 20000 horses, not all in fight ; but being spent with running away, and not getting a belly full of meat in *Lazica*, they dyed with famine and weaknesse.

Mermereus having failed at *Archeopolis*, was nevertheless master of the feild in *Lazica*, and led his army into *Muchirisis*, a country distant from *Archeopolis* a daies journey, having many populous villages, and the best land of *Lazica*, full of vines and other fruits, through which runs the River of *Reon*, upon which anciently the *Lazians* had a Castle ; but they demolish't it, because standing in a plain it was easie to be taken. The Castle was called by the *Grecians* *Cotyann*, but now by the *Lazians* *Cotasis*, as *Arrianus* in his history. Others say, it was anciently a City named *Cotyann* ; where *Eates* was born, whom the Poets call *Cotyannis*, and *Lazica*, *Cotyannis*.

taitis. This Castle *Mermereus* was desirous to re-edifie, and wanting materials, he staid till the winter was past, purposing to repaire it with Timber. Neer unto *Cotasis*, stands *Uchimerium*, a strong Castle, guarded by *Lazians* with some *Roman* souldiers intermingled : Hereabout *Mermereus* lay with his army, possessing the best land of *Lazica*, and cutting off the *Romans* from bringing victuall to *Uchimerium*, and from marching into the countries of *Shania*, and *Seymia*, subject to the *Persians* ; an Army in *Muchirisis*, crossing the passage into those countries. These were the successess of the armies in *Lazica*.

In *Constantinople*, in the mean time *Isidignus* the *Persian* Ambassador, had many conferences with the Emperour touching a peace. And after a long time spent in disputes, at last they came to this agreement : "That in their proper Dominions there should be a cessation of armes for five years, and during the same, that sending to each other they should endeavour to compose the differences concerning *Lazica* and the *Saracens* ; and that the *Romans* should pay to the *Persians* twenty *Centenaries* of Gold for this Cessation of five yeares, and for the eighteen months passed between the end of the first *Quinquennall* Cessation, and their sending Ambassadors to each other sixe *Centenaries* more ; the *Persians* alleadging, that they yielded to a conference for truce upon that Condition. These twenty *Centenaries*, *Isidignus* would have presently paid, and the Emperour demanded to pay them by four *Centenaries* every year, and thereof to give caution ; but in the end the *Romans* paid down the whole summe, that they might not seem to pay a yearly Tribute to the *Persians*.

Thus men are ashamed more of the dishonour of names, then things. *Barfabe* also, a *Persian* of great quality, and much favoured by *Chosroes*, whom *Valerianus* had taken prisoner in a fight in *Armenia*, and sent to *Constantinople*, and for whom *Chosroes* had offered a great ranfome, was now set at liberty upon the suit of *Isidignus*, who promised to perswade *Chosroes* to remove his army out of *Lazica*. This Cessation concluded in the twenty fifth year of *Iustinians* Raigne, much discontented the *Romans*, whether unreasonable or no, (as Subjects use to censure the actions of their Princes) I will not determine. But they alleadged, that the *Persians* being now strong in *Lazica*, they might securely without the interruption of any, for five years to come, hold the fairest peices of it, and that the *Romans* would never afterward be able to drive them out of it, but the *Persians* have easie access even to *Constantinople* it selfe. These considerations troubled most men, but they could not help it ; and likewise to see the ancient indeavour of the *Persians*, to make the *Romans* tributary, which by war they could never hope to effect, now established by the colour of a cessation of armes ; *Chosroes* now taxing the *Romans* with a tribute of four annuall *Centenaries* upon this fair pretence, untill his forty six *Centenaries* were paid, calling his Tax a Truce, and shewing apparantly to have plotted it from the beginning of the War. And yet still he used hostility in *Lazica*, as hath been said. From this Taxation the *Romans* had no hope ever to be freed, but saw themselves in the quality of plain Tributaries to the *Persians*. *Isidignus* also having gotten more wealth then ever Ambassador did, and received the highest honours from the Emperour, together with immense gifts, was sent home the richest man (I think) in *Persia*. This only Ambassador had no Guard put upon him ; himselfe and his followers freely conferred, and kept company with whom they would ; and in the city bought and sold, and made any contracts, and were present at them, with all manner of license, no *Roman* attending them to observe their doing, as was wont to be.

At this time also were *Heats*, such as none ever remembred the like, the *Roses* towards the winter growing in abundance, as in the spring, with no manner of difference, and the weather as hot as at midsummer : And the vintage being long past, new Grapes came up. Some divined from hence at great accidents likely to succeed ; but the naturall cause of it was the continuance of the Southerly winds, longer then was ordinary, from whence came those unusuall heats. If any strange matters were signified by them, we shall know the certainty by the Event.

CHAP. X.

During the sayd Negotiation at *Constantinople* for a truce; in *Lazica* King *Gubazes* affected the *Romans*, because he found *Chosroes* to plot his death; but the generality of the *Lazians* offended with the *Romans* oppressions; and discontented with their Commanders, did for the most part favour the *Persians*, not for love of the *Persian* Government, but to be rid of the other, of two ills choosing that rather which they felt not. And *Theophobius* a chiefe man among them, treated with *Mermereos* to deliver to him the Castle of *Uchimerium*, who animated him to the action with large hopes of being a Favorite of *Chosroes*, and naturalized a *Persian*, and of getting great wealth and preferments. There were no Forces joynd of *Romans* and *Lazians*, and the *Persians* visited all the Townes at their pleasure. The Imperialists lay concealed, some neer the *Phasis*, others in *Archeopolis*, and other Fortresses; and King *Gubazes* lay quiet upon the tops of Mountaines: So that *Theophobius* without any difficulty appearing, came to the Castle and told the Imperiall Garrison there, That the *Roman* Army was cut in peices, King *Gubazes* ruined, and *Lazica* wholly under the *Persians*, without any hope of recovering the same for the *Romans* or *Gubazes*. *Mermereos* with seventy thousand *Persians* had done all this, and with great numbers of *Sabirians*; And that *Chosroes* was now also joynd suddenly with an innumerable Army, that all *Lazica* would scarce containe them. With this terrible newes *Theophobius* so frighted the Garrison, that they besought him even by the God of their Fathers to finde some accommodation for them. He promised to procure their safety from *Chosroes*; and returning immediately to *Mermereos*, obtained of him some principall *Persians* with Commission to repaire to *Uchimerium*, and having given assurances to the Garrison for their lives and Goods, to take possession of the Castle, by the having whereof the *Persians* were absolute Masters of *Lazica*. They subdued also *Scymnia* and *Swania*, that all places from *Muchiris* to *Iberia* were unaccessable to the *Romans* and King *Gubazes*. And nor *Romans* nor *Lazians* durst meddle with the Enemy, nor come, the one from their Fortresses, the other downe from the Mountaines. *Mermereos* during the Winter, repaired with timber the Walls of *Coitasis*, and placed in it three thousand *Persians*; he put also a competent Garrison in *Uchimerium*, and repaired another Castle called *Sarapalis*, upon the Frontier of *Lazica*. Then he marcht toward the *Phasis*, where he understood that the *Romans* and *Lazians* had newly made head and were encamped. But *Gubazes* and the *Roman* Commanders at the first newes of his coming disbanded, and every man saved himselfe as he could. *Gubazes* ran up againe to the Mountaines, and there with his Wife and Children made an end of the Winter, fighting it out with poverty and the hard weather, and comforting himselfe (as men use) with hopes from *Constantinople*. And the other chiefe *Lazians* in their respect to their King were contented, as he, with hard winter lodgings in the holes of Rocks. Enemy they feared none in those Mountaines, being (especially in the Winter) not to be meddled with; but famine and other misery made them weary of their lives. *Mermereos* in the meane time built Store-houses in the Villages of *Muchiris*, and furnisht the same with Victuall; and by sending Fugitives to the foot of the Mountaines, and promising conditions of safety, he drew many downe, supplied them plentifully with what they most wanted, and used them as his owne people. In all things else he ruled the Countrey at his pleasure, and to *Gubazes* wrote this Letter.

"Power and wisdom are the two composers of humane affaires; and they who in power excell others, live as they list, and bring the weaker to what termes they please, who being slaves to the stronger cure their want of power with wisdom, and by soothing their Conquerours, hold that with comfort, whereof their infirmity deprives them. This is generally in all Nations, and is fixed in the nature of men. So that gentle *Gubazes*! if you thinke you can vanquish the *Persians*, delay not your owne good, but come to Battell, you shall finde us in what part of *Lazica* you please, ready to fight with you for the Countrey. With us you may now try your power, who can never thinke afterward to oppose the whole power of *Persia*. Or you may take the second course, which is to know your

your selfe, and to adore *Chosroes* as your Master, King, and Conquerour; by supplications you may be rid of your present miseries; I undertake that the King will be gracious to you, and will give you of the best Hostages in *Persia* for the perpetuall assurance of your life and Kingdome. If neither of these please, suffer the *Lazians*, made miserable by your bad counsels, to raise themselves from the difficulties that presse them; and see them not crushed with an endlesse ruine, while you trust to the slippery hopes of *Roman* Succours, who can vindicate you no more then hitherto they have done.

Gubazes was not perswaded by this Letter, but still stayd upon the Mountaines; his hatred of *Chosroes* not suffering him to despaire in the *Roman* Succours. Mens judgments ever thus tune to that which pleases their wills, admitting all reasons of that side, without examination of the soundnesse of them; and oblatinately not crediting, nor weighing the arguments which crosse their desires.

About this time certaine Monks came out of *India*, and getting access to the Emperour, promised to effect his long desire, that the *Romans* should no more buy the *Metaxas*, or Raw-silke from the *Persians* their Enemies, nor any other Nations. For having remained long in those Countreies, they had learnt the way how the same might be had in the *Roman* Provinces. They told him that certaine Wormes, taught by nature, did spin this Raw-silke; to bring the Wormes alive, that it was not possible, but easie to get their Bags, wherein were innumerable Eggs, which being covered in Dung, and thereby heated, produced the Wormes. The Emperour promised them a great reward to bring their undertaking to effect; who returned into *India*, brought those Eggs to *Constantinople*, and being by the means aforesayd growne to Wormes, fed them with Mulberry leaves, and so caused the making of Raw-silke in the *Roman* Territories.

The Winter being ended, *Hadigunus* came to *Chosroes* with the Money, and the Treaty agreed upon; who sealed the same and took the Money; wherewith levying a great Army of *Hunnes*, he sent them to *Mermereos*, resolving not to quit *Lazica*. *Mermereos* with these *Hunnes* and his *Persians* and Elephants marcht against the Townes of *Lazica*, whom the *Romans* encountred not, but under the command of *Martinus* fortified themselves about the mouth of the *Phasis*; and lay quiet, in the company of King *Gubazes*. *Mermereos* led the Army first against a Castle where he understood the Sister of *Gubazes* to be; but the Garrison, and the strength of the place beat him from thence, and caused him to retire without doing any hurt in that journey either to *Romans* or *Lazians*. Marching into *Abusgia*, he found the narrow and rocky passage into the same posselt by a *Roman* Garrison, who opposed his entrance. So that he drew back, and went against *Archeopolis*; and not prevailing there neither, he retired with his Army: which the *Romans* followed, and in that fast Countrey intercepted many, and killed the chiefe Commander of the *Sabirian* *Hunnes*. But fighting about the dead body, the *Persians* forced away the Enemy, and retired to *Citajis* in *Muchiris*. Such were the successles of the Armies in *Lazica*.

CHAP. XI.

In *Africa* all things proceeded fairly for the *Romans*, by the incredible successles of *Juba* the Generall, who had drawn to his party *Cutzinas*, a Prince of *Numidia*, then vanquisht all the other *Numidians* in a battell, and soon after brought *Antalus* and *Jabdis*, (who were Princes of *Mogres* in *Byzacium* and *Numidia*) to follow him in the quality of slaves. So that in *Africa* the *Romans* had no Enemies, and not many subjects, whom the former wars and mutinies had almost wasted.

In the mean time in *Europe*, the *Gepades*, who (as I said formerly) made a truce with the *Lombards*, not ending their differences, resolved upon a war again, which grew as hot as ever: The *Gepades* being led by *Thoris*, and the *Lombards* by *Armin*; followed by great multitudes on both sides. They came neer, but the armies discerned not one another; when a sudden Panick fear, without any cause appearing, frighted both the armies so, that they ran away, leaving their Commanders with

with some few only behind: who neither with fair words nor threats could stop them. *Auduin* not knowing the Enemy was in the same case, sent an Embassage to the Enemy for truce. The Ambassadors, finding the *Gepades* to have had the same fortune with themselves, demanded of *Thorisin*, whether his people were gone; they are fled (quoth *Thorisin*) none pursuing, and so are the *Lombards*, sayd they: since you deal truly with us, we will conceal nothing from you. And since God is pleased that these nations shall not perish, and hath call on us both this favouring fear, let us concur with that gracious sentence, and make an end of the war. Be it so, quoth *Thorisin*, and so a Cessation was concluded for two years, and in the mean time to lend their Heralds, mutually and fully to compose the differences: but not being able to end the same, they fell again to the way of hostility. The *Gepades* feared that the *Romans* would joyne with the *Lombards*, and therefore they sent to the *Cuturgurians*, *Hunnes* inhabiting on this side the Lake of *Meotis*, to assist them in this war against the *Lombards*. They sent them twelve thousand men, commanded by *Chinialis*, an experienced Souldier. But one year of the Cessation being yet to come, and the *Gepades* having no occasion to use such a multitude, perswaded them in the interim, as upon the by, to invade the *Romans*, who keeping no exact Guards upon the *Ister*, into *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, the *Gepades* transported the *Hunnes* into the Empire; who spoiled the country, and sackt the Towns. The Emperour hereupon sent to the *Uturgurians*, *Hunnes* planted beyond the Lake of *Meotis*, blaming their unjust lying still, it being most unjust to neglect their friends perishing; alleading how the *Cuturgurians* being their neighbours, and receiving great pensions yearly from *Constantinople*, ceased not to wrong them, but made daily inroades and spoiles upon them: & they, the *Cuturgurians* getting no share of the same, were careless of the *Romans* their ancient friends, and saw them spoiled and rancked by the *Cuturgurians*, without vindicating them from those oppressions. The *Uturgurians* upon this remonstrance of the Emperour, and of the many presents they had received from him, and upon receipt of more money now, were won to invade the *Cuturgurians* country. They passed the *Tanais*, accompanied with two thousand *Tetraxite* Goths, who dwelt neer them, and the army was commanded by *Sandill*, a wife and a valiant man, and experienced in many warrs. The *Cuturgurians* encountered them in a battell long fought; but were routed, and many were slain. And the *Uturgurians* took their wives and children captives, and went home. During the battell, some thousands of *Romans*, who had been taken captives by the *Cuturgurians*, slipped away, and recovered their native countries unfollowed, and getting so in that which most concerned them, the benefit of the others victory. The Emperour sent *Aratius* to *Chinialis*, Generall of the *Cuturgurians*, to tell him the news of his own country, and to perswade them with money to quit the *Roman* territory, who hearing what the *Uturgurians* had done, took the money, and came to this accord: That without killing, or taking prisoners, or other hurt doing, they should retire home through the *Roman* Subjects, as friends: That if they could continue in their country, they should observe faith to the *Romans*, if they could not, they should come back, and have townes given them by the Emperour in *Thrace*; and being Confederates with the *Romans*, should guard the provinces from all Barbarians whatsoever. Of them already two thousand were come into *Roman* Land with their wives and children, after receiving that overthrow, from the *Uturgurians*; and were led by *Sisimion*, who served formerly under *Belisarius*, against *Gelimery*, and the *Fandales*. They became servants to the Emperour, and were seated in *Thrace*. *Sandill*, King of the *Uturgurians* grew angry at this; that he should punish the *Cuturgurians* of the same Race, and expell them for wrongs done to the *Romans*, and that now the Emperour should entertain them to live among the *Romans*, and better then ever they did. He sent Ambassadors to the Emperour to expostulate; but without Letters for the *Hunnes* know no letters, nor Grammer, nor breed their Children in the toiles about learning. The Ambassadors having access to the Emperour, told him as they were directed.

That their King *Sandill* bade them say, that he heard an old saying, when hee was a boy, how a wolfe may change the colour of his haire, but not his nature, which will never be mended: that he knew by his own experience also, as a rustick Barbarian could observe it, how shepherds breed their Dogs in their houses from little Puppies, who have the

the good nature to remember the kindness of them who feed them: and the Shepherds do this, that they may have the Dogs to chase away the wolves, and to protect the poor sheep. That this is used every where, no where Dogs invading the flock, nor Wolves defending it. And he doth not think that in the Emperours Dominions, (though abounding with so many strange things) there is any varying from this constant Law of nature; which seeing it is universally the same, that he conceiveth it not good for the Emperour to harbour this wicked race of *Cuturgurians*, nor to bring in such turbulent neighbours; nor to take them as *separates*, whom he could not bear being strangers, and that they will shortly show their nature to the *Romans*. That the *Romans* shall never want Enemies to destroy them, when even those who shall be beaten may hope to be in a better Condition; nor will their friends hinder wars into their country, when the vanquishd shall have more respect from them than they. after the hurt they can do. As themselves live now in a barren country, while the *Cuturgurians* have plenty of corn, and surfeit in their wine fellows, and feed upon every dish. The wanderers are now admitted to the Bathes, and have their Jewells, their silks, and imbroderies of gold to wear, and yet they carried innumerable *Romans* into their country captives; where they inflicted on them the basest abuses, scourging them, nay killing them without any offence committed, and in other things adding upon them the humour and power of Barbarian Masters; but that the *Uturgurians* set them at Liberty, and restored them to their country by the sweate and Nile of a war. And now that the rewards of them both are very unequal; while themselves still enjoy the miseries of their poor country; but the *Cuturgurians* share a part of the country of these very men, who by the valour of the *Uturgurians* were delivered from bondage under the albe.

Thus spake the *Uturgurian* Ambassadors, whom the Emperour soothed with store of gifts, and shortly sent them home.

CHAP. XII.

IN these times was a great Warr between the *Farnians* and the Islanders of *Brittania*: The *Farnians* are seated beyond the River *Ister*, and extend to the Northern Ocean, and the *Rhine*, which River divides them, and the *Franks*, and the other Nations inhabiting those parts. All which Nations on both sides the *Rhine* are named *Germani*. *Brittania* lyes on the Ocean Sea, distant from the Continent but twenty five miles, opposite to the mouth of the *Rhine*, and lying between *Britany* and * *Thule*. *Brittania* lyes to the West of *Spain* five hundred miles, but *Brittania* lyes at the bottom of *Gaul* upon the Ocean, Northward to *Spain* and *Brittany*: And *Thule* lyes in the uttermost bounds of the Ocean, Northward. This Island of *Brittania* is posselt by three populous Nations, and over each is a King, and they are named *Angli*, *Frisons*, and *Brittians*. The people are so fruitfull, that yearly they transport many Families to the *Franks*, who plant them in desert Countries, and upon that ground pretend an interell to the Island; and lately in an Embassage to the Emperour *Iustinian*, sent some *Angli* in company, as if the Island were theirs. Over the *Farnians* one *Hermegiselm* lately reigned, who took to Wife a Sister of *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, his former Wife being dead; by whom he had a Son named *Radisus*, betroathed to the Sister of the King of the *Angli* in *Brittania*: This *Hermegiselm* riding to take the avre, a Raven from a tree croaked at him; he told his Noble men attending him, that the Bird in her language did foretell his death to be within forty dayes after: And I (quoth he) for your peace and security made an alliance with the *Franks* by mine owne Wife, and contracted a *Brittish* Lady to my Son: But now being suddenly to dye without Issue from my now Wife, and my Son being yet without his Bride, let me communicate my thoughts to you, and when I am dead, if you like my advice, put it in execution. I hold it more advantageous for you, to have alliance with the *Franks* then with the *Brittians*; who being Islanders, cannot joyne with you in time, nor easily: whereas nothing severs the *Franks*, but the *Rhine*, from you. And being so neer and so powerful, they are at hand both to helpe and hurt you; and hurt they will, if this alliance restrain them not: An overgrown

Thule with this Author is Norway and part of Denmark.

"growne neighbour proves heavy, and apt to doe wrong, and the meanes of a War are easie against men at the next doore. Quit therefore that betroathed Island, and the Money shee hath received restore, according to the Law of Nations, for a reparation of the refusal of her: and let my Son *Radis* marry his Mother-in-law, which our Lawes permit.

Hermegistus gave this advice, and at the fortieth day dyed; and his Son taking the Kingdome, renounced his betroathed Spouse by the perswasion of his Nobles, and tooke his Mother-in-law to Wife. The contracted Lady could not brook the scorne done her, but was eager to revenge it. For so tender of their honour are the *Barbarians* of those parts, that after the name onely of a marriage without consummation, if the woman be refused, shee thinks her selfe profess a Strumpet. First shee sent Messengers to demand the reason of this rejection, seeing he could not charge her with incontinence, nor any other offence; but that way prevailing nothing, with a manly courage shee resolved upon a Warr: Shee got four hundred Ships and an hundred thousand men, whom her selfe led, with one of her Brothers to assist her. The *Brittians* are the bravest Infantry we know, but so unexercised in Horsemanship, that they know not what a Horse is, nor ever saw in *Brittia* the Picture of any, where never any was bred.

When upon Ambassages they come abroad among the *Romans*, or *Franks*, and are put to necessity of riding, men lift them up, and set them upon their Horses; and so take them downe againe when they are to alight. The *Varnians* also are all Footmen. Aboard the aforesayd Fleet were none but rowers, for the *Brittians* have no Sailes: Being landed upon the Continent, the Virgin-Generall encamped at the mouth of the *Rhine*, where staying her selfe, shee sent out her Brother against the Enemy: He finding the *Varnians* near the Sea shore encamped, had a battell with them and defeated them, where many fell, and the rest with their King fled, and were followed by the *Agiles* as farr as foot-men could; who retyring to the Campe, were by the Lady chid, and especially her Brother, for having nothing worthy such an Army, seeing he brought not *Radis* to her alive. Shee selected then her best men, and charged them to bring the man to her: who in the end found him concealed in a Wood, and brought him bound to the Lady. He stood before her trembling, expecting some cruell death: But shee onely reproaching to him the unjust affront he had done her, askt him why he would neglect his Vow, and bed another Woman, his owne Spouse not having committed whoredome. He excused all upon the injunctions of a Father, and the importunity of his Nobles, mingling his apologie with supplications, and imputing the crime to necessity, promising now, if it were her pleasure, to live with her, and by his future services to cure his former injury. The Lady was pleased, and *Radis* loosed from his bonds was vouchsafed all manner of courtesie: And immediately he sent home the Sister of *Theodebert*, and married this *Brittish* Lady.

In *Brittia* also is a Wall dividing a great part of the Island in two; the reason of it is, because to the Eastward is good ayre according to the seasons, and many civill Inhabitants, and they have Corne and Fruit-trees in abundance, and are well stored with waters. But to the Westward all is so contrary, that a man cannot live there halfe an houre, the Countrey being posselt with Adders and Snakes, and all sorts of venomous creatures. The natives affirme, that so soon as a man passes to the other side of the Wall, he instantly falls dead with the pestilentiall ayre; and the like happens to Beasts.

In this description I am to mention a Story, or rather a Fable; I cannot think it true, though many men affirme to have seen it and been actors in it, neither must I absolutely reject it, least precluding to write of the particularities of this Island, I be thought ignorant of the things done in it. They report that to this part of the Island are transported the Soules of the departed, by a meanes, which though I have heard in very good earnest related, yet I conceive that the first rumour of it sprang from some dreaming heads. Along the Ocean shore, over against *Brittia*, are many Villages, inhabited by Fishermen, Husbandmen, and Boatmen, who traffique in the Island; subjects they are to the *Franks*, but pay no Tribute, the exemption from which is granted unto them for a service which I will now relate. They have the employment of conducting Soules departed imposed on them by turnes; when any

any mans turne comes, they goe home to bed towards night, expecting their fellow conductor; and at midnight they finde the door opened, and heare a softly voice calling them to the businesse: Instantly they rise, and go downe to the Sea-side, finding themselves constrained to goe on, but they perceive not by whom: Boats they finde ready, with no men in them, and aboard they goe and sit to their Oares. They perceive the Boats loaded with Passengers even to the Deck; and the place of their Oares not an inch from the water: They see nothing, but after an houres rowing, come a Land in *Brittia*, whereas in their owne Boats they have much adoe to passe over in a day and a night, having no Sayles, but rowing onely. They instantly land their Fare, and are gone away with their Boats suddenly grown light, and swimming with the current, and having all save the Keele above water: They see no men leaving the Boat, but they heare a voice, relating to some, who it seems staves there for them, the names of the Passengers, with their Titles, and additions of what Fathers they were; and (if women) of what Husbands. But to returne to my History, and to the Gothick Warr, having already spoken of the successles of other Provinces.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Emperour, as I sayd before, had sent for *Belisarius* home, where he held him in honour, upon the death of *Germanus*: yet he would not send him into *Italy*; and though he were General of the East, he made him Commander of the Guards of his body, and kept him at *Constantinople*: And *Belisarius* was the cheife of all the *Romans* in dignity; some indeed had the priority of being made *Patricians* and *Consuls* before him, but yet they yielded the precedence to him, and were ashamed to make use of the Law, and to assume the right, which that gave them, against so eminent a vertue; and the Emperour took it well of them. But *John Silvers* son of *Vitalianus*, past that Winter in *Salone*, whom the *Roman* Commanders in *Italy* expecting daily, forbore any action. And the Winter ended, and the sixteenth year of this Warr written by *Procopius*.

The next yeare *John* resolving to lead the Army from *Salone* against *Totilas*, the Emperour commanded him to stay the coming of *Nepes* the Eunuch, whom he had made his absolute General in this warr. The reason of this determination of the Emperour was not knowne; for who can declare the counsels of his heart without his consent? But men did conjecture that his Majesty did consider how the rest of the Commanders would grudge to have their power lessened, and to be made subordinate to *John*; whereupon either by contrary opinions, or through envy, they might purposely prejudice his affaires. I heard also this story at my former being at *Rome* from one of the Senators, That in the Raigne of *Atalaricus*, a heard of Cattell about evening came into *Rome*, and past through the Market place, called *Forum pacis*, where stood the ancient Temple of peace, and was thunder-struck en. Over against this Market place stands an ancient Conduit, and upon it a brazen Bullock, the work of *Phidias* the *Athenian*, or of *Lysippus*; there being in the same place many Statues of their making, and upon one the name of *Phidias* is ingraven. There is here also the Bullock made by *Myron*: The ancient *Romans* being most studious to make all the fairest peices of *Greece* the ornaments of *Rome*. But the Senator told me, that an Oxe of this Heard was left behinde the rest, and got up to the Conduit, and stood above by the brazen Bullock; and that a *Tulcan* passing by, a plaine country fellow in appearance, but a pretended *Southsayer* (as all the *Tulcans* are) sayd, That one day an Eunuch should depose the Prince of *Rome*. The *Tulcan* and his Divination was then laught at, as all predictions are, before they be justified by the event, seeming till then ridiculous and fabulous: But now all men admire that his Interpretation, being convinced by the event. So that *Nepes* was chosen General against *Totilas*, either the Emperour wisely foreseeing the success, or fortune determining the same: And *Nepes* with a Gallant Army, and force of Treasure was dispatcht. He stayd a while in *Thrace* at *Philippopolis*, his

Twilight Annot.
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551.

This way being stopp'd by an army of *Huns*, who drave and carried all away without opposition; but they being gone, some towards *Thessalonica*, some towards *Constantinople*, he marcht on, being hardly disengaged from them.

While *Titus* thus staid for *Narjes* at *Salone* and *Narjes* intangled with those *Huns* marcht slowly: *Titus* looking for *Narjes* coming, plac'd in *Rome* some of the Senators, confin'd in *Campania*, and other *Romans*, Commanding them to guard the City, and promising to repent for what he had done to it. He had burnt the most part of it, especially beyond the *Tiber*; and these men being grown little better then Slaves, and stript of all they had, were so unable to vindicate the publick, that they could not get every man his own peculiar right: and yet are the *Romans* the best patriots in the world, studying to recover from all parts, what belongs to their City, and to save all the ancient Ornaments of *Rome* from perishing. During so long a subjection to *Barbarians*, how did they preserve their publick buildings and ornaments of their City! Even the originall monuments of their race do yet last, the sufficiency of those ancient workmen holding out against the ruines of time, and the negligence of men Among which there yet stands a miraculous spectacle, which my selfe have seen; the ship of *Æneas* the founder of their City: it is for one row of oares only, and of a huge length, being 120 foot long, and 25. broad. It is so high only, as that men may row in it. The Timbers in it are not mortised into one another, nor fastned by iron; but are every one of a peice, such as were never heard of, and are only found in this ship, that we can learn. For the keele being all one peice, reaches from the stern to the foreship, and bowes by little and little into a convenient crookednesse, then strangely turns straight again, and most aptly in proportion. The ribs also of the ship reach from side to side, crooking downwards, and bowing so handsonely that one would think the hollow bulk of the Ship to be made round and turned with instruments; either nature providing such a crookednesse in the Timber for the present use, or else those uneven ribs were fitted by mens hands, or Engins. Every planck also reaches from the stern to the foreship, being all of a peice, and have only spikes of iron to fasten them to the shippes ribs, and to make up her sides. Thus doth this ship afford a sight beyond expression; strange workman-ships naturally rising above discourse, and as they subdue common things by the new invention, so over-maistering evenspeech it selfe. And the ship is strong, and lusty yet, and found all through, none of the Timbers having any rottennesse appearing; as if the ship-wright (whatsoever he were) had lately built it.

Titus also manned 300 Gallies with *Goths*, whom he commanded to pillage, and spoil the coast of *Greece*. This fleet hurt nothing, till it came to *Coreyra*, anciently the country of the *Phæaciens*; being the only inhabited Island in this passage from the straits of *Scylla*. Having been often upon that Sea, I was curious where the Island of *Calypso* was: I found only three small islands, some thirty seven miles from *Phæacia*, (now *Coreyra*) called *Ostione*, from whence one may imagine *Ulysses* to have past to *Coreyra*, being no farther off, either in a boate made of a sudden, or otherwise; this is but my conjecture only. It is hard to discourse exactly of things so ancient: Time changes the names of places, and the opinion formerly held of them. Upon the Sea shore in *Coreyra* stands the modell of a ship made of white stone, compounded of many severall stones, which some suppose to be the modell of that which transported *Ulysses* into *Ithaca*, after his entertainment with the *Phæaciens*. But the being not of one stone, and the Letters engraven upon it, proclaim the fame to have been set there by some Merchant in ancient time, and dedicated to *Jupiter Cæsius*; the town also where this ship stands being yet called *Cæsus*. In *Enbæa* at *Gerephum*, there is also such a modell of a ship, dedicated by *Agamemnon* to *Diana*, to please her with this also, as he had, by the sacrifice of his Daughter *Iphigenia*, obtained of her a passage for the *Grecian* army to *Troy*. Which is testified by Letters engraven upon it either then or afterward; the most of which time hath defaced, but at the beginning of the verses, they appear thus.

γῆα

γῆα μελαίνῃ
 Ἰδρύσατο τῆς Ἀγαμέμνων,
 Ἐλάνων ἑταῖρος σῆμα πλοῖζομένης.
 Here Agamemnon plac'd this black-pitch Barkes,
 Of the Greeke Army now at Sea a Mark.

And the Inscription thus,

Τῆνος ἐποίη.
 Ἀρτέμιδι Βολοσίῳ.
 Tenichus built
 This to Diana Bolosia.

For so anciently they called *Eileithia*, or *Lucina*; terming the throwes and pang of Childbirth, *Βολάς*. But I returne from whence I digressed.

CHAP. XIV.

THE *Goths* with their fleet came to *Coreyra*, and foraged the Island, and the Islands also of *Syntæ*. They landed also upon the main land of *Ερῆνη*, and pillaged the townes about *Dodona* and *Nicopolis* it selfe, and *Anchialus*, where *Anchises*, the Father of *Æneas* sayling from *Troy* dyed, and gave the name to the Towne. They tooke upon the coast also many Greeke shippes, and some transporting Provisions to *Narjes* Army. *Titus* likewise sent an army into *Picenia* to take *Ancona*, commanded by *Skiphar*, and *Giblas* and *Gundulfe*, (called by some *Indulfe*) formerly of the life-guard to *Belisarius*. He gave them forty seven gallies to block up the Cattle by sea also. The Siege lasting long, and the besieged wanting victuall, *Valerianus* being at *Ravenna*, and unable alone to succour it, wrote this Letter to *John*, *Vitalianus* his Sifters Son, at *Salone*.

"*Ancona* you know is only left us within the *Ionian* Gulfe, if it be left us: it is so sharply besieged, that I fear our succours will come too late, and we shall use our endeavour after our opportunity. I forbear to write more; the necessity of the besieged claimes all our time, and their danger permits not a long Epistle, requiring succour swifter then speech.

John, though the Emperour had forbidden him to stir, adventured to go, conceiving the necessity, whereinto fortune had cast them, to dispence with the Emperours instructions: He chose his best souldiers, and put them aboard forty Gallies, swift of sail, and well built for a Sea fight; and having furnished them with all necessaries, came with them before *Ancona*. Whether soon after came *Valerianus* with twelve ships: Upon conference together they rose from thence, and Anchor'd at a place called *Senogallia*, not far from *Ancona*. The *Goths* Generall also manned forty seven ships with their choice men, leaving the rest to block up the Cattle: and sailed against the *Romans*. *Skiphar* commanded the men left behinde, and *Giblas* and *Gundulfe* those in the Ships. The Fleets being neer, each drew their ships as close together as might be, and exhorted their men. *John* and *Valerianus* spake thus.

"Think not fellow Souldiers I that you are to fight now only for the Cattle of *Ancon*, and the *Romans* in it; but that the main of the war depends upon this battle; and that the conclusion of our fortune is to be drawn in the same Lot with it. Consider, how the cheif moment of war consists in the expences of it, and that they who want supplies, are of necessity to be beaten in the End. Valour and hunger cannot dwell long together, nature not induring to pine with famine, and to fight bravely too: And other fortresse we have none between *Otranto* and *Ravenna*, where we can lay in any provisions for our selves or our Horses. And the Enemy being Master of the Country we have no place our freind, from whence to furnish any small proportion of victuall. In *Ancon* is our only hope, where

where such as come from the opposite land may put in and ride safely. So that if we win this battell, and thereby assure *Ascona*, we may hope well of all the rest of this war; but if we be defeated, I will not speak any thing that is harsh, God grant unto the *Romans* the perpetuall Dominion of *Italy*. And consider too, that if you speed ill now, you cannot so much as run away; the Enemy possessing all the land, and being also absolute master of the Sea. Our only hope of living now is in our armes, and depends upon our actions in this fight. Fight bravely therefore, having this in your minds, that if you now be beaten, it will be your last beating; if you conquer, you will be ranked with honour among the most happy.

Thus *John* and *Valerianus*; and the *Goths* Commander spake thus. Their wretched men, expelled out of *Italy*, and long hid in some corners of the Sea and Land, seeing now they dare to fight with us again; it is our parts to check their unadvised presumption, lest it grow higher being let alone. Folly, not restrained in the beginning, proceeds to endlesse daring, and at last ruins those it encounters. Shew them then quickly, that they are Greeks, and naturally cowards, and now grown desperate with being beaten. Take heed lest they prosper upon this Experiment; Cowardize despised, becomes bold, and fool-hardinesse in the end may grow to be incapable of fear. And if you do valiantly, thinke not that they can stand long. A spirit not measured out proportionably to the power of him that uses it, commonly rises before the business; but when the battell is begun, it sinckes. Remember therefore the often tryals this Enemy hath made of your valour; & from their then successe, argue, that they are not now suddenly become better men; but have rashly undertaken as then, and will go off with the like fortune.

After these exhortations, the battell began, and was stoutly fought, and something like a land fight. They stood with all their ships in front against each other, and plied their Bowes. The forwardest grappled, and fought from the decks with Javelin and sword, as in a feild. But the *Goths* unexperienced in Sea-fights maintained the encounter with much disorder. Some stood aloofe, whereby the *Romans* set on them single: Some came on so thick, that they fell, foule with their fellows for want of Roome. Their ships stood jumbled together like so many baskets, that they could neither shoot at the Enemy, nor manage their Javelins nor swords; but were perpetually employed in getting clear of one another, with loud clamours, and confused pushing off with their long poles; intangling their front for want of roome, and then getting aloofe, and both to their own mischeife: their cries and hollowings were not against the Enemy, but to their own men to keep off; and thus puzzelling one another, they were the cheif cause of the Enemies victory. Who in their close fights did valiantly, and in their Sea fights skillfully; keeping their ships in front, not too far asunder, nor more close then was convenient; And still joyning and severing in good proportion, when they saw an Enemies ship scatter'd, they strik at her, and with ease sunck her; and where they saw the Enemy in confusion, thither they sent clouds of arrowes; then seeing them wearied with the toyle of their disorder, they fell on them and cut them in peices. The *Goths* desponding, did neither consider their crosse fortune, nor their own Errors; and being not able either to use their ships, nor to fight from their decks, they left fighting, and fell to a dangerous quietnesse, committing themselves to fortune; and then betook themselves to a shameful and disorderly retreat, having no remembrance either of resisting, or of handsomely flying; but being scattered among their Enemies, they stood amazed. Eleven ships got away; the rest the *Romans* took, or sunck with the men in them. *Giblas* was taken Prisoner; but *Gundalle* escaped in the eleven ships, and the men being landed, he set them on fire, that they might not come into the Enemies hands. Then they went a foot to *Ascona*, where relating the accident to their companions, they all retired from thence, leaving their camp for the *Romans*, and they ran tumultuously into *Anximum*. The *Romans* came to the *Goths* camp before *Anximum*, and took it, then put provisions into the Cattle, and failed away, *Valerianus* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salona*. This overthrow much abated the power of *Totilas*.

In *Sicily* at the same time thus it was. *Liberius* was sent for home to *Constantinople*, and *Artabanes* by the Emperour was made sole Commander of the army in *Sicily*; Who took in all the Cattles from the few *Goths* left in the Island, after some sieges and overthrowes given them. The *Goths* were terrified therewith, and wth

the late defeat at Sea, and their hearts with these losses were so dejected, that if any succours should come to the *Romans*, they had no thought of subsisting, or of keeping their footing in *Italy*; nor could they hope to obtain any thing from the Emperour. For *Totilas* had sent many Ambassadors to the Emperour, shewing how the *Franks* had seized upon a great share of *Italy*, and how the rest was become wast: That the *Goths* should quit to him *Sicily* and *Dalmatia*, which only remained unpoyley; and should pay tribute for the wasted Lands in *Italy*, and serve the Emperour against all the World, and in other things be obedient to him. But the Emperour would take no notice of these overtures, but still sent away the Ambassadors, being distasted at the very name of *Goths*, and purposing to chase them out of the *Roman* Empire.

CHAP. XV.

NOT long before dyed *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, having unjustly made tributary some Townes in *Liguria*, and the *Cottian Alpes*, and a great part of *Venetia*: The *Franks* thus getting without blowes, what the two Antagonists were busily fighting for. In *Venetia* the *Goths* had little; the Sea-townes the *Romans* had, and the *Franks* seized upon the rest, while neither the *Goths* nor *Romans* had leisure to make new Enemies. The *Goths* also came to this agreement with the *Franks*; that during the War with the Emperour, both should hold what they had, and forbear hostility. If *Totilas* conquer, that then the said acquisitions of the *Franks* be disposed, as should be agreed between the parties. But in the Kingdome of *Theodebert* succeeded *Theudibald* his Son, to whom the Emperour sent *Leontius* a Senator, and Son-in-law to *Athanasius*, his Ambassadour, to perswade a League against *Totilas*, and to demand the Townes in *Italy*, unjustly held by *Theodebert*, and surprised during the Truce. The Ambassadour spake thus to *Theudibald*. "Others, Sir, (it may be) have had Accidents which they expected not, but no men (I think) such as the *Romans* have had from you. The Emperour entred not into this VVar, nay not into any expostulation with the *Goths*, before the *Franks* had received great sums of money of him, and had promised aides, and the conjunction of their Forces: "Which Accord they have not only not performed, but have done us injuries, which none could imagine. Your Father *Theodebert* hath intruded into a Province by the Emperour, acquired with much toile and hazard, and with the *Franks* consent. But I come not to chide, nor complain, but to demand only, and therewithall to give you this advise; to establish the prosperity you have, and to let the *Romans* have that which is theirs. Some small thing often times unjustly gotten, is the occasion of losing greate and powerfull acquisitions; stable happiness, and injustice never meeting in one point. I advise you likewise to joyn in this War, according to your Fathers engagement to the Emperour. Nothing becomes good Sonnes better, then to rectifie their Fathers erroneous Proceedings, and to ratifie what they have well done.

"The wish of a wise man is, that his Son may emulate his vertuous Actions, and if he have done any thing amisse, he wishes another may rather imitate it, then his Son. Indeed you should not have needed invitation to this War against the *Goths*, originally your Enemies, and false to you of old, and ever in War with you, without truce or quarter. Now for feare of us they fawn upon you, but being rid of us, they will soon shew their intentions. Wicked men change not their Natures with their Fortunes; in adversities indeed they hide them, especially when they have need of a Neighbour. Consider this, and renew your Amity with the Emperour, and take a revenge against your ancient Enemies. *Theudibald* answered, this Speech in this manner.

"It is not now just in you, to demand our assistance against the *Goths*, now in Amity with us; If we prove unsure to them, we shall not be trusty to you. A bad disposition to Friends being once discovered, puts a man for feare out of the right way. Concerning the Townes you mention, my Father *Theodebert* was no

"oppressour of his Neighbours, nor intruder: And it appears so, for I am not rich; And he took not the Townes from the Emperour, but got them fairly from *Totilas*, the then owner of them, which should please the Emperour, to see one who wronged him, dissuaid by another, and thereby justly punished, unless because he would have them himselfe, and cannot get them, he will envie him that can. But let us refer the examination of these things to Arbitrators: If it shall appeare that my Father hath taken any thing unjustly from the *Romans*, there is reason we should give satisfaction: And we will shortly send our Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, touching the same. With this he dismissed *Leontius*, and sent *Landard a France* his Ambassadour to *Iustinian*, with three others; who at *Constantinople* effected what they came about.

Totilas desired to get the Islands belonging to *Africk*, and he sent an Army to *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*, which he made tributary to him. *John* the Generall of *Africk*, sent presently to *Sardinia* some Forces, who besieged the City of *Carnalis*; blocking it up only but not able to assault it, having a very sufficient Garrison of *Goths* within, which sallied suddenly, and routed the *Romans*; who having lost many, ran to their Ships, and returned to *Carthage*, where they wintered, purposing in the Spring to renew the Voyage with greater preparations. There grows in Herb in this Island of *Sardinia*, which being tasted, puts men into fatall Convulsions, wherein they seem to laugh, and quickly dye of it; whence is called the *Sardinian* laughter. *Corfica* was anciently named *Cyrnus*, and in it, as there is a Generation of Dwarfs, so there are races of horses not much bigger then sheep.

A mighty troupe at that time of *Leontius*, fell upon *Illyrium*, committing much mischief not to be exprest. *Iustinian* sent a gainst them an army commanded by the Sonnes of *Germanus*, and others. Who being much fewer then the Enemy, durst not fight; but infected their Reare, and cut off some, & sent of them some prisoners to the Emperour. These *Barbarians* did infinite hurt, long pillaging the Countrey, and strewing the high wayes with dead bodies, and then went home with innumerable prisoners, and all their booty, none encountering them. The *Romans* could not meet them in their passage over the *Ister*, because the *Gepedes* transported them, and had for every head a gold stater for their fare: This troubled the Emperour, having no means to restrain their passage over the River *Ister*, to spoile the Empire, nor their sudden retreat, which made him resolve to make a League with the *Gepedes* who were then again quarrelling with the *Lombards*, and fearing the power of the *Romans*. (who had lately sworn a league with the *Lombards*) they endeavoured to be admitted freinds and Auxiliaries. They sent Ambassadors accordingly, and the Emperour swore a league with them also, and upon the demand of the Ambassadors, twelve Senatots swore likewise. Shortly after, the Emperour sent an army to aide the *Lombards* against the *Gepedes*, whom he charged since the League, to have transported *Slavonians* over the River *Ister* against the *Romans*. The Army was commanded by *Iustine* & *Iustinian* the Sons of *Germanus*, & *Aratus* and *Stratwald*, formerly made Prince of the *Hervulians* by the Emperour, but banished (as I said before) by the *Hervulians* of *Thule*, and returning to *Constantinople* made Generall of the *Cohorts* there. There was likewise *Amalasfridas* a *Goth*, the Daughters Son of *Amalasfridas* (who was Sister to *Theoderick*) by *Hermenefrid* Prince of the *Thuringians*, who being brought to *Constantinople* by *Belisarius* with *Vitiges*, the Emperour made him Commander of *Roman* troops, and betrothed his Sister to *Auduin* Prince of the *Lombards*. Of the aforesaid army only, that *Amalasfridas* with his troops, came to the *Lombards*, the rest by the Emperours direction staid about the City of *Ulpiana*, in *Illyrium*, where was a mutiny among the inhabitants about things, wherein Christians contend among themselves, as shall be set down in my relations concerning the same. The *Lombards* with *Amalasfridas* invaded the *Gepedes*, and in a battell defeated them, and killed many: And *Auduin* their King sent the good newes to the Emperour of his victory; but complained of the not coming up of the Emperours army according to the League; so great numbers of *Lombards* having been so lately sent by him to aid *Narses* against *Totilas*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Great Earthquakes at that time happened in *Beotia*, and *Achaia*, and other parts of *Greece*, about the Gulfe of *Criseum*, overthrowing many Cities, as *Cheronea*, *Corone*, *Patra*, and *Naupactus*. Many men perished, and in many places, by the renting of the Earth, were made bottomlesse holes; some whereof closed again afterward, some continue still so, that the people are to compass much Ground to come to one another. The arme of the Sea between *Thessaly* and *Beotia*, flowed up into the land about the City of *Echine*, & *Scaphia* in *Beotia*, & overwhelmed all the Towns there: The waters lay long, & men went into the land lying upon that arm of the Sea on dry land; while the Sea leaving her ancient current covered the firm land even to the mountains. Afterward it returned to the channels again, leaving the fishes upon the land, a strange & prodigious accident; For some tried to seeth and eat them; but no sooner heated, but they turned to a stymy matter, extremely putrified. In one town, where the greatest breach was, the people being assembled at a great festivall, more men perished then in all *Greece* beside.

But in *Italy*, the *Crotonians*, and the Garrison commanded by *Palladius*, being sharply besieged by the *Goths*, and wanting food, had sent to *Arabanus* in *Sicily*, protesting, if they were not instantly succoured, to yeild the Town and themselves too. But no succour was sent, and so ended the winter, and the seventeenth year of this war, written by *Procopius*.

The Emperour commanded the Garrison at *Thermopylae*, in *Greece*, to sail for *Italy* and to relieve *Crotona*. Who getting a faire wind, came unexpected into the Haven of *Crotona*. The *Goths* upon sight of the fleet rose from their siege in much fear and tumult, and fled some by sea to *Tarentum*, others ran from their trenches up to the mountain of *Scyllerum*. These things much dejected the *Goths*: And *Ragnaris* Commander of the Garrison in *Tarentum*, and *Morus* of that in *Archerontia*, two principall *Goths*, with their Souldiers assent, had a treaty with *Bacurius*, the Sonne of *Peranius*, Commander of the *Romans* in *Otranto*, for receiving assurances from the Emperour, and thereupon to deliver up the townes in their Guard: the Capitulation *Bacurius* took with him to *Constantinople*. And now *Narses* marcht from *Salone* against *Totilas*, with a very gallant army; having received much treasure from the Emperour to levy & furnish the same, & above all to pay to the Souldiers in *Italy* their arrears, which were grown great, being due for many years. He was with this money also to invite the revolted, to return again from the *Goths* to the *Romans*. The Emperour in the beginning of this war, made it very carelesly, but now his preparations were very great; for *Narses* seeing him eager to have him to lead the army into *Italy*, did like a brave Generall, protesting herein not to serve the Emperours commands, unless he might have competent forces; and by this resolution, he procured money, men, and armes, besitting the Roman Empire. Then with much alacrity he made up gallant companies out of the *Constantinopolitan* Guards, and Garrisons of *Thrace*, and many he raised in *Illyrium*. With him went *John* with his own Troops, and those left him by *Germanus* his Father in Law. *Auduin* also, prince of the *Lombards*, in accomplishment of the league, and for great summes given him by the Emperour, sent five and twenty hundred selected men for auxiliaries, accompanied with a retinue of above three thousand men. *Narses* had also three thousand *Hervulians*, all horsemen, commanded by *Philimith* and others, and he had many *Hunnes*. *Daqisthen* also was with him with his troops, being discharged of his imprisonment for the same purpose. *Cabades* went also with many Persian fugitives, who was the Son of *Zamer*, and Grand-child of King *Cabades*, and long ago came into the Empire; having by the practice of *Chamarages* escaped his uncle *Chosroes*; and a young *Gepede* very valiant, named *Asbadus*, with four hundred *Gepedes*, good Souldiers. And *Arnth* an *Hervulian*, from a child bred among the *Romans*, and married to the widow of *Mauricius* the Son of *Mundus*, a gallant man, and accompanied with many old Souldiers of his Nation; *Iobis Phagus* also commanding many *Romans*, good Souldiers. *Narses* was a man liberal, and most forward in relieving men in want; using his disposition the more easily, by reason of his great power with

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the Emperour, so that he had obliged many, both commanders and common Soldiers; who all upon his being now Generall were eager to serve under him, both in acknowledgement of former favours, and in expectation of great advancements by him. Above all, the *Hermirs*, and other *Barbarians* loved him, having done them many benefits. Being come upon the Confines of *Venetia*, he sent to the Captaines of the *Francks*, to demand passage as for friends. They refused it, and protested to hinder it, both for the *Francks* good, and for their amity with the *Goths*; pretending also a poor excuse; because *Narjes* had with him *Lombards*, their greatest Enemies. *Narjes* was troubled at it; but was told by some *Italians*, that if the *Francks* gave him passage, he could not from thence get to *Ravenna*, nor further possibly then to *Verona*. For *Totilas* had placed in *Verona* a choice number of *Goths* under *Teias*, a most valiant Generall, to lye in the *Romans* way. This *Teias* had stopp'd up all the passages with workes, and made in some places with much art and labour chickets, in others, ditches, deep holes, and bogs, and overflowed the Grounds; and himself lay with his army ready to fight with the *Roman* army attempting to force their way. This was done by *Totilas* direction, knowing how the *Romans* would not be able to passe along the Sea-coast, by so many great Rivers mouths, which made the shore unpassable; and how they had not ships enough to transport the whole army at once over the Gulle, and coming but few at once, that he might easily hinder their landing. *Narjes* being herewith much perplexed, *John*, who knew those parts exactly, advised him to march with the army by the Sea-shore, the people there being their subjects; and to be attended with some ships, and many boats, with which boats they might make a bridge over the currents of those rivers, and so make their passages; *Narjes* followed this advice, and got to *Ravenna* with his whole army.

CHAP. XVII.

During the wars, came to *Constantinople* *Idigisall*, a *Lombard*. The Kingdome of the *Lombards* of right belonged to him, but *Anduin* forced it from him, whereupon he fled his country. *Iustinus* entertained him with favour, & made him Capitaine of one of the Cohorts, called *Schola*, which guard the Palace. He had three hundred followers his country men, who had been bred sometime with him in *Thrace*. *Anduin* demanded him of the Emperour, as a reward due to his friendship, and late confederacy; but the Emperour would not deliver him to him. This *Idigisall* afterward grew discontented at the meannesse of his entertainments; which *Gear* perceived, a *Goth*, taken in *Dalmatia*, in the wars of *Vingus*, and sent Prisoner to *Dalmatia*, being a man proud and valiant, and repining at his condition, and upon the late revolt of the *Goths* in *Italy*, he was discovered to plot against the Roman State. This *Gear* perswaded *Idigisall* to run from *Constantinople*, promising to accompany him; and so with some few with them they came to *Apri*, a City in *Thrace*, joyned with some *Lombards* they found there, and taking many Horses from the Emperours Horse-pastures in *Thrace*, they went forward. The Emperour commanded the Companies in *Thrace* and *Ilyrium* to oppose these fugitives. First they were fought with by *Cuturgarian Huns*, lately planted in *Thrace* by the Emperour (as hath been said) But they beat these *Huns* and killed many, and then past through *Thrace* with their Troops, none disturbing them. In *Ilyrium* they found an Army levied against them, commanded by *Aratius*, *Recithangus*, *Leonigius*, *Arimuth*, and others: Who having rode all day, resolved in the evening to lodge in a woody ground, and taking with them each three or four Soldiers, went to drinke of the River, being extremely thirsty. *Idigisall* and *Gear* understanding of their being there by their Scouts, fell suddenly upon them, and killed them all; and thenceforward marcht on at their ease, the Soldiers perplexed, and without Commanders ryding back againe. They went then to the *Gepedes*: from the *Gepedes* was also fled one *Ustirgath*, the onely Son of *Elimund* late King of the *Gepedes*, who being suppressed by *Thorisin*, and but a Boy, fled to the *Lombards*: but the *Lombards*,

hard, *Gepedes*, and the Emperour making peace, and swearing a perpetuall amity, both the Emperour and *Anduin*, Prince of the *Lombards*, sent to *Thorisin* to deliver to them their common Enemy *Idigisall*, requiring thus, for an exprellion of their new made amity, the betraying of a poor man come for refuge. *Thorisin* demanded herein the opinion of the principall *Gepedes*, who plainly disadvised it, protesting to chuse rather to perish with their Wives and Children, then to be guilty of so foule an impiety. The Prince being unable to doe it without the consent of his Subjects, and unwilling to revive the Warr with the *Romans* and *Lombards*, sent to *Anduin*; and demanded of him *Ustirgath*, the Son of *Elimund*, provoking him to a like fault; and to betray servant for servant, that his owne loathnesse in the like absurdity might check his request to another. But *Anduin* consented, and they both resolved upon this unjust act, and not daring to acquaint their Subjects with it publicly, each treacherously killed his Enemy; I forbore to tell the manner, the reports differing, as happens in all secret actions. And this was the fortune of *Idigisall* and *Ustirgath*.

But in *Ravenna*, *Valerianus* and *Iustinus* the Generalls, and the remainder of the Roman Army joyned with *Narjes*. Nine dayes after *Ustirgath* a *Goth*, Commander of the Garrison at *Ariminum*, wrote this Letter to *Valerianus*:

After you had filled the World with rumours, and possest Italy with phantasmes, thinking to scare away the *Goths* with your bigg looks; now you have enclosed your selves in *Ravenna*, that an Enemy may not see your faint hearts, which you cover with the same brave countenance, and lye with your mingled multitude of *Barbarians* upon a Country, wherein you have no right: For shame rise from thence and fight, shew your selves; keep us not thus under a tedious expectation: we attend you like Spectators in a Theatre to see a fight.

Narjes laughed at the Letter, and the vanity of the *Goths*, and forthwith began his journey, leaving *Iustinus* in *Ravenna* with a Garrison. At *Ariminum* he found the Bridge newly taken up by the *Goths*, and his passage not ealie; by the Bridge it selfe was never any passage but by one man a breast, unarmed and a foot, with much adoe; though none disturbed; but now numbers opposing, it was not possible to ferry over. *Narjes* came to the place where the Bridge had been, and studied upon some expedient in this difficulty. Thither came also *Ustirgath* with some Horse, to observe the *Romans* proceeding. A Souldier of *Narjes* let lye an Arrow amongst them; and killed a Horseman; whereat *Ustirgath* removed in some haste, and put himselfe within the Towne, and immediately at another Gate sallyed with others of his best men; thinking to take *Narjes* suddenly, and to cut him in peices, being now searching in another part of the River for a passage. But some *Hervulians* by accident encountered, and killed him; and a *Roman* knowing him, brought his head to *Narjes*; which filled them with courage, to see God fight for them, and the *Goths* having a plot upon their Generall, to lose their owne Commander suddenly, not by any humane designe or providence. But *Narjes* medled not with *Ariminum*, though *Ustirgath* were slaine, nor with any other Enemy-towne, that he might not retard his maine designe, nor distract it by any by-businesse. And the Enemy in *Ariminum*, having lost their Commander, gave no impediment to him in the making a Bridge, by which he past the River at his ease. He left *Via Flaminia*, and took the left hand way; for the Enemy had taken the strong Rock of *Petra pertusa*, described by me before; and all other pieces upon *Via Flaminia*, which made it unpassable for the *Romans*; and therefore he left the shorter, and went the quieter way.

CHAP. XVIII.

TOTILAS, hearing what had happened in *Venetia*, stayd for the Army with *Teias* about *Rome*. Who being all come up save two thousand Horse, without staying longer for them, he marcht away with the rest, purposing to fight with the *Romans* at his best convenience. In his way, hearing the

news of *Udrilus*, and how the Enemy was past the River at *Arminium*, he marcht through *Tuscany* to the *Apennine*, and in a Village there called *Tagina* encamped. Afterward came *Narjes*, and fate downe upon the *Apennine* alio, in an even peice of ground, twelve miles and a halfe from the Enemy. About the place were many little round Hills, being the Tombs of the *Gauls* slaine by *Camillus* and the *Romans*, and they are to this day called *Busta Gallorum*; *Bispha* in Latine being the remainders and reliques of a funeral Pile. *Narjes* sent some unto *Totilas* to desire him to lay aside Hostility, and to entertaine at last peaceable counsell, representing how impossible it was for him, having under him but few men, and them not held together by any Law, to contend long with the whole *Roman* Empire. And he directed his Ambassadors, if they saw *Totilas* resolved upon War, to bid him instantly appoint a day for a pitcht Battell. They did accordingly, and *Totilas* with a brave countenance told them, that by any means they must have Warr. Noble Sir, then quoth they, what time appoint you for the Battell? Eight dayes hence, quoth he, we will meet you. *Narjes* hearing this report from the Ambassadors, suspecting some cunning in *Totilas*, prepared, as to fight the next day: And he was in the right; for the next day *Totilas* came with his whole Army. And they lay one against the other about a fift shot off: Both parts had a minde to possesse a little Hill, to gaine advantage of upper ground to shoot downe on the Enemy, and there being also no beaten way to the *Roman* Campe but by that Hill (the Campe being compassed by those round Hills I mentioned) they esteemed it an important place, for the *Goths* to gaulle the *Romans* every way, and for the *Romans* to prevent that inconvenience. *Narjes* in the night time sent fifty choice men, who surprized the place, none oppoling. Before the Hill, and neer the beaten way opposit to the *Goths* Quarters runs a Brook; by this the fifty *Romans* stood close, body to body, putting themselves into a square forme. In the morning *Totilas* perceiving them, sent a Troop of Horse to beat them away; who rode against them furiously and with clamour, as if they would drive them away at the first onset: But they stood thick and firme, and fenced close with their Shields, which clashing together, and charging their Lances in fit time, all at once in order, they bravely resisted the *Goths* hot assault; fighting their Horses with the noise of their Shields, and the men with the points of their Lances. The Horses flew back, having space enough to retire, and the men crying aloud to them, could not be heard; but were thus beaten off. They came on againe, and found the same entertainment, and went off; and failing often, in the end they gave it over. *Totilas* commanded out another Troop of Horse, who sped as the former, and so did others after that; and *Totilas* having tried many Troops, and doing no good, in the end quitted the businesse; whereby these fifty men got much reputation, but especially *Paul* and *Ausilas*; who drawing their Cimeters, layd them before them; then made many shots upon the Enemy, which killed many both men and Horses; and their Quivers being empty, they took up their Swords and Shields, and alone opposed the assailants, cutting off with their Swords their Lances heads. And *Paul* having bowed his Sword with cutting the Lances, he threw it away, and snatcht from the Enemy four Lances, and by his valour was the greatest cause of their despairing. *Narjes* for this service made him one of his Targeteers. In the meane time both parts prepared for the Battell.

Narjes spake thus to his Souldiers.

"When a Battell is to be with equall powers, happily it is necessary with encouragements to get some advantage of the Enemy for the Victory: But you, fellow Souldiers! being to fight with men inferiour in valour, numbers, all kinde of preparations, need no more but with Gods propitious to begin this Battell. Ever then with your prayers making him your assistant, march on with a noble scorn against these theeves, the ancient Slaves of our Emperour, and now Fugitives; though for a time they have troubled us, having gotten to themselves a Tyrant pickt out of their multitude. Indeed reasoning probably, it is most strange that these men should so much as stand in ranck against us. They are weary of living, and like brutes and mad men run upon a manifest death; and from that reasonlesse resolution, as they can have no hopes, so they care not what befalls them, being men brought hither by God to be punished for their ill government. When men have a sentence against them above, they run themselves into their just chastisement.

"ment. You do likewise hazard in this Battell for a lawfull State, but they are Rebels, and struggle against the Lawes. They thinke not to leave their estates to their Posterity, and therefore live in momentary comforts, which they know will be lost with their owne breath: So that they are to be despised. Men without Law and Government all good hopes faile, and Victory abandons, which uses not to forsake the good cause.

Totilas also, seeing his Troops apprehensive of the *Roman* Army, used this exhortation.

"I am now, fellow Souldiers! to make to you my last Speech; we shall need no more after this day, which certainly will conclude the fortune of the Warr. Both our selves and the Emperour are even so spent with toyles, fights, and other necessities, that he that beats his Enemy, shall have need to fight no more, and he that is beaten will have a faire excuse to be quiet. When men reap from their affaires miserable fruits; they dare no more returne to them; but even in occasions vehemently pressing, their judgements start back upon the memory of their former misfortunes. So that now it is you must fight, reserve not your valour for any other time, and endure now the labour, not preserving your bodies for another hazard; and spare not Armes nor Horses, as things that will no more be usefull to you. Fortune having ruined all the rest, hath left us this day as the utmost of our hopes. Use now your courage, venture boldly; our hopes hanging upon such a haire, we must not be remisse for the least moment of time. The point of opportunity being past, the greatest endeavours afterward faile; the nature of these affaires not admitting stale valour; all must be unseasonable that comes after the occasion. So that let us doe effectually now, that we may finde the benefit of what we doe, and assure our selves that running away is most ruinous. Men leave their rancks and flye, that they may live; but when flying brings certaine destruction, he that stands the danger is safer then he that flies. And let us despise our Enemies, a mingled multitude of many Nations. Such Auxiliaries are neither faithfull, nor powerfull. As they are of severall Nations, they have severall intentions also; and thinke not that the *Hunnes*, *Herulians*, and *Lombards* will hazard to the death, or esteeme their lives at a lesse rate then the *Romans* Money. They make a countenance of fighting, but will turne cowards when they please; either after receipt of their payes, or upon their Commanders direction. The most agreeable things not done freely, but upon the necessity either of compulsion or hire, please not, but become greivous at last. Consider all this, and fight with alacrity.

The Battells were thus put in order: they stood both in front, as deepe and as long as they could make it. The left wing of the *Romans* *Narjes* and *John* had, neer the Hill, with the choicest men of the Army, being both followed with many Lancers and Targetteers, and excellent *Hunnes*, besides their Souldiers on the Lift. In the right wing were *Valerianus*, *John Phagas*, and *Dagiftheur*, with the rest of the *Roman* Souldiers. The Battalion was of eight thousand foot, and the Archers of the Lift; and between the same and both the wings were placed the *Lombards*, *Herulians*, and other *Barbarians*; all whom *Narjes* caused to alight from their Horses, and to serve as footmen, that if they should turne willing Cowards, they might flye but slowly. The left wing he put into the forme of a Wedge, and he set there fifteen hundred Horse-men, whereof five hundred were to relieve the *Romans*, in case they should be put to the work; and the other thousand in the fight to get the backs of the Enemies foot, and to gaul them. *Totilas* placed his Army in like manner, and rode about, with his countenance and words animating his Souldiers. *Narjes* did the like, holding out to them gilt Chaines and Bridles, as the Prizes of their valour that day.

CHAP. XIX.

Both the Armies a while stood still, expecting each their Enemies assault: Then *B*oth named *Cocas*, much esteemed for valour, rode up to the *Roman* Army, challenging

challenging any to fight with him. He had been a *Roman* Souldier, and revolted to *Totilas*; to whom *Anzalas* an *Armenian*, and Lancer to *Narjes* rode out. *Cocas* spurred on to give the first blow with his Lance, aiming at his belly; *Anzalas* turned his Horse aside, and avoyded the blow; then thrust his Lance into his left side, at which the *Goths* fell downe dead, and the *Romans* shouted. Then *Totilas* put himselfe between the Armies, not to fight a Duell, but to dally out the time, understanding the two thousand Horse to be at hand, untill whose coming, he would put off the Battell. He concealed who he was, wearing a Gilt Armour, and from his Headpiece and Lance hung downe streamers of purple; and he was a gallant sight, being bravely horsed. He acted his feats of Armes skilfully, wounding his Horse round in a circle, then turning short, and making many such circular passages. He tost his Lance into the ayre in his full carriere, then caught it as it came downe againe, and removing it skilfully from one hand to another, he took much pride in his dexterity therein; lying upon his back, and putting himselfe upon his buttocks; and bowing this way and that way, like a Youth exactly taught all the tricks of a Dancing schoole. He spent a great part of the afternoone in these exercises; then to gaine more time, sent to the *Roman* Army, offering a Parley. *Narjes* sayd, he juggled, being before all for Warr, and now making Propositions when the Battells were to joyne. In the meane time came the two thousand Horse, which when *Totilas* understood, and it being Dinner time, he caused the Army to draw off, and he went to his Tent; where in his owne quarter he found the two thousand Horse. He commanded his Troops to dine, and himselfe put on another Armour, then led out suddenly against the Enemy, thinking to surprize them unprepared: But *Narjes* fearing what happened, forbade his men to retire to their Dinner, or afternoons repose, or to put off their Corsets, or to unbridle their Horses; commanding them in their ranks, with their Armour on, to take a bit, and to have a perpetuall eye upon the Enemies returne. They stood in the same order still, saying that *Narjes* put both the wings, with an addition of four thousand Foot, into the forme of a halfe moone.

The *Goths* Infantry stood behinde their Horse, to receive them being routed within their ranks, and joyntly to renew the charge. *Totilas* commanded his men, not to use their Arrows but their Lances; which senseless stratagem ruined him, making hereby his Army inferior in their offensive weapons, as in all things else. For the *Romans* used, according to the occasion, their Arrows and Lances, and came up to the Sword, and did all which the present occasion required, either charging on Horseback, or on foot, to their best advantage; and sometimes compassing the Enemy, sometimes standing his charges. But the *Goths* Horse, without their Foot, came on with unadvised fury, trusting onely to their Lances; and being in the midst of the *Romans*, they found their error, being engaged among eight thousand Foot: By whom being gaulled on all sides, they despaired: Our Archers drawing home the two ends of their Bowes even to their foreheads, and round like a halfe moone; so that the *Goths*, before they could touch the *Romans* Horse, had lost many men and Horses. And after much mischefe sustained, they came late up to the *Romans* Battalion of Horse; where the *Romans* and *Auxiliaries* strove with equall valour, each one receiving the Enemy bravely, and repelling them. Then the Evening coming on, the *Goths* began to retire, and the *Romans* to pursue; the *Goths* being not able to stand after their first furious charge, but turning about in confusion, daunted with the *Romans* numbers and good order: And they gave over fighting; thinking that some Spirits fell upon them, and that Heaven it selfe fought against them. When they came to their Foot, there their mischefe encreased; for they came not in any orderly retreat, as to take breath for a new charge, or for any other point of Warr, but ran in among them so confusedly, spoiling many, that they opened not their ranks to receive them, but ran away with them for company, and it growing darke they destroyed one another. The *Romans* killed them in this feare, sparing none, and none daring to look them in the faces, who exposing themselves to their Enemies, were pursued with terrors, and murthered with cowardise. Six thousand were slaine, and many taken Prisoners, and not long after put to the Sword. Among them perished many *Roman* Souldiers, who had revolted to *Totilas*. And now the darknesse concluded the fight. *Totilas* fled in the darke

darke with five men, of whom *Skipuar* was one; he was pursued by some *Romans*, who knew him not; among whom was *Albades* a *Gepade*, who had overtaken him, and was making a blow at him: but a *Gothish* Boy following his flying Master, cryed out, Thou Dog! Doeſt thou run after thine owne Master to kill him? But *Albades* thrust his Lance forcibly into *Totilas*, and was himselfe hurt in the foot by *Skipuar*, that he could follow no further; *Skipuar* also being wounded, stood still: And the foure men with *Albades* followed no further, but carried off *Albades*. Those who accompanied *Totilas* rode on amaine (thinking the Enemy pursued still) and drew him after them, mortally wounded, and ready to expire. Having run about ten miles, they came to a Towne called *Caprie*; there they rested, and dressed the wound of *Totilas*, who soon after gave up the ghost: There they buryed him and went away. Such a conclusion of his life and raigne had *Totilas*, having been King of the *Goths* eleven yeares; an end not suitable to his former actions and successes. Fortune in him insulted upon the fraile condition of man, shewing her strange proceeding, and absolute will. Shee had without any apparent merit bestowed on *Totilas* a long time of happinesse; and now upon the sudden she hurried him at her owne pleasure into cowardise, and an ignoble death. These are things to men incomprehensible, but in all ages have been discoursed of according to mens conceits and fancies, to comfort their ignorance with some seeming probabilities. But the *Romans* knew not of the death of *Totilas*, till a *Gothish* woman told it, and shewed his Grave; who distrusting the report, opened the Grave, digged up the Coffin, and took out the body, and finding it to be *Totilas*, they put him into the ground againe, and reported all to *Narjes*. Some report this overthrow otherwise, that the *Goths* did not make that unadvised retreat; but that in the first skirmishing with the *Romans*, suddenly an Arrow, and by chance lighted upon *Totilas*. For being armed like a common Souldier, and ranked among them in the Battalion to conceale himselfe, he could not be knowne, nor purposely shot at. But that being mortally wounded, in great paine he gallopt away with some few with him to *Caprie*, and after much misery and languishing, dyed under the cure. And that the *Goths* amazed to see their King thus mortally wounded, and gone off, being otherwise too weak, then became wholly out of heart, and fell into that astonishment and shamefull running away.

CHAP. XX.

But howsoever this fell out; *Narjes* rejoycing at the successe, took the True course, to attribute all unto God: And he took order in the present occasions; and first, to be rid of his unruly *Lombards*, who were infinitely disorderly, and burned houses, and ravished Women that fled into Churches. He bestowed store of money on them for their Service, and sent them home; commanding *Valerianus*, and *Damianus*, his Sisters Son, with their Troops to conduct them out of the *Roman* Confinnes, that they might do no mischief in their way home-ward. And so soon as these were out of the *Roman* Territories, *Valerianus* besieged *Verona*; and the Garrison in it came to some Capitulation with him for rendering the Town: But the *Frankish* Garrison'd in the Townes of *Venetia* hindered it; seeking with all their endeavour to get the whole Country to themselves; whereupon *Valerianus* retired without effecting any thing.

The *Goths* who fled from the overthrow, went over the River *Poe*, and put themselves into the City of *Picenum*, and other Townes about it, and made *Totilas* their King. He with the Treasures left by *Totilas* in *Picenum*, sought to draw the *Frankish* to his aide, and governed the *Goths* as he could in that Estate, assembling them together. *Narjes* advertised thereof, commanded *Valerianus* to keep his Troops about the River *Poe*, to make the *Goths* rallying difficult: Himselfe with the rest of the Army marcht towards *Rome*. In *Tuscany* he took in *Narvis*, and put a Garrison into *Spiletum*, with direction to redifie the Walls demolished by the *Goths*. He sent Troops also to attempt *Persua*, commanded by two fugitive *Romans*, *Melgedius*, and *Uthius*; who being one of the life-guard to *Cyprianus*, was

was wonne by the allurements of *Totilas* to murder him, Commander of the Roman Garrison there. *Melegedius* accepted the offers of *Narjes*, and consulted with his own Followers to yeild the Town; which *Ulithus* with his Friends openly opposing, was slain in the Fight, and the Town was rendred to the Romans. Thus by Gods just Vengeance was *Ulithus* slain in the very place, where he had murdered his Commander *Cyprianus*.

The *Goths* Garrison'd in *Rome*, hearing of the approach of *Narjes*, put in readinesse to encounter him, as they could. At his first taking *Rome*, *Totilas* had burnt most of the Buildings of the City; and then considering how the *Goths* had not men enough left to Guard the whole Circuit of it, he took in with a lesser Wall a small part thereof, about *Adrians* Tomb, joynd it to the City Walls, and so made it as a Castle; wherein the *Goths* laid their things of Value, and guarded it carefully, neglecting the rest of the Walls. Yet then desirous to try the Enemy, they left a few to guard that Castle, and put themselves upon the Battlements. The Circuite of *Rome* so vast neither could the Romans encompass, nor the *Goths* guard; so that the assaults, and defences were accidentally in severall places, as the occasions were. *Narjes* charged one part with multitudes of Archers; in another *John*, *Sithers* Son to *Fitalianus*, fell on with his Troops. Another part *Philimuth* and his *Herulians* infested, and they were far distant from one another; the *Goths* bravely resisting their Charges; and being assembled all where the Romans fell on, the rest of the Walls were empty. *Dagiftheus*, with *Narjes* consent, took some Troopes with the Ensignes of *Narjes*, and *John*, and scaling Ladders, and set upon a part quite destitute of Guards, and at his call he mounted by his Ladders, none resisting; and then set upon the Gates: the *Goths* seeing this, left their Guards and ran all away; some to their new Castle, others to *Portus*. Writing this, it comes into my thoughts, how Fortune plaies with poor men; changing her looks with the times and places, and varying suddenly not only her own humour, but even the value and worth of the men. *Nessus* formerly lost *Rome* unworthily, and afterward recovered *Petra* in *Lazica* very bravely. And on the contrary, *Dagiftheus* poorly ran away from *Petra*, and now soon after recovers *Rome* it selfe to the Emperour. These things have been done from the beginning, and will be, while there is Fortune among men. *Narjes* then marcht against the new Castle; But the *Goths* yeilded it and themselves, upon assurances for their Persons; *Iustinian* being now in the 26th. yeare of his Reigne. Thus was *Rome* taken five times in his Reigne, and *Narjes* sent the Keyes of it to the Emperour. To the Roman Senate and People, this Victory proved an extream ruine; So to men that must have a mischiefe, even their seeming good Fortunes turn to their destruction; that having had a faire course, they both lose it, and undo themselves. For the *Goths*, now despairing of the Dominion of *Italy*, in their flight killed all the Romans they found; And the Barbarians of the Roman Army also, at their entering the City, used them all as Enemies. Many Senators also confined by *Totilas* in *Campania*, and now repairing to *Rome* (when they heard it to be in the Emperours possession) the *Goths* quartered in the Townes of those parts, killed, and left not one Patriian alive. *Maximus* was then slain, whom I have mentioned formerly. *Totilas* also, going against *Narjes*, called for all the Sons of the principall Romans, and chooseth out 300. of the goodliest of them, pretending to breed them, but indeed holding them for Hostages: And he sent them beyond the River *Poe*; whom *Teias* now finding there, killed them all.

Moreover, *Ragnaris* a *Goth*, who commanded in *Tarentum*, and had compounded with *Bacurius*, (as I have said) to yeild the City to the Emperour, and given six *Goths* for Hostages: Now hearing of the Election of *Totilas*, and that the Franks were desired to aide him, and he immediately to march against the Romans, herebuled to perform the composition; and to get his Hostages again, he sent one to *Bacurius* for a convoy of Souldiers to *Otranto*, from whence (he said) he would go to *Constantinople*. *Bacurius*, not suspecting his plot, sent him 50. men, whom *Ragnaris* imprisoned, and sent word to *Bacurius*, that if he meant to have his Souldiers, he must restore to him his *Gothish* Hostages. *Bacurius* led out his Forces against him, leaving some few to guard *Otranto*. Upon this *Ragnaris* killed the 50. Souldiers, and sallied out against the Romans, and in fight was defeated, lost many men, and ran away into *Acherontia*, *Tarentum* being blockt up by the Romans. The

Romans

Romans soon after took *Portus* by composition, and *Nepes* in *Tuscan*, and *Petra* in *Persia*. *Teias* finding his *Goths* too weak for the Romans, sent to *Theudebald* King of the Franks, importuning him with the offer of great sums of Money to joyne with him. But the Franks took the resolution best for themselves, not to bestow their lives upon *Goths* nor Romans, but to adventure them only in the Conquest of *Italy* for themselves.

CHAP. XXI.

BUT *Narjes* (hearing how *Totilas* had layd the most part of his Treasures in the Castle of *Cuma* in *Campania*, with a strong Garrison under his owne Brother & *Herulian*) sent to besiege the sayd Castle, staying himselfe at *Rome* to repair the ruines, and sent others to besiege *Centumcella*. *Teias* fearing the losse of this Castle, and the Treasures; and having no hope from the Franks, commanded his Troops to be ready for a Battell with the Romans. *Narjes* finding his intention, commanded *John* and *Philimuth*, to march with their Forces into *Tuscan*, to stop the Enemies passage into *Campania*, and to assist in the taking of *Cuma*. But *Teias* left his neerer way, which was to the right hand, and made a huge compass; passing along the Sea coast of the *Ionian* Gulfe into *Campania*. *Narjes* thereof advertised, remanded *John* and *Philimuth*, and sent for *Valerianus*, who besieged *Petra* in *Persia*, and with his whole Army, in order to fight, marcht into *Campania*. Mount *I. Juvius* in *Campania* (as I have sayd before) often sends out a noise like the lowing of Oxen, which is ever accompanied with a vomiting out of huge quantity of Cynders. Besides (as Mount *Atna* in *Sicily*) in the middle it hath made it selfe hollow from the top to the bottome, and below the fire burnes perpetually: The fire is so deep, that peeping in from the top, you cannot easily discern it. When the Mountaine vomits, the flame forces off peices of rocks from the highest ridges of it, shooting up the smaller peices farr above the Mountaine, and scattering the greater round about. From the top also of this Mountaine runs a Torrent of fire to the foot of it, and something further, as in Mount *Atna*. This fiery stream on either side makes high bancks, undermining the ground below; and when the flame comes upon it, it looks like a flood of water set on fire. So soon as the flame is quencht the stream stops its course; and the Sediment or Lees of that fiery substance looks like dry Mud, and heaps of Cynders. At the foot of the Mountaine are wholesome Springs, from which comes the River *Draco* close to the City of *Nuceria*: On either side of this River both Armies encamped; it hath a final stream but not to be past, being deep, as having worne out the ground under the banks very low. The Bridge which is upon it the *Goths* had gotten, and being encamped neer it, they had made upon it wooden Towers, and many Engines, and set up *Balistas* to shoot downe upon the Enemy. This River being such, there was no possibility for a close standing Battell. So that each part got as neer as they durst to the banks, and plyed one another with Arrows. Some Duels there were also, sometimes Romans and sometimes *Goths* passing over the Bridge, and challenging all comers. Two moneths were thus consumed; and while the *Goths* were Matters of the Sea, their Campe being neer the Sea, was supplied with provisions: But after the Romans had gotten their Shipp by the Treason of the Commander of them a *Goth*, and were re-enforced also with many other Ships out of *Sicily* and other Roman Dominions; and that *Narjes* had set up wooden Towers upon the Rivers bank, the *Goths* hearts were absolutely dejected; and for feare and famine were faine to flye up to a Mountaine neer there, called *Alens Latus*. The Romans for the fastness could not come at them: But the *Goths* being there in more want, and having no way to get any provision for themselves or their Horses, repenting their coming up, and chooseth rather to dye by fight then to starve, came suddenly upon the Romans, who stood against them as they could, being taken unexpectedly, not being embattailed, nor under their severall Captaines; not any way in order, nor at all observing what was commanded them. The *Goths* quitted their Horses, and stood in a deep Battalion; the Romans left their Horses and stood in front likewise. This

fight,

Anno 26. Iust.
Rome now
had been taken
five times in
his Reigne.

fight, and the valour of *Ticius* in it, deserves a long discourse, being equall to that of the ancient *Heroes*. *Delpaire* made the *Goths* venture all, and the *Romans* stood them, though seeing them mad, yet ashamed to yeild to beaten men; and so the one weary of their lives, the other for demonstration of valour, fought with much fury, beginning in the morning betimes. *Ticius* accompanied with some few stood in the first ranck in open view, holding out his Shield and shaking his Lance. A great number of *Romans* knowing that by his fall the Battell would be ended, combined themselves against him, some charging, some throwing their darts at him. Which he received all upon his Shield, and then slew out, and killed many. His Shield being stuck thick with Darts, he gave it to one of his Targetiers and took another. He continued thus a third part of the day, when he had twelve Darts sticking on his Shield, that he could not move it as he would, nor beat off the Assaultants. Yet he quitted not his ranck, nor gave the Enemy an inch of ground; he did not so much as turne his body, or rest his back upon his Shield; but stood upright, as if he were pitcht into the ground, killing with his right hand, and warding with his Shield; and calling by name his Targetier to give him a new Shield, for his old was loaded with Darts. And in that instant, his breast lying open, was hit with a Javelin, upon which he immediately dyed. The Souldiers put his head upon a long Pole, and shewed it to encourage the *Romans*, and to cause the *Goths* to despaire, and to quit the fight. But the *Goths*, though they saw their King Haine, yet gave it not over, and at night both retired, and lay in their Armour. Early the next day they began again, and fought till night, not turning to any side, nor giving back; and though many were lost, yet their savage hatred held them still buckled to one another: The *Goths* knowing it to be their last fight, and the *Romans* disdaining to be overmatcht. At last the *Goths* sent Agents to *Narjes*, to tell him; That they perceived their fight to be with God himselfe, and saw the power which stood against them; and their true estate now, by their former successe; that they would lay aside desperate resolutions, upon condition not to be put under the subjection of the Emperour, but to live free with some other *Barbarian* Nation. They intreated the *Romans* also to afford them a peaceable retreat, and in a moderate consideration of their fortune, to bestow their owne Goods upon them for their journey, such as they had left in any Castles of *Italy*. *Narjes* held a consultation hereupon, where *John* advised him to grant the Petition, and to contend no more with men weary of their lives, nor to stir a courage growing from desperation, which commonly proves fatall, both to the men possessed with it, and to such as encounter them. To moderate men (quoth he) it is enough to be Victorious, whereas the desire of too much may end in some inconvenience. *Narjes* allowing the advice, they agreed upon conditions. That the *Goths* should have their Goods, and immediately go out of *Italy*, and that they should never bear Armes against the *Romans*. About a thousand *Goths* of this Company went away to *Picenum*, and the parts beyond the River *Poe*, commanded by *Ildulph* and some others; the residue staid and ratified this agreement by their oaths: And the *Romans* took in *Cuma* and all the rest. And so ended the eighteenth year of the *Gothick* Warr, written by *Priscopius*.

Finis Lib. 4. Tell. Goth.

Δόξα σοὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δέξα σοί.

FINIS.